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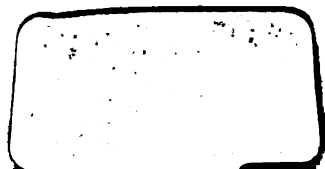
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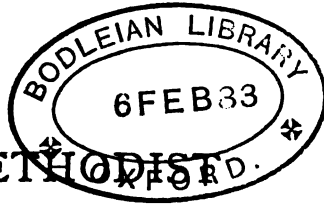
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THE



PRIMITIVE METHODIST

QUARTERLY REVIEW

AND

CHRISTIAN AMBASSADOR

EDITED BY

COLIN CAMPBELL M'KECHNIE.

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CONTENTS.



William Cullen Bryant: The Father of American Poetry	...	1
Spiritualism Explained and Exposed		13
The Position and Theology of the Broad Church		23
John Cotton and the Puritans of New England		37
The Divine Sonship of the Fourth Gospel		54
Modern British Methodism		73
Joseph Barker		93
The Victorian Age		112, 489
Curiosities of Puritan Nomenclature		129
Poets and their Wives		139
Dr. Chalmers and the Disruption		193
Combination for Improvement in Knowledge		213
Horace Bushnell		226
Ireland in the Past		240
Ministerial Duties and Prerogatives		254
Agnosticism		263
The Sunday-school: Its Strong and Weak Points		274
Charles Dickens' Letters		284
Our Ministry		299
The Mysteries of Christianity		314
Wealey and the American Revolution		325
John B. Gough's 'Sunlight and Shadow.'		385
The Country and the People of Ireland		402
William Blake, Painter and Poet		418
The Theology of the Apostle Paul		437
Thomas Carlyle and his Reminiscences		446

iv.

	PAGE.
The Antiquity of Man and the Origin of Species ...	466
The True Theory of Christian Holiness ...	480
Frances Ridley Havergal: Musician and Poetess ...	508
Unsymmetrical Lives ...	519
Charles Kingsley ...	577
The First Man: his Origin and the Period of his Existence ...	603
The Revised New Testament ...	614
George Eliot's Life and Writings ...	623
Irish Troubles and Remedies ...	646
Salvation ...	662
The Christian Doctrine of Faith ...	679
Hints on Connexional Evangelism ...	692
John Angell James ...	700
Morality and Religion ...	710
Practical Homiletics ...	146, 337, 527, 719
Literature, Science, and Politics ...	172, 362, 555, 742

THE
PRIMITIVE METHODIST
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1881.

I.—WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT.

THE FATHER OF AMERICAN POETRY.

AT the time of his death, two years since, W. C. Bryant was the oldest American poet with the exception of the venerable R. H. Dana. Knowing that he had witnessed the rise of Emerson, Longfellow, Taylor, Whittier, Willis, Holmes, Poe, Lowell, and Mrs. Sigourney, we were not surprised when we saw *The Times* proclaiming him 'The father of American Poetry.'

Bryant was born in Massachusetts in the year 1794. His father, an eminent physician in Cummingstown, carefully watched over the earliest buddings of his son's intellectual life. At that time it could scarcely be said that America had a literature of her own. Dr. Bryant, however, a man abreast of the age, selected such books as were likely to impart a sound rudimentary education to his son. This done, the doctor led him forth into the higher branches of secular knowledge. At ten he made translations from the Latin poets. Like Tasso, Cowley, and Pope, he lisped in numbers while yet a schoolboy. During this period, hearing that an embargo had been placed on American commerce by British orders in Council, he wrote a satirical poem on the measure. It secured a host of admiring readers. This poem is omitted from Mr. Bryant's collected works, published by Henry S. King and Co., seven years since; but those first-fruits of thought foretold the advent of a poet of rare gifts. His 'Spanish Revolution,' written in his thirteenth year, confirmed the hope of his friends. When

VOL. III. NEW SERIES. Vol. XXIII. from the beginning.

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about sixteen years of age he became a student at William's College, where he distinguished himself both as a classical scholar and student in philosophy, although he did not remain at William's more than two years. In 1816 he published 'Thaumatopsis,' regarded by many as the best of his poems. 'The Ages,' his longest poem, consisting of thirty-five Spenserian stanzas, and being, to all intents, a poetical philosophical disquisition on the past, present, and future, appeared in 1821.

Having qualified himself for the legal profession, he began to practice at Great Barrington; but very soon, like Cowper, he took such a dislike to the law that he resolved to abandon it as soon as possible. Therefore, in 1825, he went to New York, and there established *The New York Review and Athenæum Magazine*, and in 1826, like Edgar A. Poe before him, became a journalist. For more than fifty years his name was closely connected with the *New York Evening Post*, first as its editor, and subsequently as its proprietor. As a journalist, he was ever on the side of civil and religious liberty. It is not a little singular to learn that, while the influence of Fisk and Tweed was being felt in the one direction, the influence of William Cullen Bryant's politics was felt in the same city in another direction.

But, as it is not our business to deal with the politics of 'The father of American poetry,' we must limit ourselves to his career as poet. Long before Stoddard, Willis, Taylor, and Lowell became known in this country Bryant's name was heralded as the 'New York bard.' His poems were published in England in 1832—nearly half a century ago. In 1842 he published another collection, under the title, *The Fountain, and other Poems*, and in 1844 another collection under the name, *White-footed Deer, and other Poems*. At various times during his busy life of more than fifty years he wrote many poems of beauty and surpassing elegance. We do not hesitate to affirm that no Transatlantic bard has excelled him in elegance, tenderness, purity of diction, and pensive sublimity. If we do not find in him the homely vigour of Dana, the profundity of Emerson, the mirthfulness of Holmes, the weird ravings of Poe, nor scarcely even the gleesomeness of Longfellow, he will, no doubt, ever maintain an honoured place amongst the American poets of the nineteenth century.

He has been designated the Wordsworth of America. Mr. Arnold affirms that 'nearly all Wordsworth's really first-rate work was produced within the limits of a single decade from 1798-1808.' It would not be strictly correct to make a similar affirmation of

Bryant, yet we must admit that the poems he composed between twenty and twenty-seven were never surpassed by any subsequent poem.

In his 'Fable for Critics,' Lowell refers to this New York bard 'as cool and as dignified as a smooth, silent iceberg, that never is ignifed.' And on another occasion, though admitting 'there's enough that's right good in him, having a true soul for field, river, and wood in him'—having, also, Thomson's love of nature, and Cowper's *penchant* to preach, he sharply satirises those American lovers of song who would place Bryant head and shoulders above Scott, Coleridge, and Southey :

Don't be absurd ! he's an excellent Bryant ;
But, my friends, you'll endanger the life of your client
By attempting to stretch him into a giant.

We shall make no attempt to 'stretch him into a giant ;' but honour to whom honour is due should be given. Although he is not to our Transatlantic poetry what Wayland and Stuart are to moral philosophy and theology, what Bancroft and Irving are to history, or Tappan and Edwards are to metaphysics, yet no one can question his claim to be ranked amongst the born-poets of America. In her 'Study of John Keats,' Mrs. Owen remarks that 'the work of most poets may be divided into that which is the result of purpose and that which is the result of circumstance.' Such a division as this is very observable in the poems of Bryant. And if it be true that the odes and sonnets of Keats show us how he lived, and moved, and had his being, or if, on the study of Wordsworth's 'Prelude,' 'Farewell,' 'The Wishing Gate,' and 'The Excursion,' we are able to trace the steps of this Poet Laureate, we are also enabled, through the poems of Bryant, to look into the depths of his honest and truly philanthropic soul, and also to discern the faith which gave strength to his early life, and which nerved him for heroic work to the end.

When about twenty years of age he was admitted to the Bar, and began to practice in New England. He was in doubt as to what course he should take in life. He had heard :

There is a tide in the affairs of men,
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune.

In the midst of his anxiety as to the future he strolled out into the country, near Plymouth, and his attention was arrested by the peculiar flight of a 'water-fowl.' As he gazed upon its movements he began to draw a moral from the circumstance. And we have reason for believing that even so trifling an incident taught him a lesson of life—

long benefit. The fourth, seventh, and eighth verses are worthy of quotation :

There is a Power whose care
Teaches thy way along that pathless coast—
The desert and illimitable air,
Lone wandering, but not lost.

Thou'rt gone, the abyss of heaven
Hath swallowed up thy form, yet on my heart
Deeply hath sunk the lesson thou hast given,
And shall not soon depart.

He who, from zone to zone,
Guides through the boundless sky thy certain flight,
In the long way that I must tread alone
Will lead my steps aright.

The faith which prompted him thus to write in his early manhood finds expression in his later poems. It is very observable in his 'Crowded Street.' Though he tells us—

How fast the flitting figures come !
The mild, the fierce, the stony face ;
Some bright with thoughtless smiles, and some
Where secret tears have left their trace,

and continues to speak of those 'who pass to toil, to strife,' of 'the youth with dreams of greatness,' of 'the keen son of trade with eager brow,' of those

Who sorrow o'er the untimely dead,
Who writhe in throes of mortal pain,

he concludes with the reflection :

There is who heeds, who holds them all
In His large love and boundless thought.

These struggling tides of life, that seem
In wayward, aimless course to tend,
Are eddies of the mighty stream
That rolls to its appointed end.

It has been said that 'Thauatopsis,' which he published in 1816, though a brief poem, is his best. Dana, Longfellow, and the late Bayard Taylor, besides other highly-gifted authors, have spoken in the highest terms of this poem. In one sense, 'Thauatopsis' is typical of a large quantity of American poetry. Account for it as we will, it is an unquestionable fact that a considerable portion of what our Transatlantic bards have written relates to 'the ruins of decay.' Mrs. Sigourney, E. A. Poe, and W. C. Bryant are pre-eminent amongst those who have thus written. Poe, a man of deep feeling and morbid tendency, not content with leading us to the grave, must needs unearth it

for us, and minutely inspect and detail the processes of decay. He seems to take pleasure therein; but it is not the kind of pleasure which radiates the portraiture of Death and the Grave given in Bryant. Though a dirge-like undertone is heard in this song, there are also heard the clear notes of faith and hope, reminding us of Longfellow. Gilfillan rightly calls it 'A Meditation Amongst the Tombs.' Rarely has poetry achieved a more masterly and soothing ministry than to teach us

The hills,
Rock-ribbed and ancient as the sun; the vales
Stretching in pensive quietness between;
The venerable woods, rivers that move
In majesty, and the complaining brooks
That make the meadows green, . . .
Are but the solemn decorations all
Of the great tomb of man.

As we read of the wise, the good, fair forms and hoary seers of ages past, resting in quietness, we, for the time, forget that which is, as a rule, a gloomy and unwelcome subject. He constrains one, for the time, to assume that the repose of the grave is more to be desired than the wakeful and workful present. The closing stanzas of this meditation are 'a gem of purest ray serene:'

So live that, when thy summons comes to join
The innumerable caravan, that moves
To that mysterious realm where each shall take
His chamber in the silent halls of death,
Thou go not like the quarry slave at night,
Scourged to his dungeon; but, sustained and soothed
By an unfaltering trust, approach thy grave
Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch
About him, and lies down to pleasant dreams.

A careful student of his poetry will scarcely need be reminded of the fact that 'Thauatopsis' contains the germs of truths more fully developed in future poems. The lines with which he opens the poem affirm:

To him who, in the love of Nature, holds
Communion with her visible forms, she speaks
A various language.

We have but to glance through his poems to see what he means by this 'various language.' Nearly two-thirds of his shorter poems illustrate and confirm his favourite and oft-quoted lines:

—for his gayer hours,
She (that is, Nature) has a voice of gladness and a smile
And eloquence of beauty; and she glides
Into his darker musings with a mild

And healing sympathy, that steals away
 Their sharpness ere he is aware. When thoughts
 Of the last bitter hour come like a blight
 Over thy spirit, and sad images
 Of the stern agony, and shroud and pall,
 And breathless darkness, and the narrow house,
 Make thee to shudder and grow sick at heart,
 Go forth under the open sky, and list
 To Nature's teachings.

What Nature says to man in these sadder hours, he hints at in 'Thauatopsis.' He dwells upon the same subject in 'The Death of the Flowers,' where he tells us :

The melancholy days are come, the saddest of the year,
 Of wailing winds, and naked woods, and meadows brown and sear,
 Heaped in the hollows of the grove, and autumn leaves be dead.

The same spirit of pensive contemplation pervades the less known poem, which a writer in the *Saturday Review* thought should have been entitled 'The Sepulchre,' but which Mr. Bryant entitled 'June.' The thought of

A cell within the frozen mould,
 A coffin borne through sleet,

was abhorrent to him. But in the former part of the poem he says :

'Twere pleasant that, in flowery June,
 When brooks send up a cheerful tune,
 And groves a joyous sound,
 The sexton's hand, my grave to make,
 The rich, green mountain turf should break.

'The Death of the Flowers,' 'June,' 'Hymn to Death,' 'The Old Man's Funeral,' besides others, are, to a great extent, a development of germs embedded in his famous 'Thauatopsis.' Having written so much on this subject, and having lived such a virtuous life, it was strange that, for so many years before the end came, he was haunted by a certain vague dread of death. Against this dread he fought, and there were times and seasons when the last verse of 'The fringed Gentian' expressed most suitably his desire and hope :

I would that thus, when I shall see
 The hour of death draw near to me,
 Hope blossoming within my heart,
 May look to heaven as I depart.

If, on the one hand, the poem we have designated 'A Meditation Amongst the Tombs' contains the elements of a large proportion of his poems overcast by the dark or sombre hues of decay, on the other hand, it recognises the fact that

—for his gayer hours
 She (Nature) has a voice of gladness and a smile.

Like Keats, who, as he sat listening to the song of the nightingale in the Wentworth-place orchard, wrote one of the most melodious odes in our language, so Bryant, on a similar occasion, wrote his 'Gladness of Nature.' How merrily chime the bells of melody in this piece!—

There's a dance of leaves in that aspen bower,
There's a twitter of winds in that beechen tree,
There's a smile on the fruit, and a smile on the flower,
And a laugh from the brook that runs to the sea.

And look at the broad-faced sun, how he smiles
On the dewy earth that smiles on his way,
On the leaping waters and the gay young isles—
Ah, look! and he'll smile thy gloom away.

These lines and others of this class were, no doubt, generated, for the most part, through the instrumentality of circumstances; but this cannot be said of his 'Ages.' This work was the fruit of hard mental toil. What Shelley's 'Prometheus' is to the rest of his poetry, that is Bryant's 'Ages' to his collected works.

If it be true that the finest pictures are those which seem to have cost the painter the least effort, so the most perfect poems are those which seem to have cost the poet the least effort. If we test Bryant's 'Ages' by this test, we shall not fail to discover that his reputation as a poet, like that of Thomas Campbell, is traceable to his smaller poems. In his 'Introductory Essay' to his illustrated works, Gilfillan expresses his conviction that Bryant wants the comprehension of vision, which alone could have rendered a glance at the 'Ages' great. It is a philosophical disquisition on the past, present, and future. There is *unity* in it; though, as thirty of the thirty-five Spenserian stanzas deal with the past, we are compelled to admit that it was wanting in proportions. If there had been a more complete symmetry in its construction, ranging the several parts in due relation and proportion, it would have produced a much more favourable impression.

It is clear that he bestowed much care upon this work. Its words and sentences were most carefully weighed in the balances of an accurate judgment. The poem is not less remarkable for its testimony to the poet's *affluent imagination* while yet it was under a wise constraint. If anywhere in his works he appears the priest or interpreter of Nature, it is here. He inquires:

Has Nature, in her calm, majestic march,
Falter'd with age at last? Does the bright sun
Grow dim in heaven? Or, in their far blue arch,
Sparkle the crowd of stars, when day is done,
Less brightly? When the dew-lipp'd Spring comes on,
Breathes she with airs less soft, or scents the sky
With flowers less fair than when her reign begun?
Does prodigal Autumn to our age deny
The plenty that once swelled beneath his sober eye?

In the next verse he answers these questions in language the beauty and force of which remind us of Thomson's 'Seasons,' though the minting of the stanzas are Bryantonian to the letter :

Look on this beautiful world, and read the truth
In her fair page; see, every season brings
New change to her of everlasting youth;
Still the green soil with joyous living things
Swarms. The wide air is full of joyous wings;
And myriads still are happy in the sleep
Of Ocean's azure's gulfs, and where he flings
The restless surge. Eternal love doth keep
In His complacent arms the earth, the air, the deep.

These stanzas reflect the poet's conceptions of the profusion and amplitude of material nature. He was not slow to perceive that human blessings, or Divine blessings for human life, do not come slowly or singly, but that they are literally showered upon us; they are successive as the waters of the ceaseless spring; they are continuous as the atmosphere we breathe; like the stars which beam forth simultaneously from the firmament; or like the daisies which crowd and bedeck the velvet turf. These form not only the ornament, but the basis of our life. Bryant is amongst that class of poets who regard these objects not only as the outcome of a Divine intelligence, but as the manifestation of Divine goodness. This is one of the cardinal doctrines of this poet-preacher. In the 'Song of the Stars' he calls upon us to

See, love is brooding, and life is born,
And breathing myriads are breaking from night,
To rejoice, like us, in motion and light.

And in 'A Forest Hymn' he calls our attention to the

—delicate forest flower,
With scented breath and look so like a smile,
Seems, as it issues from the shapeless mould,
An emanation of the indwelling life,
A visible token of the upholding love,
That are the soul of this wide universe.

The same truth pervades his teaching throughout. 'The Ages' proclaims most emphatically the hope of the world :

—a thousand cheerful omens give
Hope of yet happier days, whose dawn is nigh.

After sketching the dark scenes of the world's sad history before the birth of Christ, and then leading us down to the Middle Ages, he declares that, though the hour for rending the sacred stole from saintly rottenness was deferred, and though

Vice, beneath the mitre's kind control,
Sinned gaily on and grew to giant size,
Shielded by priestly power and watched by priestly eyes,

Yet, at last,

—the earthquake came—the shock that hurled
To dust, in many fragments dashed and strown,
The throne whose roots were in another world,
And whose far-stretching shadow awed our own
From many a proud monastic pile o'erthrown.
Fear-struck, the hooded inmates rushed and fled;
The web that for a thousand years had grown
O'er prostrate Europe in that day of dread
Crumbled and fell as fire dissolves the flaxen thread.

After sketching the triumphs of the Reformation in Europe, he begins to describe the dawn of civilised life in the Western World; and what Freiligrath has done for Oriental scenery Bryant has done for the West. He describes the 'brown hunter's shouts,' he points us to the old 'Indian hamlet,' and goes on to speak of their primitive customs, and then, calling our attention to the change that has already taken place, he predicts a glorious future for his country:

But thou, my country, thou shalt never fall,
Save with thy children, thy maternal care,
Thy lavish love, thy blessings showered on all,
These are thy fetters; seas and stormy air
Are the wide barrier of thy borders, where,
Among thy gallant sons that guard thee well,
Thou laugh'st at enemies, who shall then declare
The date of thy deep-founded strength, or tell
How happy in thy lap the sons of men shall dwell.

The closing stanzas of 'The Ages' bring the poet before us as a patriot. Few men did more to bring to light the past history of America. About four years ago he and Mr. Sydney Howard Gay brought out the first of two volumes of the *Early History of the United States*. Within one month after the publication of the second volume of this history Mr. Bryant met with the accident which resulted in his death. In reading this history we have been often reminded of the sketches of North American Indian life given in his 'Ages' half-a-century since.

Unlike Longfellow, Bryant rarely attempts to describe the scenery of other lands, and when he attempts to do so, as in the 'Apennines,' he fails. But none of his attempts at describing American scenery can be described as 'failures.' While reading them we are conscious of being in the clear air of a Transatlantic climate; we inhale the odour of the American forest pine, and our eyes gaze upon sights never seen beneath our skies, or upon our sea-girt isle. Forgetfulness of this has sometimes led his critics on this side the Atlantic to brand his poems as 'tame,' 'prosy,' or 'ragged.'

If it be further objected that the national life of America is not reflected in his verse, the same objection may be raised against the verses of other bards. But it ought not to be forgotten that, for all the purposes of venerable history, America is but of yesterday. Skirmishes with Indians, and

The glitter of their rifles,
The scampering of their steeds,

or even the war for Independency are scarcely the historical events wherewith to fire the genius of a poet. It must, indeed, be admitted that Brandywine, Bunker's Hill, and Lexington are suggestive of lines upon which a poet might have advanced; but the grand natural scenery of the Western world does not awaken such a train of reflections as some of the names of towns, mountains, rivers, and lakes in the Old World. The noble rivers to which the longest European rivers are but rivulets, the lofty mountains in comparison with which some of the European ranges or peaks are but as pigmies, tell of no grand historic past; no towns of historic fame, no castles, or towers, or temples, or palaces adorn her plains, telling such tales as Stonehenge, and of Saxon or Norman works of art. In fact, Longfellow is more truly indebted to other countries than America for the straw with which to make his bricks. If Bryant had chosen to follow in this course, he, too, might have become more famous; but he has preferred to remain at home rather than go in search for material in East or West, as Longfellow, Taylor, and Whittier have done. We have said his 'Ages' introduces him to us as a patriot; we might say he was more than a patriot—he was a prophet. His earliest verses foretold, in part at least, the progress which awaited his country in the near future.

Bryant was a lover of liberty. If national liberty found in him a true and trusty friend, so also did the liberty of the individual. Living in the midst of those who were concerned in the question of slavery, Bryant could not keep silence. He did not write such spirited and scathing stanzas as those of the Quaker-poet, Whittier, but he was no less zealous. His 'Massacre at Scio,' written in 1824, and referring to another subject than American slavery, contains sentiments which, for more than a quarter-of-a-century, he incidentally and opportunely adverted to as being the sentiments of Anti-Slavists in the States. The poem is worthy of quotation :

Weep not for Scio's children slain;
Their blood, by Turkish falchions shed,
Sends not its cry to heaven in vain
For vengeance on the murderer's head.

Though high the warm red torrent ran
 Between the flames that lit the sky,
 Yet, for each drop, an armed man
 Shall rise, to free the land, or die.

And for each corpse that in the sea
 Was thrown, to feast the scaly herds,
 A hundred of the foe shall be
 A banquet for the mountain birds.

Stern rites and sad shall Greece ordain
 To keep that day along her shore,
 Till the last link of slavery's chain
 Is shivered, to be worn no more.

Bryant's 'Antiquity of Freedom,' published, we believe, years before the outbreak of the war which sealed the doom of slavery, contains a few very suggestive lines, marked by a style of expression which is a correct copy of his own definite thought:

O Freedom! thou art not as poets dream—
 A fair young girl, with light and delicate limbs,
 And wavy tresses gushing from the cap
 With which the Roman master crowned his slave
 When he took off the gyves. A bearded man,
 Armed to the teeth, art thou; one mailed hand
 Grasps the broad shield, and one the sword; thy brow,
 Glorious in beauty though it be, is scarred
 With tokens of old wars; thy massive limbs
 Are strong with struggling.

In other stanzas of this poem he anticipates battle and victory. He was not mistaken in his calculation.

Since his death others have fallen, and amongst the number the gifted Bayard Taylor. Longfellow, Dana, Emerson, and Holmes, not to mention others, have passed the line of three score years and ten, and, according to the course of Nature, will, ere long, go to the house appointed for all living; but whosoever may be mourned and remembered by the Americans, William Cullen Bryant's name will be remembered, and his grave kept green.

There were few persons so well known in New York as he. Tall, erect, slightly built, with white flowing beard, and eyes which told of a heart and mind at once tender and true, he was an idol of the nation, a friend of the friendless, a counsellor of the wise, and a guide of the young.

H. SMITH.

II.—SPIRITUALISM EXPLAINED AND EXPOSED.

IN the year 1847 the village of Hydesville, New York State, received a slight addition to its population by the arrival of a family named Fox, consisting of father, mother, and two daughters; and, in a short time, the new-comers won the esteem and confidence of their neighbours, by whom they were regarded as honest and upright people. Soon after their arrival, however, they were annoyed by repeated and inexplicable knockings, now in the furniture, and again in the walls or ceiling of their cottage. They searched every nook and corner of the house, but found no clue to the mysterious noises which were gradually becoming louder and more frequent. On March 31, 1848, wearied out by a succession of sleepless nights and fruitless attempts to solve the mystery, the family was retiring to rest earlier than usual, but scarcely had the mother seen her children safely in bed before the knockings commenced again. 'Here they are again,' cried the children. The mother chid them and bade them be silent, upon which the noises became louder and more startling. Mrs. Fox called her husband, who, thinking that the noises may have been occasioned by the rattling of the window-sashes, began to examine them to see if they were loose. On shaking one of them, it was noticed that the noises appeared to respond. 'Do as I do,' said little Kate, snapping her fingers as she spoke. The sounds immediately replied. 'Count ten,' she continued, and ten raps were at once given. 'How old is Margaret?' asked the mother. Twelve raps followed. 'And how old is Kate?' Nine raps were given, the reply in each case being quite correct.

Of course, the knowledge of these things could not be kept secret, and soon the utmost excitement prevailed. Neighbours were continually flocking in, the house was besieged by curious and eager visitors from afar, and the mysterious rappings continued. As it was found that the noises were most marked in the presence of little Kate, she was sent on a visit to a relative at Rochester. But the knockings followed there, while they also continued at Hydesville.

On one occasion a visitor suggested that the alphabet should be called over, letter by letter, to see if the sounds would respond in such a manner as would spell out a message. Immediately a shower of raps were given, as if to say, 'Yes, that is what we want.' Little by little words were spelt out, and a system of communication elaborated.

'Mediums'—as they were afterwards called—sprang up in different parts of the country, and thus arose the movement known as Modern Spiritualism.

Some years ago the French Government, finding that its authority in Algiers was somewhat endangered by the Mohammedan priests, who professed to receive spirit communications similar to those which are said to occur among spiritualists, sent out a Mr. Robert Houdin to repeat publicly the alleged spirit-miracles of the priests, to add others which the priests could not copy, and then to explain the mode by which the people had been deceived. Mr. Houdin, being one of the most distinguished legerdemain workers in France, had but little difficulty in accomplishing his formidable task. The power of the priests was overthrown, and Mr. Houdin now repeats before admiring Parisians those wonders of his craft which had been so successful in Northern Africa. In London, too, at the Egyptian Hall, Maskelyne and Cook are continually performing cleverly, and avowedly without the aid of spirits, what the so-called spiritualists do at best but clumsily, although they are professedly aided by supernatural visitants.

Because of these and similar exposures, many people suppose that modern spiritualism is nothing but trickery, performed by the media who profess to be controlled by spirits. That there has been and still is much gross imposture mixed up with the movement, there can be no reasonable doubt. The Davenport Brothers, for example, were able to furnish the usual evidence of the presence of spirits at their dark *séances*. Tambourines were made to float in the air, bells were rung, and individuals among the audience were occasionally touched by spirit hands. But one night the person who should have extinguished the lights left one of them burning so slightly that it was not perceived. Afterwards, in the deep darkness, when the performance was at its height, this light was suddenly turned on, *and there stood the whole Davenport family detected in their wicked imposition!* This occurred in the city of New York.

Katie King, too, was a nine days' wonder in England and the United States of America. Purporting to be a celestial spirit, she deigned to visit, for a time—under the guardianship of a medium, of course—the loyal citizens of Philadelphia. 'Katie King,' said Robert Dale Owen, 'is a veritable spirit from the undiscovered country, or human beings can freely pass through brick walls of the thickness of two or three feet.' After such a testimony, would not the most sceptical be convinced? Katie was thus described by a reporter: 'Although said to belong to another world, she appeared to be as real as any beings in

the room, but with more of an ethereal look. Her complexion was almost transparent, and her head appeared to be folded in some kind of a veil. A white robe hung gracefully about her, and on her breast a beautiful cross, which glistened in the light. Her arms were bare, her feet were covered by the folds of her dress, her figure was finely moulded.'

The excitement was immense. In her honour songs were composed and sung—the following among others :

Oh, gather round and let us sing
The praises of sweet Katie King,
Who, from her bright and happy sphere,
Comes smiling to us mortals here.

Chorus :

Then with sweet voices let us sing
The praises of sweet Katie King.

In their admiration, or adoration, of this heavenly visitant, ladies took off their jewellery and gave it to the ghost, who considerably kept it in kindly remembrance of the generous donors. One evening, however, a gentleman who had the honour of shaking hands with Katie discovered that she had foul breath—a fact which, to his mind, afforded presumptive evidence of her mundane origin. Hence he resolved to be on the alert. Not long after he saw in the city a lady who appeared to be 'the image and likeness' of celestial Katie. After watching her movements for some time, he found that she always visited Mr. and Mrs. Holmes (the medium and his wife) prior to their dark *séances*, although she never appeared on the platform or among the audience. Feeling sure that he was on the right track, he carefully marked a gold trinket, and then presented it to the ghostly Katie, after which he sought an interview with her *facsimile*, whom he had seen in the city. Nor did he seek in vain, for in a short time he found that she was a young widow, named Frances, and soon he became on visiting terms. One day Mrs. Frances entertained her new acquaintance by exhibiting her jewellery, as the result of which the gentleman found the identical article which he had given to celestial Katie! He at once confronted Mrs. Frances with the charge that she was the veritable Katie King. The charge was indignantly denied, but when the crushing proof was given, Mrs. Frances made a full confession, restored the jewellery, and made a sworn declaration, in which she explained the manner in which her deceptions had been practiced. But how about the strong-minded Mr. Owen? A few days before this tremendous exposure he had sent to the *Atlantic Monthly* an article demonstrating the ghostship of Katie; but, now that the whole truth was known, he

sent a most urgent request that his article should not be inserted. His request, however, was too late. Out came the *Atlantic Monthly*, and in it R. Dale Owen's contribution, which drew from the *New York Tribune* the following well-merited castigation: 'A man who is too strong-minded to believe in Christianity, and yet finds no difficulty in believing that spirits come out of a closet, and dance breakdowns on a platform, and spin mosquito curtains out of the air, is scarcely a promising subject for argument. To say that he disbelieves the Bible because he cannot understand it, but believes in Katie because he has seen her, simply shows that he is as vain of the feebleness of his understanding as he is of the blindness of his eyes.'

But the whole of the phenomena of spiritualism cannot be accounted for on the ground of wilful imposture; hence, we fear that many good, but mistaken, people have unconsciously aided the spiritualists by the fierce manner in which they have denounced the whole movement as a gross and intentional imposition upon the public, whereas the media were able to convince the majority of those who entered their circles of the reality of their leading facts. In 1869 the London Dialectical Society appointed a large committee 'to investigate the phenomena alleged to be spiritual manifestations.' After careful investigation, the majority of the committee were thoroughly convinced of the genuineness of many of the manifestations; but the question of their spiritual origin they, of course, left entirely open. A Boston minister, 'of unquestionable intelligence and integrity,' saw a medium place her hands gently upon a marble-topped table, no other person being near. In a short time the table began to move, and it followed the lady around the room. Seeing this, the minister got under the table, and, seizing its legs firmly, attempted to hold it still. The table continued to move, and the minister was drawn with it across the floor. But, as Dr. Mahan* vigorously puts it, 'Suppose that a human or other body should rise up before us, and we cannot tell the reason why. What infinite fools we should make of ourselves if we should leap to the conclusion that intangible, impalpable, and unearthly spirits laid hold of that object and lifted it up.'

However, we will examine some of these communications which profess to be from the spirit-world, in order that we may ascertain whether or not they afford internal evidence of genuineness. Some years ago many people in the United States were in painful suspense

* *The Phenomena of Spiritualism Scientifically Explained and Exposed* by the Rev. Asa Mahan, D.D. London: Hodder and Stoughton—a work from which much of the matter for this article has been obtained.

respecting a certain ocean steamer (the Atlantic) which had been reported 'missing.' A confirmed believer in the reality of spirit-manifestations consulted the spirits respecting this vessel, and was told that she had been destroyed by a terrible conflagration. Some weeks afterwards the missing vessel arrived safely in port. A friend of Dr. Mahan's once requested a medium, who professed to be then under the immediate control of spirits, to ask the spirits how many gas-lights were then burning in the room. 'I do not know,' he added, 'keep your own head down, so that you also will remain ignorant of the number.' The medium did so, and the spirit rapped the number four. After being requested to decide with perfect deliberation, the number was repeated, four raps being given again. The real number was five. The medium had previously said that he had given up faith in the Scriptures to follow 'the higher light of spiritualism.' 'There,' said Dr. M.'s friend, 'you have rejected that blessed Book, which has been the light and consolation of the good in all ages, to follow spirits, who, when put to the test, are unable to count five.' Indeed, evidence has been given to the effect that the spirits disagree on such simple questions as the location of Boston and New York, whether on the Atlantic or Pacific Coast. Spirit-communications are occasionally received, professedly from Bacon, Newton, Franklyn, &c. Now, we are all aware how these illustrious men toiled hard and long for the benefit of their fellows; for, as the result of their labours, some of the profoundest truths of physical science are now within the reach of the humblest schoolboy. If, therefore, they were able to instruct the world so efficiently while yet in the flesh, how much more so now after having enjoyed for ages the clearer light and superior powers of the spirit-world? Alas! How are the mighty fallen! The Bacons and Newtons of the spiritualists are incapable of uttering anything but the veriest common-place, or nonsense the most arrant. Indeed, it would be 'as reasonable to suppose that Michael, the archangel, is the author of the celebrated work entitled *The House that Jack Built*,' and that this is the highest production of which he is capable,' as to suppose that the spirits of these men actually communicate the senseless effusions which are sometimes given to the world in their name; and it has been naively suggested that the descendants of these worthies 'ought to be able to obtain heavy damages in a suit for slander against the spiritualists for attributing such thoughts to their great ancestors.' All who believe in the genuineness of such communications may well prize their present intellectual powers; for if our Bacons and Newtons have so seriously deteriorated in intellect

since they have entered the spirit-world—far from being ‘equal to the angels’—the bulk of our race may expect little short of drivelling idiocy.

But, it is argued, raps, otherwise inexplicable, have been, and are being, given, tables are moved, bodies float in the air, and correct answers, known to none other save the questioner, are frequently given. How can such phenomena be accounted for?

When Mr. W. Crookes, F.R.S., discoverer of the metal thallium, and editor of the *Quarterly Journal of Science*, investigated some of the phenomena of spiritualism, he came to the conclusion that a hitherto undiscovered force must exist, and he proposed *psychic force* as a suitable designation for it; but it is said that he afterwards accepted the spirit-theory.

Since we commenced this article we called at the ‘progressive library,’ London—the chief centre of the spiritualists—to purchase the latest and best pamphlet that had been written in exposition and defence of the movement. After some thought, the gentleman behind the counter recommended four pamphlets, with the following titles: ‘The Claims of Modern Spiritualism upon Public Attention,’ ‘What Spiritualism has Taught,’ ‘Spiritualism and the Gospel of Jesus,’ and ‘Spirit-mediums and Conjurers.’ We bought the lot. But judge our surprise when we found that the pamphlets had been written in 1873–4, and that three of them were the productions of gentlemen who had within the last three years renounced spiritualism! If this is an illustration of the kind of progress usually made by spiritualists, we have no hesitation in bidding them God-speed. But, curiously enough, the gentlemen referred to above now declare that the phenomena of the spirit-circle are produced by Satanic agency—a short and easy method of accounting for the movement, certainly; but is it satisfactory? We think not.

‘However astonishing,’ says Sir William Hamilton, as quoted by Dr. Mahan, ‘it is now proved, beyond all rational doubt, that, in certain abnormal states of the nervous organism, perceptions are possible through other than the ordinary channels of the senses.’ ‘It has been proved beyond dispute,’ says Dr. Wayland, ‘that persons under this influence (animal magnetism) have submitted to the most distressing operations without consciousness of pain; that other persons have cognised events at a great distance, and have related them correctly at the time; and that persons totally blind have, when in a state of mesmeric consciousness, enjoyed for the time the power of perceiving external objects.’ Still quoting from Dr. Wayland, our author gives an account of one

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Nathaniel Bishop, who, being mesmerised on board the United States steamer, Princeton, was able to tell the time by a watch kept in the binnacle on the upper deck although he was at the time on the lower deck. One evening, while at anchor at the port of Genoa, the captain being ashore, Bishop (being in the clairvoyant state) was asked where the captain was. 'At the opera,' he replied, 'with Mr. Lester, the Consul.' 'What does he say?' inquired the gentleman who had mesmerised him. Bishop appeared to listen for a moment, then he said, 'The captain tells Mr. Lester that he was much pleased with the port of Xavia, and that the authorities treated him with much consideration.' At this one of the officers laughed, and said that he would ask the captain when he returned. He did so, and found that Bishop had been literally correct. On another occasion, an officer being ashore, Bishop was asked to examine his pockets. He made several movements with his hands as if actually drawing something out of a person's pockets, saying, as he did so, 'Here is a handkerchief, and here is a box—what a curious thing! the box is full of little white sticks with blue ends.' When the officer returned it was found that he had in his pockets a handkerchief and a box of matches. Equally striking cases of clairvoyance have been witnessed in our own country. The writer has heard the Revs. W. Rowe and E. Powell—the former of The Ladies' College, Clapham; and the latter of Pontypridd—relate instances that had come under their own observation, and which are quite as astounding as those related by Dr. Maban. But, instead of citing additional cases, let us take our author's undeniable inferences: (1) That there is in nature a medium of communication between mind and mind other than that through which communications are made through the ordinary channels of the senses. (2) Through this occult force, one mind may, when the necessary conditions are fulfilled, control the action of another mind. (3) Through this same force, the mind of the person magnetised, when he happens to be rapport (in mesmeric communication) with any object however distant, and however removed from the reach of the senses, will have a direct and immediate cognition of the same.

Akin to the mesmeric force is 'the odylic, odic, or psychic force, which is said to pervade all bodies in nature, and to possess some properties in common with electricity and magnetism, although it differs fundamentally from these forces in being transmissible through electric and magnetic non-conductors. The physical organisms of individuals of peculiar temperaments become, in some instances, in certain localities, powerfully charged with this force; and when this is the

case, it acts upon other objects, and is re-acted upon by them, as an attractive or repulsive force, objects in many instances, even without visible contact, being drawn towards or driven from such individuals ; or, it may produce rapping sounds on the walls, floor, or ceiling of the rooms they occupy. At times, indeed, the physical system of such individuals is so powerfully affected as to produce total mental derangement.'

Having given several cases in illustration and verification of the foregoing statements, Dr. Mahan proceeds to show that the immediate cause of the so-called spirit-manifestations is none other than that which produces the odylic and mesmeric phenomena. An individual enters a circle and proposes a question to a spirit that is assumed to be present—a question pertaining to a subject about which all in the circle except himself are absolutely ignorant ; but, as he is well aware, a subject about which himself and the spirit supposed to be present are perfectly informed. Now, it is assumed here that, if the correct answer is given, it must have been prompted by the spirit. But is it not more reasonable to suppose that the answer was determined by the mental state of the inquirer ? This is the position taken by the venerable Doctor, and, we think, not without sufficient evidence, as the following considerations will prove :

The so-called spirit-communications take specific form from the known sentiments of the particular circles in which they are given. During a time of great religious excitement in the town of Madison, Geauga, county Ohio, a certain minister, who had taken a prominent part in the revival, became a spiritualist. He soon found a medium of similar religious views, and thus a perfectly orthodox circle was formed. Into this circle some of the oldest and most confirmed Universalists and Infidels were introduced, and—professedly by the spirits of their own deceased friends—were assured that their sentiments were wrong, and that the orthodox view of time and eternity, heaven and hell, was the only correct one. Among others the spirit of a Mr. Branch—a deacon, who, prior to his decease, had for many years enjoyed the esteem and confidence of his neighbours—appeared in the circle, and testified that what is affirmed in the Bible concerning Jesus Christ and future retribution is absolutely correct. A friend of Dr. Mahan's entered that circle and received correct answers concerning the names, ages, and death of her children, although none present but herself knew that she had had children. At length a medium of opposite sentiments was found, and a heterodox, if not decidedly infidel, circle was formed. Here again the spirits appeared—

that of Deacon Branch among the rest—and communications, flatly contradictory to those of the other circle, were obtained in abundance. And thus it is in China (for, according to our author, they have spirit-circles there) the spirits are followers of Confucius; in Siam they are devoted to Buddha; they are worshippers of Juggernaut in Hindostan, and in Christendom they are Catholic or Protestant, Churchmen or Dissenters, Orthodox or Heterodox, Christian or Infidel, according to the complexion of the circles in which they appear.

Similar evidence of the spirit-presence and similar responses can be obtained from the spirits of individuals yet alive, but supposed to be dead, as from those actually dead. A young man from Chicago, who had gone to reside in Cleveland, wrote to inform his friends that he was about to start for St. Louis. For upwards of five months after the reception of that letter nothing was heard of him, and it was supposed that he was dead. The disconsolate mother resorted to the spiritualistic circle, and there learnt—professedly from the spirit of her son—that he had been drowned in the Mississippi. When she got home she was met by her son, who had returned during her absence.

A person of strong will-power can confuse the so-called spirits and even compel them to answer falsely. In this way Dr. H. T. Bigelow, accompanied by N. J. Bowditch, Esq., compelled a 'spirit' to spell out its name, 'M-i-s-e-r-a-b-l-e H-u-m-b-u-g,' and to say that spirits lived on 'pork and beans.' During a visit to Hamilton Mrs. Fish (a professional medium) made many disciples; indeed, it seemed as if all who entered her circles became thoroughly convinced of the reality of the spirit-manifestations. At length, however, ten persons agreed to determine by experiment what answers they could *will* the spirits to give. Accordingly, having fixed upon a series of answers, they decided upon a mode of questioning that was not likely to awaken the suspicion of the medium, and then entered the circle. The spirit which responded to the first inquirer gave his name as 'The Devil,' affirmed himself to have been dead two years, and to sustain to the inquirer the relation of uncle. The next spirit which responded professed to be that of one who was then in the circle, but was said to have died of hydrophobia six months before. At this point some of those in the secret, being unable to restrain their laughter, informed the medium of what had transpired. The circle was broken up immediately, and Mrs. Fish quitted Hamilton the very next morning. On one occasion in Leroy, New York, a circle, composed largely of sceptics, was astounded on hearing from the spirits the solemn affirmation, 'Ye must be born again.' In vain they tried for other answers—

nothing could be obtained during the evening but the startling words of Scripture, 'Ye must be born again.' The medium had just come from a religious service at which this great truth had been powerfully impressed upon her mind.

The Rev. J. H. S., pastor of the Baptist church at Poughkeepsie, N.Y., met, at the house of a friend, with a Mr. L., who expressed his surprise that he, an intelligent and thoughtful man, should believe in the doctrine of future retribution when such palpable evidence to the contrary could be presented. 'Here is a young man now present,' he added, 'whom I will introduce into the clairvoyant state, in which he will have a direct vision of the spirits of the dead.' This was done, and, on being asked what he saw, the young man replied that 'all were happy, very happy.' 'Put me in communication with him,' said the minister, who happened to be a gentleman of strong mesmeric power; and, without speaking a word, he fixed his attention on one of the most depraved characters that had been known in that neighbourhood—a man who had been executed for murder. Soon the young man began to scream. He was asked what he saw. The name of this notorious criminal was given. 'Where is he?' said Mr. S. 'In hell,' was the reply. 'I can't endure the sight of him. Do let me off.' In a similar manner the medium, being in the mesmeric or odyllic state, is one in whom the predominant thoughts of those in the circle are unconsciously reproduced; and, for that reason, they are regarded as responses from spirits outside the circle.

A member of the Bar in Cleveland, well known to Dr. Mahan, having engaged to take part in a public discussion on spiritualism, requested the privilege of witnessing some of the spirit phenomena, in order that he might be better prepared for his task. The first evening was spent in witnessing physical manifestations. The medium, placing the ends of her fingers on the top of a large table standing in the centre of the room, called upon the spirit of a person recently deceased to move it. The table moved. Seeing this, a physician who had accompanied the lawyer, placed a sheet of paper under the fingers of the medium, and still the table moved. Astonished and well-nigh confounded, they left with the impression that some mysterious power, for which they could not possibly account, was undoubtedly present. Next day, however, they agreed, with three of the leading men of the place—one a Congregationalist, one a Baptist, and the other a Universalist—to meet at the spirit-circle. They did so. The Congregationalist was first introduced, and, professedly, the spirit that had moved the table the previous evening responded to his inquiries. In

reply to questions respecting heaven, hell, and eternal retribution, strictly evangelical views were given; and in answer to the question, 'What mode of baptism is correct?' 'Sprinkling' was rapped out. With a pledge of secrecy he was dismissed, and the Baptist was introduced. With a similar pledge of secrecy he, too, was dismissed, and the Universalist was brought in. Lo! the very 'spirit' which had given the preceding responses now denied *in toto* the doctrine of retribution, asserted that of universal salvation, and manifested utter indifference respecting baptism in any form.

A family of spiritualists, well known to our author, became convinced of the error of spiritualism through the reception of a communication from the spirit of a person supposed, at the time, to be dead, but who, as subsequent events proved, was at the time really alive. They still form the circle occasionally, and find that they can control this mysterious power just as effectively as when they believed in the reality of the spirit manifestations. The following is given as the result of their experiments and observations: (1) Any spirits that they choose to call will answer. (2) Any answers that they choose to conceive of and decide upon can be obtained. (3) Nothing can be more manifest to their minds than the fact that they themselves, and not spirits out of the body, control the answers.

And now we cannot do better than conclude in the words of Dr. Mahan:

Such is spiritualism. We have examined its high claims and found them empty and vain. We have handled the spirits, and found them absolute insubstantialities. We have scrutinised the facts set forth as the basis of the system, and found them wholly mundane in their character, and presenting no evidence whatever of a super-mundane origin. Our aim has been a far higher one than the mere overthrow of a dangerous and insinuating system of delusion and error—namely, in the first instance, to lay the foundation for a full and satisfactory explanation of certain mysterious facts in nature and the experience of humanity—facts which have been in all ages very fruitful sources of superstition, religious delusions, and unbelief; and, in the next place, to prepare, as far as may be done in such a connection, for a better understanding of the ways of Providence on the one hand, and of the real claims, on the other, of that Divine revelation which constitutes the last and only hope of fallen humanity.

S. G. B.

III.—THE POSITION AND THEOLOGY OF THE BROAD CHURCH.

NOTHING is more evident from the history of Christianity than the extreme liability of the Church to allow important truths to fall into the background, and to give undue prominence to others. The great religious movements of the past have all aimed at restoring to its rightful position some forgotten or neglected doctrine. Zeal for this doctrine has resulted in giving it too large a place in the Church's teaching, and in throwing others equally important into the shade. In building up one side of the edifice of truth another has been overthrown. To correct these evil effects of excessive zeal, a further movement is originated, and this, in turn, produces similar consequences. One of the most important illustrations of this process in modern times is the Broad Church movement of the Episcopal Church of England. This movement has powerfully influenced the religious thought and life of the present generation. The literature it has produced is, perhaps, as widely read among Nonconformists as among Churchmen. These facts, together with the attitude assumed by the movement towards Dissent, render it a subject of considerable interest to Nonconformists. It will be generally admitted that there have been thinkers of the Broad school more or less in every age and in every section of the Church. It is our province here, however, only to deal with the modern development of this school of thought within the Church of England. It is well known that there are three distinct schools of thought in the English Episcopal Church—viz., the High Church, sometimes called the Anglican, Tractarian, Oxford, or Ritualistic; the Low Church, or Evangelical; and the Broad Church. It will be necessary at the outset briefly to mark off the position of these three schools, in order to place the Broad Church position in clearer outline.

The High Church party regard theology and ritual as of equal importance, insisting on the authority of the Church and priesthood, sacramental grace, Apostolic succession. The Low Church in doctrine is moderately Calvinistic and Evangelical, thinking little about sacramental grace and efficacy. In government they hold to Episcopacy, but rather as expedient than absolutely necessary and binding. The Broad Church may be said to come between the two, and yet is antagonistic to both—antagonistic to the Evangelicals in theology,

though agreeing with them in the main about government ; antagonistic to the High Church in almost everything, especially in relation to the Church and priesthood.

An examination of the special points of disagreement between the High Church and this new party, or section—for they disclaim the name ‘party’—will give us their views in regard to the Church, the priesthood, and kindred subjects.

The Tractarian school looks to the past, and takes authority as its guide. Tradition and Church authority are exalted to a level with the Scriptures. In this way they obtain their theory of the Church, which is regarded as the mediator between God and the individual. In their sense of the term, the Church is the clergy, and is a sort of chartered corporation, by being attached to which any given individual acquires such and such privileges. Broad Churchmen utterly repudiate both this theory and the foundation on which it is built. They reject tradition or authority as a guide, and make ‘conscience, as directed now by the living will of God,’ the basis of their teaching. Their theory of the Church is very clearly stated by Dr. Arnold, of Rugby, the founder of the school :

The Scripture notion of the Church is, that religious society should help a man to become himself better and holier, just as civil society helps us in civilisation. In this simple and Scriptural view of the matter all is plain. We were not to derive our salvation through or from the Church, but to be kept or strengthened in the way of salvation by the aid and example of our fellow-Christians, who were to be formed into societies for this very reason, that they might help one another, and not leave each man to fight his own fight alone.

The Popish and Oxford, or Tractarian, view is denounced as priest-craft, because ‘it lays the stress not on the relation of a man’s heart towards God and Christ, as the Gospel does, but on something wholly artificial and formal—his belonging to a certain so-called society ; and thus it claims to step in and interpose itself as the channel of grace and salvation when it is certainly not the channel of salvation, because it is visibly and notoriously no sure channel of grace ; whereas, all who go straight to Christ without thinking of the Church do manifestly and visibly receive grace, and have the seal of His Spirit, and, therefore, are certainly heirs of salvation. This, I think, applies to any and every church, it being always true that the salvation of a man’s soul is effected by the change in his heart and life, wrought by Christ’s Spirit ; and that his relation to any church is quite a thing subordinate and secondary : although, where the church is what it

should be, it is so great a means of grace that its benefits are of the highest value.'

Nothing could be more emphatic than the concluding passage of this letter, in which tradition and the Oxford theory of the Church are disposed of:

But the simple point is this: Does our Lord, or do His disciples, encourage the notion of salvation through the Church? or, would any human being ever collect such a notion from the Scriptures? Once begin with tradition and the so-called Fathers, and you get, no doubt, a very different view. This, the Romanists and the Oxfordists say, is a view required to modify and add to that of Scripture. I believe that, because it does modify, add to, and wholly alter the view of the Scriptures, that, therefore, it is altogether false and anti-Christian.*

These views were, of course, very shocking to the Tractarians, but will commend themselves as simple and Scriptural to the great mass of Nonconformists.

It will be observed that, in the Oxford view, the Church does not consist of the whole congregation of Christians, but of the clergy, or priesthood, alone. To this false church are ascribed all the powers really belonging to the true Church, with others which do not and cannot belong to any human power. This principle of separation between clergy and laity is rejected by Broad Churchmen, who regard it as inconsistent with what they consider the Apostolical idea of a church. In this, as in other matters, the founders of the school were largely influenced by Coleridge, in whose 'Remains' the following passage occurs:

As far as the principle on which Archbishop Laud and his followers acted went to re-actuate the idea of the Church as a co-ordinate and living power by virtue of Christ's institution and express promise, I go along with them; but I soon discover that, by the Church they meant the clergy, the hierarchy exclusively, and there I fly off from them at a tangent; for it is this very interpretation of the Church that, according to my conviction, constituted the first and fundamental apostacy.

This was selected by Dr. Arnold as the full expression of his own views. Equally opposed are the two parties in regard to the kindred questions of Episcopacy and Succession. Episcopacy is regarded by the High Church party as necessary and binding, by the Broad Church as lawful and expedient only.

Now, to insist on the necessity of Episcopacy is exactly like insisting on the necessity of circumcision: both are and were lawful; but to insist on either as *necessary* is unchristian, and binding the Church with a yoke of

* Dean Stanley's *Life of Dr. Arnold*, vol. II., p. 59.

carnal ordinances; and the reason why circumcision, although expressly commanded once, was declared not binding upon Christians, is much stronger against the binding nature of Episcopacy, which never was commanded at all; the reason being that all forms of government and ritual are, in the Christian Church, indifferent, and to be decided by the Church itself.*

Again, it is argued by the Tractarians that certain Divine powers of administering the Sacraments effectually can only be communicated by a regular succession from those who, as they suppose, had them at first. A succession is required in order to keep up that mysterious gift bestowed on the priesthood which makes baptism wash away sin, and converts the elements in the Lord's Supper into effectual means of grace. These sacerdotal theories are thus disposed of by Arnold:

The meaning of the succession is what one of the writers of the Tracts stated in one of the earliest of their numbers, 'that no one otherwise appointed could be sure that he could give the people the real body of Christ.' And this is a purely priestly and mediatorial power, rendered, according to this hypothesis, necessary to the Christian's salvation over and above Christ's death, and his faith in it—a power which, I am sure, stands exactly on the same footing with circumcision in the Galatian Church; and what St. Paul says of those who required circumcision applies exactly to those who so hold a priesthood.†

It will thus appear that the Broad Church school, while in direct antagonism to the High Church on the questions just reviewed, approaches closely to the Nonconformist position, more closely, indeed, than the Evangelicals, who have occasionally manifested a hankering after Apostolical succession, though unwilling to carry it to its logical conclusion.

There is, we think, indicated by the modern school on these questions a remarkable breadth of view and catholicity of feeling, and an utter absence of that narrowness and intolerant sacerdotalism so observable in the older party. Indeed, the tone of mind characteristic of the Broad Churchman seems to be that which enables a man to take a comprehensive view of the movement of religious thought, to appreciate very diverse schools of thinkers, and to bring to the consideration of all questions which he handles a candid and intelligent judgment. In nothing, perhaps, is this more finely exhibited than in the attitude assumed towards Dissenters, especially when it is remembered that the party advocate a State Church. Dr. Arnold, while confessing himself keenly alive to the defects of Dissenters, as a body, which he affirms are the characteristic fault of the English mind—narrowness of view and a want of learning and a sound critical spirit

* *Life of Dr. Arnold*, vol. I., p. 328. † *Life of Dr. Arnold*, vol. II., p. 204.

—yet avers that this feeling gave him nothing but pain, ‘because no man appreciates more than I do the many great services which the Dissenters have rendered both to the general cause of Christianity, and especially to the cause of justice and good government in our own country.’* It is not surprising that one holding such views should have originated that movement which led to the abolition of all religious tests for admission to the Universities. This right was only conceded to Dissenters by Mr. Gladstone’s Government, in 1871; but so far back as 1834 we find Arnold drawing up and circulating for signature a declaration in favour of opening the Universities to all Dissenters except Unitarians. The arguments adduced in its support are characteristic. The change is advocated because ‘the great truths of Christianity are believed and valued by the great majority of Dissenters no less than by the Church of England; and every essential point of Christian instruction may be communicated without touching on those particular questions on which the church and the mass of Dissenters are at issue.’ And it is believed that Dissenters ‘may be admitted into the universities and allowed to take degrees there with great benefit to the country, and to the probable advancement of Christian truth and Christian charity amongst members of all persuasions.’†

Broad Church theology—styled by Dean Stanley the ‘Theology of the Nineteenth Century’—is antagonistic both to High and Low Church, but especially to the latter. Indeed, in many respects, notably in regard to the Atonement, it is a reaction against Evangelicism, not so much in its purest form, perhaps, as against that coarse, materialistic, degenerate type of Evangelicism that prevailed and still prevails in some quarters. The theological opinions against which Robertson, of Brighton, and Maurice so indignantly protested were, no doubt, current among the mass of Evangelicals—the prayers and sermons of the narrower and more illiterate section of the party fairly indicated this; but we doubt whether they could be found in the writings of any standard authority of the school. And, as is common with reactions, the Broad Church has gone to an extreme in the opposite direction. This, however, is not alarming. Human progress seems to be by a process of reaction. We have a striking illustration of this in political progress both in England and among Continental nations. Periods of activity and progress are followed by periods of apathy and stagnation, which, in turn, produce a reaction in favour of progress and reform. The Liberal and Tory reactions that have been

* *Life of Dr. Arnold*, vol. II., p. 161. † *Life of Dr. Arnold*, vol. I., p. 329.

witnessed in this country during the last decade furnish remarkable illustrations of this principle. So, also, in relation to every other department of progress. History shows that there have been poetical epochs alternating with epochs in which the sense of the beautiful has been almost dormant. Philosophy has had seasons of predominance alternated with seasons of neglect. Literature has alternately flourished and decayed; while, in the well known oscillations of fashion from one extreme to the other, we have a somewhat amusing exhibition of the same process. And religion, as has been already pointed out, is no exception to this rule. Besides its occasional revivals of smaller magnitude, it has had its long periods of exaltation and depression—generations of belief and asceticism following generations of laxity and indifference. It is to be observed, however, that in none of the cases instanced does the reaction bring about a recurrence of exactly the same state. A political reaction never brings round just the old form of things. The Rationalism of the present day differs widely from the Rationalism of the last century. There is noticeable, especially in regard to religion, an upward movement. We go first to one extreme and then to another; but each rebound raises us to a higher level and serves to emphasise and bring into prominence some neglected and forgotten truth. As Tennyson finely expresses it in ‘The Golden Year:’

Ah, tho’ the times when some new thought can bud
Are but as poets’ seasons when they flower,
Yet seas, that daily gain upon the shore,
Have ebb and flow conditioning their march;
And slow and sure comes up the golden year.

Now, it is because we recognise something of this in the Broad Church movement that we cannot be persuaded to go into hysterics over their errors. We believe time will correct many of these errors, and that the movement will contribute no little towards the harmony and due proportions of theological teaching. The aim of Broad Church theology is apparently to exhibit the harmony between human nature and truth, or between the unuttered longings and unformed thoughts of men and the Catholic creed. It seeks to give a living faith to men who cannot receive God through the Evangelical or the Anglican channels, whose minds ask for a belief which will not contradict, but harmonise with the progress of thought and liberty. This is especially true of Maurice’s *Theological Essays*, in which we find comparatively few quotations from Scripture; the writer, having found his own way into truth largely by feeling and conscience, wrote in the belief that men would believe and accept what they found to strengthen their

moral convictions and satisfy their instinctive desires. And here, it may be observed, is to be found the philosophical explanation, the *raison d'être* of the Broad school. God has given to men a double revelation—one external in the Old and New Testaments, the other internal in the human heart and conscience. And, indeed, it may be truly said that the former is valueless without the latter, the inner voice being the necessary interpreter of the outer word. The Bible is a dead book apart from the living intuitions of humanity. Of this truth the Broad Church movement is the distinct assertion; in fact, we may call this the philosophy of the movement. The starting point of Broad Church theology is love; indeed, this seems to be the centre round which everything revolves, the keynote to which the whole system—if it can be called a system—is attuned. ‘It seems to me,’ says Maurice, ‘that if we start from the belief—charity is the ground and centre of the universe, God is charity—we restore that distinctness which our theology is said to have lost; we reconcile it with the comprehension which we are all in search of. Take away the love of God, and you take away everything. The Bible sets forth the revelation of that love, or it is good for nothing. The Church is the living witness and revelation of that love, or it is good for nothing.’*

The burden of Broad Church teaching is, that the world is to be saved by this revelation of love. All that is needed for man’s restoration is the acceptance of this revelation. Hence, we find Maurice condemning appeals to fear in preaching the Gospel. The Kingswood collier or other sinner of the last century was not saved by the preacher dwelling upon the punishment God would inflict if he continued disobedient.

He may have talked of that; but he would have talked till Doomsday if he had not spoken another language too, which interpreted this, and into which the conscience rapidly translated it. He spoke of an infinite *sin*; he spoke of an infinite *love*; he spoke of that which was true then, whatever might become true hereafter. He said, ‘Thou art in a wrong state: hell is about thee. God would bring thee into a right state: He would save thee out of that hell.’

If conversions are fewer in our days, it is because ‘we suppose men are to be shown, by arguments, that they have sinned, and that God has a right to punish them. We do not say to them, You are under a law of love; you know you are, and you are fighting with it.’†

Another distinguished writer of the same school tells us, in a striking sermon on Zaccheus,

It was the manifested fellowship of the Son of Man which brought salva-

* *Theological Essays*, p. 9.

† *Theological Essays*, p. 26.

tion to that house. Learn this: When we live the Gospel so and preach the Gospel so, sinners will be brought to God. We know not yet the Gospel power, for who trusts, as Jesus did, all to that? Who ventures, as He did, upon the power of love in sanguine hopefulness of the most irreclaimable? Who makes *that*, the Divine humility of Christ, the 'Gospel?' More than by eloquence, more than by accurate doctrine, more than by ecclesiastical order, more than by any doctrine trusted to by the most earnest and holy men, shall we and others, sinful rebels, outcasts, be won to Christ by that central truth of all the Gospel—the entireness of the Redeemer's sympathy; in other words, the love of Jesus.*

Now, we recognise in this teaching a great truth, a truth which needed emphasising. Unquestionably, it had fallen too much into the background, and the severer aspects of the Divine character had been too much dwelt upon; the Gospel of love had, to a large extent, been displaced by an unwholesome iteration of the terrors of the law; but in their revolt against this, the Broad school have gone to the opposite extreme; in their zeal for love they have left no place for fear; Scylla has been avoided only to sail into Charybdis. Is it not true that there are numbers who cannot be reached except through the medium of fear? Has fear no legitimate place in preaching? We think Apostolic example, Scriptural injunction, and past experience all demand an affirmative reply to these queries. Dr. Watts, 'all mild and amiable as he was, and delighted to dwell on the congenial topics, says deliberately that, of all persons to whom his ministry had been efficacious, *only one* had received the first effectual impressions from the gentle and attractive aspects of religion; all the rest from the awful and alarming ones—the appeals to fear.'† The contrast so often drawn between the power of love and the power of fear seems to go upon the supposition that a man must be wholly governed by the one or the other. But in most men they both have an influence. Love is, no doubt, the nobler and the stronger motive, and will ultimately be the only motive; but it is only when love is perfected that fear is cast out as no longer required.

In the Broad Church theories of the Incarnation and Atonement Jesus Christ is regarded as the root of humanity. The Son of God, in assuming our nature, does not thereby *become* the head of humanity, but is originally the head or root of the race. Baptism 'imports the belief that this Son of God, and not Adam, was the true root of humanity; that from Him, and not from any ancestor, each man derived his life.' Christ is the representative man, the eternal idea or type of humanity. Hence, being one with every man, all

* Robertson's *Sermons*. First series, p. 84. † Foster's *Life and Correspondence* II., p. 200.

mankind are in Him redeemed, regenerated, justified, and adopted; and, therefore, the office of faith is not to unite us to Christ, and thereby make us partakers of His benefits, but simply to discern Christ as already one with us, and to recognise His benefits as already fully pertaining to us.

In his essay on 'Justification by Faith,' Maurice maintains, when speaking of the Son of God as justified by His resurrection from the dead, that 'this justification of the Son of God was regarded by the Apostle Paul as *his own* justification, not because he was Saul of Tarsus, not because he was a Hebrew of the Hebrews, but *because he was a man*'—that 'Christ's resurrection declared Him to be the Head of man, and His justification accordingly to be *the justification of each man*,' and that 'God, when He justified His Son by raising Him from the dead, *did, in that act, justify the race for which Christ died*; so that it is lawful to tell men that *they are justified before God, and are the sons of God in the only begotten Son*.'*

F. W. Robertson, in his sermon on baptism, makes the following statements:

Christ proclaimed God the Father, man the son; revealed that the son of man is also the Son of God; that man, as man, is God's child. He came to redeem the world from that ignorance of the relationship which had left them in heart aliens and unregenerate. Human nature, therefore, became, viewed in Christ, a holy thing and divine. The revelation is a common humanity sanctified in God. The appearance of the Son of God is the sanctification of the human race.

Now, there was wanted a permanent and authoritative pledge revealing and confirming this. Such a pledge is baptism. Baptism authoritatively pledges to the individual that which is true of the race. Baptism takes the child and addresses it by name: Paul—no longer Saul—you are a child of God, you are a member of Christ, you are an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven. Observe, however, baptism does not *create* a child of God, it authoritatively declares him. And so with faith. Faith does not create a child of God any more than baptism. It does not make the fact; it only appropriates that which is a fact already. Here lies the error, in basis identical, of the Romanist and the Calvinist. Faith is to the one what baptism is to the other—the creator of a fact; whereas they both *rest* upon a fact, which is a fact whether they exist or not, and before they exist—*may*, without whose previous existence both of them are unmeaning and false.†

One of the excellences of Broad Church teaching is the manner in which everything is made to centre in the person of Christ. The absence of this was one of the defects of the teaching of the older schools. But, in giving it special prominence, they seem to have

* *Theological Essays*, pp. 199-201.

† *Sermons*, second series, pp. 54, 55.

fallen into a confusion or identification of His two natures. They appear to aim at establishing such a similarity between the Divine and human natures as to render the perfection of humanity *ipso facto* Divine, and the Divine nature, as existing in the Son, *ipso facto* human. Such statements as that 'Christ is the Son of God just because He is the son of man' admit of no other interpretation. His perfect human nature, according to this view, is His Divinity; His Divine Sonship is the glorification of humanity. Where have we the Scriptural warrant for this philosophical speculation—this mystical blending of our personality with His personality? The Son of God might be styled the type of unfallen humanity, inasmuch as He is the 'image of the invisible God,' and man was created after that image; but, so far from unfallen humanity being 'one with Him,' they are essentially opposite to Him and alienated from Him. The image of God in them has been defaced, and they require to be 'created anew after the image of God in righteousness and true holiness,' in order to be conformed to the Son of God. And, instead of men being naturally in possession of the blessings of salvation, are these blessings not described in Scripture as flowing to them from the active grace of the Holy Spirit, and as the immediate result of personal faith in Christ? It is objected that 'faith does not make the fact of our sonship, but rests upon it as previously existing, and that, without the previous existence of the sonship, our faith in it would be unmeaning and false.' But does this objection not proceed on an utter misconception of the proper function and province of faith? 'In truth,' says Professor Crawford, 'it confounds faith with assurance. To *recognise our sonship*, which, doubtless, implies its prior attainment, is what has usually been called the 'reflex act of faith,' as distinguished from what must be viewed as its 'direct act.' The proper object of faith is, not the fact that *we are sons of God*, but the revealed truth that *Christ is able and willing to make us so*. And the proper office of faith is, not to recognise His benefits *as already actually put into our possession*, but to 'receive and rest upon Him alone for salvation, as He is offered to us in the Gospel, *in order that His benefits may thus come into our possession* by no other than the perfectly simple and intelligible process of trustfully receiving Him with all His benefits for our behoof.'*

The distinctive feature in the view of the Atonement held by the Broad School is the denial of the existence of any objective barrier, in the shape of guilt or liability to condemnation, as opposing a sinner's

Fatherhood of God, p. 167.

return to the favour and fellowship of God. They hold that there is no barrier, except the subjective one of man's own unbelieving, self-willed, and sinful heart, to keep him back from the conscious possession and joyful recognition of his heavenly Father's love. Hence, the sufferings and death of Christ were not intended to expiate the guilt, or to exempt us from the merited penalties of our transgressions, but simply and solely to show us *that God loves us*, and, by that means, to subdue the enmity of our hearts against Him, taking away our apprehensions and suspicions respecting Him, and affording us the strongest assurance 'that there is a bond between Him and His creatures which no rebellion of theirs and no law of His could set aside.'^{*} 'Supposing His death,' says Maurice, 'to be a sacrifice, the only complete sacrifice ever offered, the entire surrender of the whole spirit and body to God : is not this, in the highest sense, Atonement?'† Now, it is doubtful whether Scripture supplies sufficient data for the construction of a complete and satisfactory theory of Atonement. This may be a theoretical, but is not a practical defect. Salvation, in the New Testament, is not made to depend upon the acceptance of a theory, but of a fact, and the appropriation of a person. As a writer in the July number of this *Review* puts it, 'Faith is that spiritual enthusiasm which binds a man to Christ in life-long fealty and devotion; it is the fervid and passionate surrender of the soul to Him; it is the intuitive, practical recognition that He is the perfect embodiment, in life and death, of the righteousness and love of God, revealed in human history in order that man might become a partaker of the Divine nature and have the righteousness of God fulfilled in him also.' While, however, the theory of the Atonement is and will probably remain a mystery to the logical understanding, there are certain principles broadly indicated in the New Testament as involved in the work of Christ, and all we attempt here is to point out that certain of these principles have not received adequate recognition in Broad Church teaching.

Two elements appear to be involved in the work of Christ—one having relation to government, or law, the other to the moral purification of man. The first affords a basis of pardon, by which God can be just and the justifier of the ungodly; the second a means of moral development and perfection in goodness. The first of these, involving the questions of sacrifice and substitution, is the more mysterious of the two, and has given birth to most of the controversy on 'Atonement.' And here it is that the theory under consideration seems to be defective. Passages in which Jesus Christ is spoken of as 'dying for our

^{*} *Maurice on Sacrifice*, p. 200.

† *Theological Essays*, p. 147.

sins,' 'bearing our sins in His own body on the tree,' 'putting away sin by the sacrifice of Himself,' 'redeeming us from the curse of the law by being made a curse for us,' indicate, we think, a substitution other than that involved in Christ being merely the Root and Representative of humanity. That it is legal, literal, and absolute substitution, we cannot believe; and the truth, probably, is somewhere between those extremes, but where exactly we will not here attempt to determine. Again, the view of sacrifice here implied, which makes the death of the victim symbolise properly, duty and privilege only, the highest privilege and the noblest duty—that of self-consecration to the service of God—is contradicted by the universal feeling of mankind. 'And that rite,' as Dr. Rigg observes, 'which not the Jews only, but the whole world, in all its races, has ever held to be symbolical of guilt and punishment, is made to yield a subtle and sublimated sense, which transforms death inflicted and blood poured out into life consecrated, transfigured, and ennobled with a pure and spiritual glory.'*

The Evangelicals and the Orthodox generally have unduly exalted the legal and governmental aspect of the death of Christ to the exclusion of its moral aspect. The Broad Church is in part, at least, evidently a reaction against this onesidedness; but, in its anxiety to give prominence to what it justly considered as neglected, it has fallen into the same error at the other extreme, and ignored, to a large extent, what the Orthodox too highly exalted. On the question of eternal punishment, the Broad school, for the most part, reject the Orthodox doctrine. Here, they contend, the members of the Church of England have perfect freedom. Maurice argues that the meaning of the word eternal must be determined by its meaning when used in relation to God. And as it has in relation to God no reference to time or duration, therefore, in reference to punishment or life, it has nothing to do with time or duration. Nothing like exhaustive criticism can be attempted here; but it may be pointed out that this alteration of meaning throws no new light on the duration of the punishment threatened, or of the life promised. Eternity is not prolonged time, is not time at all, but is that state in which time is not. Then, whatever is eternal is removed out of the conditions of time, and is no more subject to those conditions. It ceases to be affected by succession or change, and becomes immutable and fixed. Hence, while Maurice's definition of eternal precludes us from attaching the idea of duration to the phrase, 'eternal punishment,' he, by that definition, compels us to attach to it the idea of unchangeableness.

We are told by one of Maurice's disciples, in a memorial sermon,

* *Modern Anglican Theology*, p. 371.

that he held that 'all are finally to be brought out of eternal death into eternal life.' But we venture the opinion that this, with him, was an open question. Sometimes his language indicates that he inclined to Universalism; but generally his mental attitude on this matter was a negative one. 'I am sure,' he says, 'that restored order will be carried out by the full triumph of God's loving will. How that should take place while any rebellious will remains in the universe I cannot tell, though it is not for me to say that it is impossible.' The central principle of Broad Church theology—love—has evidently much to do with the views held on this question. The supposed inconsistency of eternal punishment with the love, and mercy, and goodness of the Divine Father is the burden of Canon Farrar's 'Eternal Hope.' Here, as elsewhere, we may see reaction, no doubt caused by the gross, materialistic representations of future punishment that prevailed so largely a few years ago.

In regard to Inspiration, Maurice is more than usually vague. It is difficult to ascertain exactly how much authority he attributed to Scripture. The grand distinction between the Bible and other books, he affirms, is, that it reveals God to men. All questions of infallibility, inspiration, and so forth, are subordinate and secondary. Dr. Arnold had no accurate, precise, sharply-defined theory of inspiration, and probably considered the subject did not admit of one. The Bible was to him an oracle of God, a positive and supernatural revelation made to man, an immediate inspiration of the Spirit; but he did not attempt to define the exact limits of that inspiration. He carefully distinguished between the human and Divine elements of Scripture, making each subject to its own laws, and determined on its own principles. His aim was not to establish certain religious truths, but to study the Book itself, to end in short instead of beginning with doctrine. Doctrine, in the strict sense, as found in creeds, was not his object, but doctrine in its practical and religious side, as bearing on religious feeling and character; and this was all he believed could be found in the teaching of Scripture.

The honesty of Broad Churchmen in subscribing to the Articles of the Church of England is sometimes called in question. But it must be remembered that they accept the formularies of the Church, her prayers, her articles, her creeds, even the Athanasian Creed, and her sacraments, as containing their views. Into these old forms, however, they breathe a new spirit, and claim equally with the other parties to be the true exponents of Anglican theology and the legitimate representatives of Anglican founders. They recognise, moreover, that the Prayer Book was originally a compromise between differing parties, and contend that the comprehension which followed from this com-

promise must necessarily allow of considerable freedom within the Church, as well as latitude in the subscription to her Articles, without involving any intellectual dishonesty.

In summing up our estimate of the Broad School, we repeat that it is a reaction against the narrowness and bigotry, the worldliness and insincerity, and the low standard of Christian life of the older parties. That the reaction has gone to an extreme, we admit; but, in spite of this, the party have done eminent service to the Church and the world. That they have been the means of elevating the religious tone and broadening and liberalising the theology of Evangelicalism is, we think, beyond question. But their work extends far beyond the Church of England. They have communicated a mighty intellectual and spiritual impulse to the Nonconformist churches of this country; while, by shrinking from no test to which Christianity could be put, by advocating and displaying an absolute freedom of thought, yet maintaining their faith in God and in Christ, by boldly facing the intellectual, moral, and social problems of the age, and, above all, by their broad sympathy and world-wide charity, they have saved multitudes from blank Atheism, strengthened in the faith numbers who were wavering, commended religion to the worldly-minded, and inculcated a genuine and lofty style of religious life. We cannot conclude without a parting tribute to the noble men who have figured in this movement. The influence of creeds and schools of thought upon the development of character would form an interesting subject of inquiry; and certainly, if the school under consideration had to be judged by this test, it would take a foremost place. For true nobility of character, loftiness of aim, purity of motive, scorn of meanness, hatred of wrong, passionate longing for the elevation of humanity and the truest Christian chivalry, Arnold, Robertson, Maurice, and Kingsley have few superiors in our own or any other age. All sections of the Church must ever honour the men who have so strikingly identified the name of Christian with the tenderest graces and the manliest virtues which adorn and enrich human nature with the truest faith in God and an ardent devotion to the well-being of men. We think the movement augurs for our common Christianity a brighter and a grander future, when the many warring sections of the Church shall meet on one common platform and work harmoniously together for the world's regeneration. As reformation succeeds reformation, and reaction follows reaction, the Church is ever getting nearer a well-rounded, symmetrical conception of truth, and, as a consequence, is ever growing in that charity which is at once the surest bond and the highest evidence of union.

JOSEPH RITSON.

IV.—JOHN COTTON AND THE PURITANS OF NEW ENGLAND.

THE observances which, in pageant and commemorative celebration, have marked the completion of a quarter of a millennial period since the first English settlement of Boston may warrant the revival of the name and influence of John Cotton even on these fresh pages and amid the stir of our present life. Not only because Cotton Mather was the grandson of the 'Teacher,' but on the grounds of universal esteem and repute during our first century, does the author of the 'Magnalia' exalt John Cotton to the foremost place of dignity and renown in the wilderness settlement. It has long been current in our histories that the New England Boston received its name in compliment to the vicar of St. Botolph's Church in the old Boston when he came hither as a persecuted exile to continue his ministry, leaving a stately shrine of Gothic grandeur and solemnity for a rude tabernacle of mud walls and thatched roof. His son-in-law, Increase Mather, President of the College, wrote, 'If Boston be the chief seat of New England, it was Cotton that was the father and glory of Boston.' And his grandson, Cotton Mather, wrote, 'Boston oweth its name and being to him more than to any other person in the world.' But the records of the Colony Court show that the peninsula received its new name three years before the arrival of Cotton, and, as would appear, before his coming was resolved upon. It would seem rather that the name was adopted in regard to several of the most distinguished of the first company of the adventurers who came from old Boston and had been concerned in its municipal affairs, and who, from sympathy with Cotton's Puritanism at home, were in close relations with him and were instrumental in bringing about his removal hither.

If it be worth the while now to rehearse the story of his life and career, it must be done in a tone and spirit consistent with his own elevation of character, his sincerity and sacrifice, his fidelity in walking by a light less full and clear, it may be, than that by which even the wisest and best of us find it difficult to make our way. The right way of telling the story of a faithful and earnest man is to come as near as possible to what would have been his own way of telling it. In the staple virtues of rectitude the advances of time work no change in standard or substance. Opinions, convictions, scruples, as well as

superstitions, fancies, and errors of judgment, are matters of light and shade in the age and place where our lot falls.

No attainment of wisdom or saintliness in his subject would induce an English biographer of an Englishman to suppress the statement, when it could be truthfully made, as it may be of John Cotton, that he came of an ancient and a good family. The tradition was, that his branch of the family had been defrauded of a fair inheritance. His father, Rowland Cotton, was a lawyer of Puritan views and habits; and the son, who was born in the town and county of Derby, Dec. 4, 1585, was trained and educated under that strict discipline of piety. He entered Trinity College, Cambridge—preferred by all Puritans to Oxford—in 1593, when about thirteen years of age, and became Master of Arts in 1606. He was then made Fellow, Dean, Catechist, and Head-Lecturer in Emanuel College, and by 1608 had attained high distinction for scholarship and character. Here, too, his religious convictions in the school of a rigid Calvinism, and in the direction of non-conformity with the ceremonials of the church, became intensified, though, he says, he tried to resist the searching influence which was working within him under the impression that ‘if he became a godly man, it would spoil him for being a learned one—an old cavil being that religion made scholars turn dunces.’ His institution as the vicar of St. Botolph’s in Boston, when he was in his twenty-eighth year, was objected to and opposed by the ‘irreligious party’ on the ground of his suspected tendencies; but it was brought about by the casting vote of the Mayor, who made the serious blunder of giving it by accident against the candidate whom he preferred. Cotton lived eighteen years childless with his first wife. His second wife was the mother of several children, represented now by many descendants here, among whom are Octavius B. Frothingham and Phillips Brooks, William Everett, and the children of Charles Francis Adams.

There are conflicting accounts of the character and extent of the non-conformity with the discipline of the then established Church of England to which Cotton allowed himself to yield in his ministry. A kindly but still candid reader of his course in reference to this matter will be disposed to recognise then and there, as he will have need to do in some critical occasions in Cotton’s experience in New England, what, perhaps, ought not to be called precisely an infirmity, but rather a lack of firmness and decision of character. He was gentle, yielding, and, to a degree, inconstant. He lacked sometimes ‘the courage of his convictions.’ He was very sensitive to ‘scruples,’ but too ready to mistrust them when a strong or ingenious pleader re-

minded him that they were only scruples. This inconstancy, or lack of firm fibre in him, appears almost disappointingly in his temporising letter to the Lord Keeper, Bishop Williams, who was disposed to befriend Cotton when brought under suspicion of non-conformity. Perhaps, however, in this instance, the gentleness of the prelate touched the tender sentiment of the vicar. But this quality in Cotton was, on some occasions, an enfeebling one. He produced effects upon others which led them to a more decided stand than he himself was at all times ready to abide by. It is certain that, under his preaching and discipline, earnest, unwearied, and rigid, his English parish became largely Puritanical. His people became zealous for reform, for purity, for devout observances, for incessant preaching and lectures; and the repute which his ministrations acquired drew in from a wide neighbourhood in other parishes sympathising persons who wished to partake of his 'holy ministry.' Very many of the early and the more valued of the first comers to this colony came that they might share his instructions. Rumours went out that non-conformity in some of its illegal and odious characteristics was asserting itself in St. Botolph's. It was charged that some communicants went there from other parishes because the vicar connived at their partaking of the Sacrament without kneeling, and at sundry other irregularities. A 'corrupt' man, who had been rebuked for immoralities, went to London and informed against these practices. The silver cross was mysteriously cut away from the royal insignia which adorned the maces borne before the Mayor of the town. This indignity—an anticipation of the act by which our own Governor Endicott afterwards cut out the cross from the King's colours as an 'idolatrous emblem'—was made the subject of a searching judicial inquiry. It did not appear that Cotton prompted or 'connived at' this offence. He was, however, complained against at the arbitrary Court of High Commission for not kneeling at the Sacrament and for other breaches of ceremonial, and proceedings were instituted to bring him before the dreaded tribunal. He was temporarily silenced. Midway in his ministry a severe indisposition led him to make his home for a year with the friendly Earl of Lincoln, the father of the gracious Lady Arbella, the wife of our Isaac Johnson. Here again we see a trace of the relations between the old and the new Boston. Cotton engaged the friendship of the Earl of Dorset to make interest for him with Archbishop Laud, the primate. But that stern foe of the Puritans was inexorable. The answer received by Cotton was, 'that if he had been guilty of drunkenness, or uncleanness, or any such lesser fault, he

could have obtained his pardon ; but inasmuch as he had been guilty of non-conformity and Puritanism, the crime was unpardonable, and therefore he must flee for his safety.' There were many good and faithful men at that time and immediately afterwards who had to meet the same alternative. Of the compelling motive which influenced them a word is to be said by-and-by, for New England will ever be held to the obligation of giving it a fair and full statement.

Cotton, after his score of years' service as vicar, fled, with disguise of dress and name, to London ; for though, as he wrote, 'he had with him the chief and greatest part of the town of Boston,' he was no longer safe from the risk of perpetual imprisonment. In London he had a secret conference with some prominent but less scrupulous ministers, who, while in sympathy with him, practised a feigned conformity, and endeavoured to draw him into the same temporising position ; but with a firmness not always manifested by him, Cotton, so far from yielding, succeeded in drawing some of these 'time-servers' to his side. Hesitating for a while whether to seek a refuge in Holland, Barbadoes, or New England, he was induced to come hither by earnest letters through Governor Winthrop in behalf of the Boston Church, in which were so many of his ardent friends. He arrived in Boston in the ship Griffin, September 4, 1633, being then in his forty-eighth year. With him came two other 'famous' ministers, Hooker and Stone. The former of these went first to the Church in Cambridge. But it soon appeared not to be well that there should be two such 'shining lights' as Cotton and Hooker in close proximity as rivals in the revering admiration of the hard-pressed exile colonists, and so Hooker wisely moved to Connecticut with his flock. Cotton's arrival was hailed with great delight, and on October 10 following he was made, by election and ratification, 'Teacher of the Congregation of Boston,' Wilson being already in office as 'Pastor.' What a presence and a power such a man must have been among the somewhat forlorn but strong-hearted and resolute company of men and women parted from a dear old home, with a wilderness around them to be tamed for a new one, those who occupy the transformed places can but faintly conceive. The responsibility for success or disaster in the stern enterprise rested with a few leaders, whose courage, firmness, and zeal alone could meet the many dire exigencies before them. Nor would it be difficult to prove to a demonstration that those grim and austere qualities in the leaders which exhibit to us the repelling side of their characters and ways were on occasion the most efficient forces for contending with the many threatening perils to which they

were exposed. Religious motives and methods peculiarly adapted to their special design, and in part developed by it and adjusted to it, furnished their inspiration and guidance, giving them nerve and fibre; and John Cotton was, for nearly a score of years, their revered and trusted oracle in sacred things. Though a year-and-a-half after his induction at St. Botolph's he had taken the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, he never bore an academic title here. He appears all through the pages of Winthrop and on our records as simply Mr. Cotton, rarely with the prefix of 'Reverend.' As we shall see, in consistency with the theory of the Puritan commonwealth—a theocracy, whose statute-book was the Bible—he was alike an authority in the affairs of Church and State. Whatever may have been the range and degree of his practical variance in his office at home from the ceremonial and discipline of the Church of England, he here, like Winthrop and all his chief associates, became a decided Congregationalist using free prayer and an order of worship unlike that to which he had been wonted, and adopting, in the disuse of other forms identified with prelacy, the distinctive Puritan methods of church discipline. In noticing how naturally this radical change came in here, it is obvious that it is to be in part accounted for by influences already working in the minds of the exiles which had been gradually alienating them from sympathy with English ecclesiasticism, and for the rest, and this largely, to the circumstances of their isolation and condition. There was no Bishop here to induct ministers, or to qualify candidates for partaking of the Sacrament. The living descendant and representative of the honoured Governor Winthrop, who may be called Cotton's colleague, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, himself an Episcopalian, has put the whole case with equal force, aptness, and brevity, in this plain statement: 'Congregationalism was the best and only mode of planting and propagating Christianity here in old Puritan times. Indeed, the Episcopal annalists of the first churches of their own denomination in the colonies find a constant grievance in the fact that necessity or convenience made them hardly distinguishable in their administration from Congregational churches. Yet Cotton insisted to the close of his life that he was not a 'Separatist,' but simply a 'Non-conformist.' What the distinction in his mind was is soon to be noted. The Boston church insisted upon the same distinction. For this reason Roger Williams refused an invitation to become their minister, as he required that they should renounce communion with the Church of England, humiliate themselves for ever having shared it, and forbid their own members, who might transiently visit their

old home, an occasional attendance on its altars. This the church refused to do.

Mr. Cotton was, by the standard of his time, a profoundly learned man. He could converse in Hebrew, and was a thoroughly classical scholar, having an easy mastery of Greek and Latin. He regularly devoted twelve hours a day to study. He carefully prepared his sermons, but he could preach with facility without notes. His work of preaching, expounding, exhorting, settling cases of conscience, giving counsel on public affairs, and presiding over church discipline would be regarded in these days as of the most exhausting character; yet these were the foremost conditions then of the ministerial office. We read that, as a part of his work, he had once gone through the whole Bible, expounding it for 'doctrines and duties,' and had got midway in a repetition of the task when he died. Besides these labours as the chief representative and champion of the Congregational discipline, he was expected to meet the incessant demands of the controversial spirit of the times in a steady issue of polemical 'tractates' and, what Cotton Mather most inaptly called, 'composures.' From Cotton's pen came the two then standard works for Congregationalism, 'The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven' and 'The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared.' He found a sharp antagonist in the Presbyterian Bayley. His power both of administration and of gentle, conciliatory discipline was shown in moulding and harmonising what, before he came into office, were the incongruous and heterogeneous elements of the church in Boston. There were in it many whose predilections were for the Episcopal forms, and others who had strongly the proclivities of Separatists and Sectaries. Some, too, there were who, fortuitously or compulsorily, were subjects of his oversight, who needed a firm hand to deal with them as hypocrites, backsliders, or loose in principle and life. There were some curious sheep in his flock, and some not easily distinguishable from goats. Yet all the testimony agrees that Cotton was, after the pattern set for him, a faithful, devoted, and eminently edifying and successful minister. He trained a goodly company of men and women in church, and household, and in civil life, to the highest standard then required in character, in piety, in morality, and in the fidelities and services of a difficult style of existence amid exacting conditions. He was himself subjected to a very sharp ordeal before his own brethren—in which even his heart-knit friendliness with Winthrop was strained almost to a rupture—for his course in the so-called Antinomian controversy, raised by Mrs. Anne Hutchinson. The issue was drawn between

those who accepted and lived under 'a covenant of faith' and those who accepted and lived under 'a covenant of works.' In these days, when so many persons seem not at all concerned about being under either covenant, it is hardly necessary to define that issue. But the debating it with equal zeal and acrimony, alike by those who understood its significance and by those who did not, with the consequent distraction, strife, dread, and dismay, came perilously near to wrecking the Puritan commonwealth. Cotton's sympathies and convictions were unmistakably at first with Mrs. Hutchinson and the wiser of her party; but his course in the contention called out alike the strongest and the weakest qualities of his nature. Mrs. Hutchinson exempted him from the censures which she passed upon his brother ministers as 'legal preachers.' She and her party also professed that he secretly countenanced their opinions, and even that they took their 'cue' from him. This he denied with some seeming vacillation, bringing himself temporarily under grave distrust with both parties. Even Wilson, his colleague, and Winthrop were against him, while the young Governor Vane was with him. The strife was painfully personal. Cotton afterwards said, when peace was restored, that he had been grievously misrepresented and his confidence abused. His trouble is all referable to the gentle tenderness and the lack of fibre in his constancy already noted. But he was so painfully worried as to meditate at one time a removal to New Haven. He was invited, in 1642, to attend the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, but declined.

Cotton, unfortunately, had the wrong side to maintain in his controversy with Roger Williams about 'The Bloody Tenent of Persecution,' &c., touching the power of the magistrate over matters of conscience. His antagonist not only had the right side, but also a spirit of pugnacity and an ingenuity and adroitness of fence and keenness of thrust which the mild and timid Cotton had not. Deferring to another place a reference to Cotton's services in civil affairs, it may be noted that his death, as ever in the cases of the faithful and beloved, deepened the sense of his worth and the appreciation of his services. He was in his sixty-eighth year when, on a visit to Cambridge to preach to the students, he took cold on passing the ferry in November, and, though he afterwards preached, was smitten by the disease which brought him to his end on Dec. 23, 1652, three years after the death of his dear friend, Winthrop. He had thought and time for kind and holy partings on his death-bed with the associates of his exile, magistrates, ministers, and fellows in love. He named, for his successor,

Norton, of Ipswich. He ordered his son to burn all his papers relating to the Antinomian controversy, and so extinguished in his heart all memory of strife between those 'who were in Christ.' In the struggling colony, buffeting with its still threatening perils, his death was felt as an appalling calamity—indeed, as a stroke from heaven, which accompanied it with portents. Cotton Mather tells us that, on December 28, his was 'the most grievous and solemn funeral that was ever known, perhaps, on the American strand.' The biographer gives us the following description of his grandfather :

The reader that is inquisitive after the prosopography of this great man may be informed that he was of a clear, fair, sanguine complexion, and, like David, of a ruddy countenance ; rather low than tall, and rather fat than lean, but of a becoming mediocrity. In his younger years his hair was brown, but in his latter years as white as driven snow. In his countenance there was an inexpressible sort of majesty, which commanded reverence from all that approached him.

The question naturally presents itself, What at that precise juncture of time moved such a man as John Cotton, a presbyter of the Church of England (and the question is equally pertinent concerning many others, his brethren, and those of like spirit), to leave the pleasant and fair surroundings of dear old England—ease, security, comfort, luxury, and the demands of a consecrated duty—to transfer themselves to a wilderness, there to encounter 'brute beasts and brute men,' and to meet all the perils and hardships of sea and land, the straits of homelessness, exile, and probable want ? The answer given, even in some stately histories, as well as in many light rehearsals by trifling essayists, is, that they were a weak and morbid set of men, distempered, ungenial, and fanatical, who scrupled to conform themselves to certain decent imposed ceremonies of their mother church—to the wearing of certain clerical vestments, following a prescribed form of prayer and worship, using the ring in marriage, the cross in baptism, keeping a few holy days named after 'saints,' and kneeling at the Sacrament. The inference intended to be drawn from this exposition of motives is, that these scruples were weak and trivial, and that whatever may be granted of tenderness of conscience in such self-inflicting exiles, they showed their lack of all large-minded, scholarly, and generous principles, and deserved all that they had to suffer for their silly punctiliousness and obstinacy. This depreciation of the exiles by negative wholly fails to recognise the positive forces which, working in them and through them, secured a grand triumph. The statement made by the exiles themselves carries us deeper down to

fundamental principles. As in our own light we read and test it, it is something like this :

The dispensation and administration of religion, in teaching, exhorting, and discipline, proceed upon a *common basis of authority*, accepted and acknowledged alike by the minister, or priest, and the people—just as in political and civil affairs and in the administration of the laws, court, counsel, jury, and client all recognise the authority of Constitution and statutes. From that admitted basis of authority the minister of religion addresses, instructs, exhorts, and demands the obedience of the people. Most sensibly do we realise the force of this principle in our own age, when increasing numbers of persons of free and advanced thought have avowedly ceased to recognise any such certified authority on which a minister of religion may address them, taking for granted their believing assent to it and their consequent obligation of conscience to heed its demands. ‘The Church’ and the Bible, which successively represented such an authority to the whole or to parts of Christendom, having been discredited or repudiated in their claims to it, or at least qualified or reduced, or subjected to severe tests of history, criticism, and scepticism, which they fail to meet, no longer serve as once they did for appeal and command. And it must be admitted that, for this loss of organic authority by Church and Bible, the priestcraft and superstition which put them to unfair uses and exaggerated or misapplied their august qualities and sanctions, are proved, by the developments of inquiry, knowledge, and experience, to be largely responsible. The revolt, ‘unbelief,’ and unguided spirit of our age in the direction of religion is the Nemesis of the impositions and credulities of the ‘Ages of Faith.’

Up to the time of the Reformation the Church represented that authority in religion for minister and people. The Church by no means identified itself with the Scriptures, nor did it allow that it must construct or adjust itself by those records. The Church was not the creation of the New Testament, but had a prior existence, an independent sanction. It was an institution largely traditional in structure, authority, organisation, and discipline. Commissioned successors of the Apostles, with authority from the Founder, established and built up a supernatural society, to be perpetuated through all generations, with full powers, under Divine guidance, to adjust it to all the changes, developments, and conditions of the human brotherhood; to define doctrine, to impose creeds, to inaugurate a ritual, to perpetuate a priesthood, and to permeate and subordinate human life in all its relations, individual, social, domestic, civil, and political, by its spiritual and ghostly sway.

Had the Church, so constituted and inspired, kept itself within any decent bounds of consistency with the simple sanctities and the unworldly principles of primitive Christianity, what a sublime and beautiful witness would it have been for all that is holy and benedictive to man as it passed, with its illuminating and consecrating spell, down the ages! But what that church had become and was at the time of the Reformation needs no portrayal here. It was adding to instead of reducing the forces and shapes of iniquity in Christendom. Its hierarchy, its priestcraft, its degrading and crushing superstitions, its legendary falsehoods, its tyranny and thralldom over private and public life, and its whole burden of enfeebling and demoralising impositions had made it no longer tolerable. The most creditable, the only relieving fact which identified what there still was of primitive Christianity in the Roman Church was that protest and reform originated within its own fold. For all who felt the spirit and power of the Reformation the authority of that church was broken. What was to be its substitute? For Englishmen, more than for any other Protestant people, that question awaited a decision. It was for English monarchs and Parliaments to consider and decide. On the Continent the Reformers found their sufficient substitute in the Bible. Those who came to be known in England distinctively as Puritans committed themselves to the same substitute stoutly and without reserve or temporising. But they were impeded and withstood. The question, then, was, How far should the work of reform go? Should it be thorough, or partial? English monarchs and Parliaments were for a hierarchy, a ritual and an ecclesiastical discipline, together with the Bible. Had the issue concerned merely such a church as could be defined and certified by the New Testament Scriptures, the Puritan party would have been content to combine that with the Bible. In Cotton's time there were no such organised fellowships as 'Dissenters,' though there were gatherings of 'Sectaries and Separatists,' so called, skulking in obscure conventicles about the realm. Cotton and his fellows, of Puritan principles, considered themselves as members of the Church of England, their 'dear mother,' and as entitled to have a voice in deciding its constitution and discipline. They wished the work of reform and purification to be thorough to the extent of renouncing and removing from it every element and ingredient which had been introduced into it by Rome. It was enough for them to know the mark of Rome upon anything in it to warrant its being pronounced a corruption. Parliament undertook to provide for the people of England a vernacular Bible and a composite church,

which, in construction, rites, and discipline, should not be held strictly to seek its pattern in the New Testament, but should indulge itself in an eclectic use of 'primitive customs' and 'patristic authorities.' Here was a question of more or less, and its decision must needs be wholly arbitrary. The grievances of the Puritan party were, that the Reformation was arrested midway in its work; that some inventions were still retained and some impositions were still exacted which had no more basis or warrant in the Scriptures than had others which were repudiated; that unscriptural canons were devised and put in force; that more stress was laid upon the externals of rituals and ceremony than upon the essentials of piety and holiness in character and life; and, finally, that some things and observances which were confessedly 'indifferent' were enforced by harsh laws, inquisitorial processes, arbitrary tribunals, fines, and gaols. The Puritans made a distinction, and a very sharp one, between 'a true Protestant Reforming Church of England,' as under Grindal, and 'a Romanising faction in the Church of England,' as under Laud. They saw that some things were retained in their church with an aim for compromising and to conciliate the Romanists, and they complained that what was thus left in the church and its services and designed 'as a *bait* for Papists was used as a *hook* for Nonconformists.' They said that it was not their mother Church, but some of their meaner brethren 'that turned them out of doors into the wilderness.' They wished the English Church to pursue the same thorough course as that of the Reformed churches on the Continent.*

In thus insisting that there should be a clean sweep of all 'the rags and remnants' of Popery, it was perfectly natural that the Puritans should commit themselves wholly to the Bible as their sole admitted authority and rule in religion. Learnedly and ingeniously,

* That the principle on which Cotton and the Puritans planted themselves against everything in the institution and discipline of the English Church which was extra-Scriptural, and of arbitrary, human device, was, as the lawyers would say, a point well taken, was fully proved by what followed. The then small body of Puritans extended into the Nonconformist body, stiffened and steadfast under severe persecuting measures; and then, when perfect toleration was gradually secured to them, became the body of Dissenters, now dividing the realm with the Establishment, and making disestablishment the sure result of the near future. And this triumph of substantial Puritanism has been realised, while the English Church has been enriched by all the Roman endowments made over to it by Parliament, and by compelling the Dissenters to divide with them all ecclesiastical burdens besides bearing their own. Nor did the ejection of 2,000 Nonconforming ministers in 1662 avert this tenacity and extension of the Puritan principle. Meanwhile, as if to make good the Puritan objection to the Establishment as a half-way compromise with Rome, there has been a strong current from it Romeward of the priesthood, nobility, and people, seeking more of the old ecclesiasticism.

with pain, and zeal, and persistency, did they master—better in letter than in spirit—the sacred Scriptures. To them it was an inspired, infallible, divinely-written, and, beyond measure, precious book; and, what was its crowning quality, it was intelligible to all who read it, more by the heart than by the mind. Their great divine, Dr. John Owen, had uttered for them this oracle: ‘They who hold communion with the Lord Jesus will *admit nothing, practise nothing* in the worship of God but what they have His warrant for.’ So they brought everything, literally and searchingly, to the test of Scripture texts. Clearly and emphatically is the proof on their side, with this as the only umpire and arbiter. When they subjected what the English Church retained of the old Roman hierarchy and priesthood, in its system of ‘orders,’ to this test, they found that in the Christian Scriptures, and the ministry there recognised, ‘priests’ were done away, set aside, and that only ‘teaching ministers’ were recognised. Jesus Christ was the one, only, all-sufficient priest, mediating with God for His disciples. They found no warrant whatever for ‘three orders’—bishops, priests, and deacons—in the ministry. The *deacons*, whose appointment they read of in Acts vi. 3, were evidently laymen of age, repute, and known gravity, chosen to administer charity, and not fledglings for the ministry, though nothing hindered their preaching or exhorting. As to the identity of Scripture *presbyters*, or *elders*, and *bishops*, one ‘Scripture’ satisfied the Puritan. He read (Acts xx. 17, 28) that ‘from Miletus Paul sent to Ephesus to call the elders (*πρεσβυτέρους*) of the church,’ and that when they had come he addressed them thus: ‘Take heed to yourselves and to the flock over which the Holy Ghost has made you overseers (*ἐπισκόπους*) ‘bishops,’ &c.’ Thus there was more than one such minister in a single city, and he was called both an elder, or presbyter, and a bishop. So Cotton drew the inference ‘that Scripture bishops were appointed to rule no larger a diocese than a particular congregation.’ The same Scripture test was applied by the Puritans to all the devices and forms which ‘ceremony-mongers’ sought to impose in Ritualism, to ‘clerical vestments,’ or ‘habits,’ and to altar observances. Thus the Puritan urged that, in the primitive Apostolical fellowship, it could not be pretended that Peter or Paul, in their public religious exercises, slipped out into a robing-room to make a change in their vestments; that they observed Christmas, Good Friday, or Saints’ Days, made use of the cross in baptism, knelt at the Lord’s Supper, or instituted Bishops’ Courts. As to the choice between prescribed forms or free prayer, the simple reading of the Acts of the Apostles

made it evident to them that, wherever an occasion of social prayer was mentioned, there was an outpouring of devotion in spontaneous utterances suited to the occasion and the scene. At any rate, they knew of no 'collects' for such occasions left by the Apostles. As the leading Puritans were thoroughly scholarly men, peers in professional learning of the 'Prelatists,' they could trace the entrance and adoption of every extra-Scriptural and post-Apostolic element into worship and discipline, and could refer to the fond credulity of a beguiled people, the clinging to such inventions, as if they had other than a human device or origin. Milton's lofty rhetoric made free scorn of the contents of the 'drag-net of tradition.'

Another consideration, which had a profound practical importance to the Puritans in their insisting that the Church of their love and fealty should be thoroughly reformed and brought to the pattern of Scripture, was this: The religion of England, whether it should be Roman or Protestant, involving the alternative as to which party should take its turn for dungeons and the stake, was contingent for more than a hundred years upon what might happen to be the religious training of the sovereign. The three children of Henry VIII., when coming to the throne, had personally decided that alternative in different ways. Elizabeth had coquetted with all the marriageable princes of the Continent. If she had succumbed to the small-pox, the Scottish Mary would have turned the tables in England. The Jameses and the Charleses were pliable and temporising, crooked and untrustworthy. The Puritans observed that the old faith was imbedded in the affections and fancies of an ignorant and credulous people by many associations with trivial superstitions. These were to be rooted out, when there was opportunity to do so, in a way that should make it difficult to restore through them the old priestly sway. The tender and gracious sentiments which we, in retrospect, connect with the semi-religious and semi-secular festivals, games, and traditional observances of Old England did not wear that charm to the Puritans; their characteristic grimness and austerity were intensified and made more repelling by their enforced hate of things which we see now in their attractive aspect. In much the same way the tourist on the Rhine is beguiled by the romantic beauty of the old, gray, ivy-clad, and now dismantled castles, forgetting what they were under the bloody hands of feudal tyranny. These suggestions may account for and explain, if they do not justify, the exiling of themselves by John Cotton and his brethren from their university training and their ministries in the Established Church of England, and their instituting

here, under their freedom and the stress of circumstance, so different a form and method of religious administration and discipline.

Cotton was equally a power here in Church and State, which, indeed, largely through his influence, were one. He was emphatically what is called a political minister and preacher. He was the clerical head of the Puritan Commonwealth. A very suggestive matter here presents itself for brief reference. Much has been written, alike in banter and in a caustic vein, about the assumption and exercise of an overawing clerical authority by the body of men in New England of which Cotton was so conspicuous a representative. They dictated, overrode, withstood opposition in civil affairs; they brought it about that magistrates exercised only a secondary and subordinate jurisdiction; they proposed or overruled legislation. It is indeed true that they did all this. But the grounds on which this power was temporarily conceded to them must be candidly recognised. It was not in the main from any personal prestige, or any official arrogance or assumption. The basis of the Puritan Commonwealth, as of the Church, was the Bible; and the Puritan ministry derived its whole authority in civil affairs from their learning and skill in 'opening' the Scriptures,—a common rule for them and for the people—a tribunal to which the people could compel them to defer. The meeting-house was also the court-room. We touch here a point which has scarcely found due recognition in all that has been uttered on this fruitful theme for censure and satire. The broadest possible distinction must be drawn between the basis and method of the influence exercised by the original Puritan ministry of New England upon the one hand, and, upon the other, everything associated with the sway of a priesthood and with spiritual, ghostly despotism. Whatever else they were, Cotton and his brother divines were not *priests*; they assumed and employed no such mediatorial official functions, conferred by 'holy orders,' as those claimed boldly by the Roman Catholic clergy and occasionally advanced by Episcopal ministers. They repudiated everything suggested by or associated with that, to them, hateful title or office. Stern and searching as was the rule exercised by our original ministers in New England, not a single instance can be designated in which any one of them, on any occasion, demanded private confession or pronounced absolution, or personally enforced any measure of church discipline except backed by, and as the mouth-piece of, the covenanted fellowship to whose watch and ward the individual had committed himself. The spectacle would have been a unique one of a Puritan Church member seeking absolution from his minister, or dreading his threat of exclusion from heaven.

As the Puritans read the Gospel sentences in which the Head of the Church committed to his immediate Apostles 'the power to bind and loose,' to grant or deny forgiveness of sins, they considered the prerogative to be strictly limited to those on whom it was conferred, to be exercised as strictly within the bounds set by the Giver. They never claimed that the awful prerogative was in those terms transmitted to them as preachers and pastors. Their shrewd English good sense would have withheld them from appropriating to themselves the pledge in the same sentence, that 'if they ate any deadly thing, it should not hurt them.' Not venturing to try the experiment, they were content to restrict their office to the functions of teaching and the pastorate. They had no system of exactions and fees for distinctive priestly services in baptisms, marriages, funerals, and masses for the dead. In Church discipline the minister was but one of the brethren. He could not put a subject of it under probation, excommunicate him, or deprive him of any Christian privilege. He was not even a minister except for the service of the individual congregation which asked the service of him. Instead of relying upon an Apostolic succession, he reverted to the commission of the Master. Great as were the sway and the prestige of the New England Puritan ministers, they had but two supports, neither of them priestly, official, or functionary. One of these was his personal character, pure, blameless, demanding respect and confidence. The other was ability to certify and demonstrate by the Scriptures all that he taught or required. Those to whom he ministered accepted literally the august sentence of St. Paul, that each Christian man represented to himself and for himself the two highest functions of a self-ruier in civil and sacred affairs—he was himself 'a king and a priest unto God.'

The ministry of Cotton furnishes an admirable illustration of what has been said, both in the office which Winthrop assigns him as 'Teacher of the Congregation of Boston,' and as a power in civil affairs. If ever he had regarded himself as a 'priest,' he left that character behind him on the other side of the ocean. He became here one of the brethren. He was like them, clerical or lay, a husband and a father, living an open life of neighbourliness and friendliness with those around him; not austere, not assuming; beloved for his virtues, esteemed for his fidelity, and deferred to for his skill in 'opening' the Scriptures. It was simply and solely on this last-named quality that all his influence in civil affairs and over the legislative administration of the colony proceeded, because the magistrates and freemen deferred to the rule of the Scriptures as the fundamental authority. So, when per-

plexing and contested questions were referred by the court, as often they were, to the judgment of 'the reverend elders,' it was precisely as when, in our own day, our legislature and executive ask the advice of 'counsel learned in the law.' Cotton brought with him from his old parish and established here a 'Thursday Lecture.' It was a marked occasion in our early days. Magistrates and people from a wide neighbourhood assembled. It was made 'mercate day.' The scholars were let off from their tasks. Condemned criminals were executed upon it, having first been taken to the meeting-house to hear the lecture. The secularity of the day enabled Cotton to enlarge the compass of his preaching to secular subjects; but his range, his advice, and his precedents were to be none the less conformed to what he could show was 'the rule of Scripture.' And his hearers kept a sharp watch upon him, following his references by means of Bibles in their hands, and often taking notes, of which many are extant. Cotton seems also to have introduced, in 1634, the custom, perpetuated to this day, of preaching a sermon on the annual election of governor and magistrates. On the first such occasion, meeting a temporary popular restlessness against the permanency of office-holding, he showed, of course from the Scriptures, 'that a magistrate ought not to be turned into the condition of a private man without just cause.' In the same year the influence of Cotton was largely instrumental in securing Boston Common to posterity. The people had chosen a committee composed 'of the inferior sort,' leaving off the magistrates, for the division of the town lands, for fear that the rich would be favoured against the poor. The magistrates resented this, and a new election was ordered. In preparation for this, Cotton showed, in a sermon, that 'among the Israelites,' elders and magistrates were the 'proper persons' for sharing in the adjustment of such matters. So the Common was saved. Again, in 1644, a sharp contention arose between the magistrates and the representatives of the people whether the magistrates, as a Standing Council, had power, in the recess of the General Court, to act in all necessary cases arising for which there is no express law provided, '*there to be guided by the Word of God,*' till the Court gives particular rules. This question was referred for consideration 'to the elders.' The answer, given through Cotton, was 'Yes.'

Thus the influence of the early ministers of New England in secular and civil, as well as in religious affairs, divested of all ghostly and priestly functions, was simply that of men furnished with the best learning of their time, blameless, faithful, and exemplary in character and life, and skill in 'opening the Scriptures,' under the rule of which

they and the people made up 'a godly commonwealth.' That there were ministers in the immediately subsequent generations who, through their official character, were stern, dictatorial, arbitrary—though never priestly—in their parishes is undeniable. But what, in general, the sum and method and fruits of their influence were, the household purity, the domestic fidelity, the family discipline, the industry, thrift, and steadily increasing prosperity of the scattered settlements of the Bay and its sister colonies may be asked to testify. Any one who is well read in New England history can appreciate the mission of the four Johns—John Wilson, John Cotton, John Norton, and John Davenport—and their brethren in the wilderness. It would be invidious to set in contrast with them and their ministry those who, with the order of the priesthood, held similar contemporary relations in the colonies of Virginia and Maryland, where the Established Church had authority. Let the candid pages of Blair, Hawks, Chace, Perry, and other Episcopal historians be examined for information on this matter.

INTERNATIONAL REVIEW.

V.—THE DIVINE SONSHIP OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

AN ESSAY, BY E. ILLINGWORTH.

Read at Doncaster before the Ministers' Association of the Hull District.

IT is said that St. John wrote his Gospel for the double purpose of arresting the errors of Gnosticism and of placing on a firm basis the dogma of the Divine Incarnation. If by Simon Magus Gnosticism was originated, by Cerinthus it was considerably developed. Cerinthus was a contemporary of St. John and a resident in the same town. His leading tenets were not many. The visible world had been made, not by the Supreme God, but by a Demiurgus, an ancient emanation, which, having degenerated, it was necessary to control by the *Eon*, Christ. Jesus was naturally and entirely the son of Joseph and Mary: the *Eon* descended on Him at His baptism, and left Him at His apprehension.

During the latter half of the first century Ephesus was one of the most highly-favoured of cities. There, for the space of about three years, the greatest of Apostles had set forth Christian doctrine; and as he was leaving Asia under a strong impression that he should never return, when about thirty miles off he sent for the Ephesian Elders, and, in language of the uttermost tenderness, solemnity, and dignity, he gave to them his final charge, commanding them to take heed to themselves and to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost had made them bishops. Afterwards St. John, the most contemplative, the most philosophic, and the only surviving one of the original twelve, took the oversight of this favoured Church. On his being summoned to Rome as one of 'the impious,' on his being cast into a cauldron of boiling oil and coming out unscathed, on his banishment to the lonely, desolate Isle of Patmos, on his fleeing from the bath in an almost nude condition when the noted heretic Cerinthus entered, and on the reiteration of his brief sermon, 'Love one another,' we need not dwell.

The doctrine of the Divine Incarnation has been rejected by almost all great heresiarchs. The Jewish authorities, the Scribes, Pharisees, and Saducees, not only rejected the doctrine, but they caused the Master to be put to death for asserting it. As they were the first great sinners, they have suffered most and suffered longest, as a consequence. Amidst indescribable cruelties Jerusalem had been destroyed; of the

magnificent Temple which had been forty and six years in building, not one stone remained on another; while such of the people as survived were scattered to the four winds, their descendants being to this day homeless wanderers, all for setting at nought the central doctrine of the Bible.

But, apart from every form of ancient heresy, it was needful that there should be a Fourth Gospel. The Synoptists had not given sufficient prominence to the Saviour's higher nature. As the principal fact of revelation, as the only solution of numerous problems, as the direct way of man to God, it was needful that the dogma of the Incarnation should be placed before the world as lucidly and conspicuously as possible. It was well for the Church and the world that the beloved disciple had not suffered a violent death, and that he survived to write his Gospel, 'that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that, believing, ye might have life through His name.' We venture to affirm that no rational exposition of this Gospel can be given on the supposition that the term, 'Son of God,' refers to the human nature. Would it not be strange indeed for any one to assert that he had written a book to vindicate a dogma which he had never mentioned? With no other Gospel than John's, the idea of the miraculous conception could probably never have been more than a speculation, could never have become a clear, well-defined, necessary part of the creed of the Church.

The Divine Sonship is the theme of the entire Gospel. There is not a chapter, scarcely a paragraph, in which it is not either asserted or implied. Repeatedly it is formally stated, and from an indefinite number of facts, miracles, discourses, controversies such only are given as illustrate or imply the idea of the Saviour's essential divinity. Jesus is the Son of God both nominally and really; nominally as to His human nature; really as to His Divine nature. His human nature was a miraculous, creative production; His Divine nature is of the substance of the Father by an inconceivable and ineffable generation. Without the shedding of blood there could be no remission of sin, and the Cross depended for its efficacy on the person who was to be crucified. It is fair to infer that the death of a mere man was not sufficient to atone for sin and to bring a lapsed world back to God. There could have been a miraculous conception without an Incarnation, a holy man without the assumption of the human nature by the Son of God. Both the Saviour and His Apostles appeal constantly to His heavenly original, to His having descended into the world, to His proper Divine relationship as the only valid, necessary evidence of

His superiority over all other teachers, and as constituting the perfection and climax of the gifts of God.

Paul and John are the two ablest and most lengthy writers of the New Testament, and neither of them ever mentions the miraculous conception. Their writings imply the necessity for such a conception, but they never formally state it. Yet these are the writers who most clearly, fully, and constantly speak of the Sonship, surrounding the term with every epithet which implies essential subsistence, and with every attribute of God.

No just and candid exposition of the first chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews can be given which does not allow that the term Son applies to the Saviour's higher nature. And, beside the express language of St. Paul, how often does he call God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Now, these terms, Lord Jesus Christ, do unquestionably denote the whole of the Saviour's person. In ancient times 'Christ' was a descriptive term; the imperfect high priests of the Old Covenant were anointed with oil. But the changeless, perfect High Priest of the New Testament was anointed measurelessly with the Holy Ghost; and, as connected with Him, Christ, the anointed, is a proper name. Jesus, means the Jehovah-Saviour, and denotes both His essential nature and His official position. No man, howsoever conceived and guarded from depravity, could be a Saviour of sinners. In rescuing the lost, restoring the lapsed, raising the fallen, guiding the perplexed, guarding the endangered, and quickening the dead, wisdom, power, beneficence, and a presence are required which infinitely surpass human capacity. And the term Lord unquestionably denotes absolute divinity, infinite, everlasting authority. As, then, God is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and as these terms denote the whole of His person, the higher nature as well as the lower, Jesus, according to the teaching of St. Paul, must of necessity, as to His divine nature, be the Son of God. The teachings of the Fourth Gospel on this question are as the sun shining in his strength. We will take the leading personages in their natural order, the Baptist, the Evangelist, and the Master, and notice a few of their implications, their explicit statements, and especially the assumptions and self-assertions of Jesus.

The Baptist was a prophet of the higher order. Like his great prototype, he challenged the nation's position, summoned the people with conscious imperiousness to repentance and amendment of life. Standing by the Jordan, or amongst the many waters of Enon, he baptised myriads of people, evermore reminding them that his was a poor baptism, and that a richer baptism was at hand. He had started

from his wilderness home with the clear understanding that the Messiah, who was to come to him for baptism, would be distinguished by unmistakable signs from heaven. When the Son of God came to dwell on earth in a body of flesh there were numerous supernatural attestations. An angel appeared to Zacharias, to Mary, to Joseph, and a host appeared to the shepherds. The Baptist was to see the Holy Spirit, dove-like, descend on the Christ. As a historic fact, however, more was granted to John than a sight of the descending Spirit. The voice of the everlasting Father was heard declaring, 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.'

In what sense John understood Jesus to be the Son of God may be easily inferred from his teaching, and from his sense of his own nothingness in Jesus's presence. It may be deemed strange that John should continue to baptise after hearing this unequivocal testimony to the Saviour's supremacy. Why he did not lay down his commission at the feet of Jesus we cannot now undertake to say. His continuing to baptise amidst waning popularity caused a dispute one day, which issued in an appeal to himself. A Jew, who had probably been baptised by one of Jesus's disciples, held a controversy with the disciples of John on the question of baptism. What were the specific points in dispute does not transpire. Baptism was one of the most ancient and common of Jewish customs. From the manner in which John's disciples place the matter before him, it is proper to infer that the Jew had been insisting on the superiority of the rite as performed by Jesus. There seems to be a tinge of petulance and jealousy in them. They insinuate that Jesus is indebted to John for a favourable public notice, are so ill-mannered as to begin with a nameless 'He,' and seem desirous to ascertain whether there be any latent jealousy in their Master's heart. On merest report, and with a shade of exaggeration, they say, 'Rabbi, He that was with thee beyond Jordan, to whom thou barest witness, lo, He baptises, and all come to Him.' Fine, noble natures cannot be seen to advantage excepting when there is some risk to reputation or to interest. John's answer to this fretfulness is one of the noblest on record. Scores of thousands of people had been baptised by John. For a brief period he had been the best known and most popular man in the country. And now his disciples, though they intended it not, give him warning that his official term is drawing towards the end, that the infinitely greater Baptist than himself had already begun to construct the outworks of His kingdom. Then it was that the last and greatest of the prophets gave his final prophetic utterance, 'A man can receive nothing excepting it be given him from heaven. Ye

yourselves bear witness that I said I am not the Christ, but I am sent before Him. He that hath the bride is the Bridegroom, and the friend of the Bridegroom, who stands and hears the Bridegroom's voice, rejoices greatly. This my joy is, therefore, complete. Him it behoves to grow and me to become less. He who comes from above is over all. He who is of the earth speaketh of the earth. He who comes from heaven is over all. And what He hath seen and heard He testifieth. He who receiveth His testimony attesteth that God is true. For whom God sent speaketh the words of God, for God giveth not the Spirit by measure. The Father loveth the Son, and hath given all things into His hand. He who believeth in the Son hath everlasting life; but he who refuseth to believe in the Son shall not see life, but the anger of God remaineth on him.'

Here the antithesis is complete. The Baptist and all men are from the earth, of the earth, and speak of the earth. By this trinal use of the term earth does John emphasise the lowness, the meanness of man's original. On the other hand, the Son is from above, the Lord, the Owner of the Church, the Heir, Inheritor of all things, in whom, if men refuse to believe, they are to abide under the wrath of God, and to sink into everlasting darkness. When, therefore, John said, 'I saw and bare record that this is the Son of God,' he meant by Son the internal, essential, everlasting subsistence and essence, the Divine Pleroma, which St. Paul declares to be 'the fulness of the Godhead bodily.'

It was not only by teaching, but also by feeling, that John indicated the Son's supremacy and infinity. No sooner does the Son appear than John feels the power, the charm of His presence. At one bound he comes from his mountain height into the deepest vale. On the Son he makes no demand. Instead of sternly requiring fruits meet for repentance, in subdued tones he says, 'I have need to be baptised of Thee, and comest Thou to me?' The difference between the baptising with water and the baptising with the Spirit is this, the Water Baptist is of the earth, and the Spirit Baptist is the Son of God, the Lord over all, blessed for ever, who has condescended to be made flesh that He might become the Saviour of men.

Turning now to the testimony of the Evangelist, it is altogether pleasant to think of the aged John sitting down to disclose the treasures of his memory, to examine the contents of his mind, to select the choicest things it contained, that he might send them forth as vindications and declarations of his Master's Godhead. Scholars, most erudite, believe that the Gospel and first Epistle were written together,

and that together they were sent on their divine mission. The similarity in sentiment at the opening of each can escape no student. The first three verses of the Epistle most unmistakably teach the doctrine of the Divine Sonship; while the opening of the Gospel is like the great luminary burning in a cloudless sky. How raptured must the heart of John have been when he had written his golden poem—raptured because he had written it—raptured because it was true. The Platonic philosopher told Augustine that the first eighteen verses were worthy of being written in letters of gold. Here are sublimest sentiments in sublimest language, 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. All things were made by Him, and without Him was not one thing made which has been made. In Him was life, and the life was the light of men. That was the true light, which lighteth every man coming into the world. He was in the world, and the world knew Him not. And the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld His glory, a glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth.' In what other language could John have more clearly declared that Jesus, as to His internal, essential nature, is the Son of God. The *Λογος* was in the beginning, the *Λογος* was God, the *Λογος* made the world, in the *Λογος* was life, in the *Λογος* was light, and the *Λογος* the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth, was made flesh and dwelt among us. This is supremely grand. There is nothing else like it in literature. Far away back, antedating all worlds and things, in the profundities and eternities, the *Λογος*, the life, the light, the only begotten Son, was in the bosom of the Father; thence, coming forth, He condescended to be born of a woman, born under the law, for the redemption of men.

In perfect unison with this is the poem of the Catholic epistle, 'That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled concerning the Word of Life. For the Life was manifested, and we have seen, and testify, and declare to you, the Life the eternal, which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us, that which we have seen and heard we declare unto you, that ye also may have fellowship with us; and our fellowship is with the Father, and with His Son Jesus Christ.' Here, in the short space of three verses, John says, 'We declare unto you that which was from the beginning with the Father, the *Λογος*, the Life, the eternal life, His Son, Jesus Christ. Here is all but the formula, 'Eternal Son,' the eternal *Λογος*,

the eternal life, the Father's Son. By no legitimate process of reasoning can this conclusion be avoided.

The term *μονογενής*, is used nine times in the New Testament, thrice by Luke, once by Paul, and five times by John. At Nain it was the widow's only son who was raised from the dead. At Capernaum the ruler's only daughter was restored to life. The young man tormented by that pertinacious demon was the only child of his father. By faith Abraham, says Paul, offered Isaac, his only begotten son. *Μονογενής* is found five times in the writings of John, and it always refers to the ineffable relationship existing between the first and second Persons in the sacred Trinity. Jesus himself uses the term twice, and John three times.

The introduction to the Gospel is of surpassing grandeur, and all the significant and comprehensive terms which the Evangelist uses are absorbed by this *Μονογενής*. The glory which Apostles saw—the glory radiating from His Person in all He said and did, the tone of His voice, the majesty of His bearing, the Divine charm of his presence, the superhuman potency ejecting devils, healing diseases, raising the dead, as well as the glaring, blinding light that covered the Mount of Transfiguration, all was as of the only begotten of the Father. 'No one hath seen God at any time,' says John—'the only begotten Son which is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared Him.' God, the supreme Father, the fountain of Deity, dwelling in light which is unapproachable, no man hath seen, or can see; but the only begotten Son, who is for ever towards the bosom of the Father, hath revealed, explained, declared Him. What no saint, no seer, however gifted, can do for a moment, the Son hath been doing eternally. No language can more plainly imply that there is an essential difference in essence between the Son of God and all men.

The term *Μονογενής* was twice used by Himself. No man was ever better paid for risking his reputation than Nicodemus. The great difference existing between the Son of God and all men is made prominent in every conversation and controversy of the Gospel. Nicodemus was a master in Israel, a recognised religious authority, and believed, no doubt, as other intelligent Jews believed, that there was a Divine Son, sole begotten of the Father. He comes to Jesus prepared to acknowledge His heavenly commission, also, if need be, to dispute with Him on moral sentiments touching human nature. Curious, critical, accustomed to weighing the contents of sentences, he staggered on the very threshold of the kingdom of God. Puzzled, perplexed about the second heavenly birth, he sat in silent astonishment while

the infinitely greater Rabbi than himself pulled aside for a moment the heavenly screen, permitting him to have one brief glance into the inner recesses of the heart of God. We can imagine with what astonishment he would gaze at the Master as the Master unfolded the principal mysteries of His kingdom. He was told that no one not born again spiritually could enter into the holy kingdom; that it behoved the Son of man, like the brazen serpent of the desert, to be suspended on a tree; that God had so loved the world as to give His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life. Of the miraculous conception Jesus said nothing, and most certainly Nicodemus knew nothing. Of any Sonship arising from this peculiar circumstance the Jewish Rabbi was wholly ignorant. That He was a Teacher come from God, Nicodemus had no doubt, since the signs and wonders done by Him far transcended human capacity. But the Divine power with which He wrought miracles was not more clear, more decisive, than the Divine authority with which He spoke. His high discourse, His serene majesty, His incidental reference to His ubiquity, His quiet assumption that all heavenly things, as well as all earthly things, were perfectly known by Him, would prepare the half-sceptical, half-believing Rabbi for the reception of the most important and mysterious truth which revelation contains. That the holy everlasting Father would ever appear on earth in human form had never been intimated. But that a Divine person would so appear, seeking to save the lost race, had been repeatedly the burden of prophecy. And now this blinded, solitary, timorous Pharisee is told that prophecy has been transformed into history, that the Person he has come to see is at once the Son of God and the Son of man, and that whosoever believeth in Him shall not perish, but have eternal life. Under these circumstances, and with these surroundings of any other than a Divine Sonship, Nicodemus could not have the remotest conception.

If, as a few do, we were to lower the sentiment, to reduce the Sonship to the humanity of Jesus, what should we get? A Biblical solecism, a figure of speech. The sweetest verse of the Gospel would lose its charm. The golden fruit would fall from the tree of life, and instead of a verse which declares the ineffable love of the Supreme Father towards the lost race, we should have ambiguity and unmeaning sentimentality.

In no proper sense can God be the Father of anything human. In no other way than by creation and adoption can men be sons of God. There must for ever be an infinite difference and distance between God

and all creatures. The idea of a gradation from nothing to the Deity is absolutely baseless. As much as the tiniest insect, the archangel is a creature, and subsists in God.

As to His human nature, Jesus is not so much the Son of God as Adam was. If Jesus had no father, Adam had neither father nor mother. It is because of this that St. Luke calls Him the Son of the Highest. By creation, therefore, Jesus is not the only begotten Son of God. And then, again, if the term *Μονογενής* referred to this phase of Sonship, how could the gift of such a Son indicate the measureless love of God? Had not many sons of God previously laid down their lives in His service? Would the gift of a man, howsoever conceived, indicate infinite compassion? Sink down, *τον υιον αὐτοῦ τον μονογενῆ*, to the human level, and the verse loses its power to attract and elevate. But the verse refuses to be thus degraded. It challenges all legitimate criticism, and defies every attempt to denude it of its full justness of meaning. It is the Gospel *in nuce*. It is for ever the clearest evidence of the infinite love of the Father, who spared not His own Son, His proper Son, the Son of Himself, of His own eternal, essential essence. Four times, then, in the fourth Gospel is Jesus called the only begotten Son; and though the mode of generation is not known by us any more than the mode of the Divine existence, that no more makes against the transcendent truth revealed than the million other mysteries scattered through the universe make against the truths those mysteries contain. If, because we cannot understand a thing, we should not believe it, our faith in many things is very much too comprehensive. If men were to give up taking food till they could explain the process of transmutation from food into flesh and bone, the world would soon become a desert. The only relevant intention of Jesus must have been to declare that the Son given was essentially Divine, and therefore a proper expression of the Father's unfathomable love.

It has been said sweetly that 'One shining with the glory of the only-begotten of the Father, but clothed with the poverties and infirmities of man, has walked before us in power and weakness, in majesty and woe, that He has come close to us and drawn us close to Him, has touched every chord of our hearts, secured our implicit trust, and become the object of adoration and love, that He has hung upon a cross, sunk into the grave, has risen, ascended, and is gone.'

The egoism, or self-assertion of the Lord Jesus, as the Son of God, is made manifest in almost every chapter of the fourth Gospel. There are occasions when self-assertion is not only becoming, but necessary.

If the Son of God could dwell in a human form, He could not merge His divinity in the human nature. There could be no fusing, no blending of the two natures. When God speaks He must speak as God, whether it be with a man's tongue or with His own. God incarnate must of necessity be as pure, as wise, as powerful, as rich in mercy as God incarnate. The Son of God could veil His majesty by assuming human habiliments, but in no sense could He lose or weaken His distinct, divine, personal consciousness. It was as natural and relevant that He should commonly and ordinarily speak of God as His own Father as it was that He, without hesitancy, without perplexity, without difficulty, and without failure, should immediately heal every form of disease and cast out every devil. As the body of flesh could not interfere with His power, so it could not interfere with His consciousness. Whether *ενσαρκος*, or *ασαρκος*, His words and works must be such as properly belong to God.

It being, therefore, natural for the Son to speak and act with divine authority and power, as it is for man to walk, to talk, to think, or for fish to swim, or birds to fly, there can be nothing surprising in His first reported utterance. 'Thy father and I,' said Mary, 'have sought Thee sorrowing.' It seems as if we could hear Him soliloquising, 'My Father seeking me sorrowing! Know ye not that I must be about my Father's business.'

The egoism, or self-assertion, of the Son of God, as a matter of course, appears wherever He appears. When with Nicodemus, it is 'Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God.' When with the woman at the well, it is, 'Whosoever drinketh of this water shall thirst again, but the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life.' To the disciples it is, 'I sent you to reap that whereon ye bestowed no labour.'

But the speciality about this egoism is, that the constant use of 'I,' 'my,' 'me,' 'mine,' with the terms, 'Father,' 'my Father,' and 'Son,' unquestionably indicate, and are intended to indicate, the glorious and eternal Trinitarian relationship existing between the first and second persons in the Deity. It can scarcely have escaped the notice of even a careless reader that Jesus was anxious for both His disciples and the Jews generally to understand and believe in this Divine unity, this ontological reality; and all who saw and heard Him, and remained in a state of unbelief, were charged with obstinacy, and with preferring darkness to light.

The fifth chapter of this Gospel is peculiarly valuable and precious.

Jesus came up from Galilee to Jerusalem to a feast of the Jews. Near the sheep-gate there was a pool with medicinal virtues, on the margin of which five porches had been built for the convenience of the afflicted. When Jesus appeared, the porches were full of sad cases. Amongst them there was a man who had been ill near forty years. To this poor miserable one, probably the worst case, Jesus said, 'Arise, take thy bed and walk.' As the man marched through the streets with his couch, he was charged with breaking the Sabbath. Having just lost his old troubles, he was immediately involving himself in new ones. Making the best defence he could, he left his couch at home and went to the house of God, probably for the double purpose of giving thanks and of showing the authorities that he was not altogether impious, though he had broken the Sabbath. So soon as he knew who his deliverer was, he informed the authorities that it was Jesus who had made him whole. It is altogether probable that Jesus and the man stood together before a portion of the Sanhedrists, Jesus as the principal culprit, and the man, to repeat, if need be, his original statement. Here, then, is Jesus, for the first time, before the Sanhedrim, and the charge is Sabbath-breaking. He had made a man whole, and told him to carry his couch home on the Sabbath-day. He, the eternal *Λόγος*, the sole-begotten of the Father, and they, the guardians of the peoples' morals and of the Divine laws! The blind Sanhedrists, who were not prepared to receive the Son of God in a human form, how were they to be led to see the connection, the relationship, between Him and the primal source of things? Only God can make a man who has been forty years ill perfectly whole in a moment. The miracle they were willing to forget; but the order which He had given the man, to carry his couch on the Sabbath-day, they boldly held before Him. He, however, refers to the work, and in such a way as to make it a most trifling thing. 'My Father worketh hitherto, and I also work.' His Father worketh always, and He also worketh always. The little incident which transpired by the pool side is not the trillionth part of what He does every Sabbath-day. These Sanhedrists immediately apprehended the significance of the expression, 'My Father,' gave to it the highest possible meaning, understood Him to assert that God was His own proper Father, and that, therefore, He was equal to God. Their apprehension was correct, their inference just; and it would have been well for them if, instead of charging Him with blasphemy, they had reverted to the necessary connection between Divine work and a Divine Person. Had they been desirous, they might have seen clearly the connection between His

words and His works. His essential nature must always take precedence of His created nature. The Son of God cannot speak like a man; a man cannot speak like the Son of God. Of the same essence, possessing the same power, doing the same work, He must naturally and necessarily say, 'My Father works, and I also work always.'

What must these Jewish magnates have thought as they listened to the following declarations? In the most solemn and emphatic manner, and with a rhetorical phase of surpassing grandeur, passing from the first to the third person, He delivered a number of magnificent sentiments, every one of which was based on the essential unity and equality of the Son and Father. The charge was of a specific action done in a moment of time, and the answer is, that the Father and Son work jointly, unceasingly, perpetually. Besides the little deed done by the pool side, myriads of Divine actions had been done that day in every sphere of the universe. 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, the Son does nothing of Himself, nothing but what He sees the Father do; for whatsoever things the Father does, these in like manner the Son does. The Father loves the Son, conceals nothing from the Son. As the Father raises the dead and quickeneth them, even so the Son quickeneth whomsoever He will. The Father hath committed all judgment unto the Son, that all men should honour the Son even as they honour the Father. He that honoureth not the Son honoureth not the Father who sent Him. Verily, verily, I say unto you, the hour is coming, and now is, when the dead, the spiritually dead, shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live.' Can it be surprising that the prejudiced, blind Sanhedrists sat speechless, astonished, stupified? There, standing before them, is a person charged with breaking one of their Sabbatic laws, and in sentiments of massive grandeur, He tells them of His essential oneness with the Father, raises the whole question of Divine work, and asserts that whatever has been done, is being done, will be done on the earth, in the heavens; has been done, is being done, will be done by Himself and His Father. The hills and mountains must stand, the rivers must run to the sea, the sun and moon must shine, the stars must glimmer, the planets must range through space, the earth must annually be covered with vegetation, angels, and men, and beasts, and birds, and fishes must subsist, yea, the vast universe itself must subsist by the power of the Father and of the Son.

The sixth is the hardest, the most rugged, and forbidding chapter of the Gospel. Four times over does Jesus tell a congregation in the Synagogue at Capernaum that they must eat His flesh and drink His

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blood ; that, unless they eat His flesh and drink His blood, they would have no life in them. Twelve times over in this chapter does He call Himself the Sent of the Father, the Bread, the True Bread, the Living Bread, which came down from heaven to give life to the world. The relation of the Sender being the Father, the Sent must be the Son. The *Λόγος*, the only-begotten of the Father, having taken human nature into closest personal union with Himself, could give His flesh for the life of the world. The Divine nature could give the human ; but the human nature could not give the Divine. Order, eternal order, reigns throughout the universe. The lower cannot give the higher ; the inferior cannot give the superior. The servant cannot give the master ; the son cannot give the father ; the body cannot give the soul. The Son of God could, as the son of man, give His flesh, His blood for the life of the world.

It is not uncommon for carnal, literal, rationalistic persons to be religiously dull, slow to apprehend spiritual things, quick to misconceive, quick to take offence. The Jews, grossly literal, wanted to know how this man could give them His flesh to eat, and how He, being the son of Joseph and Mary, could have come down from heaven. Some of the disciples also, dim of perception, realistic, took offence and went away. To His unsteady friends Jesus said, 'What and if ye shall see the Son of Man ascend up where He was before?' Here almost every word is emphatic. Not less than about a dozen times in this one discourse does Jesus say that the Father has sent Him, and that He has come down from heaven. Nor was this repetition unnecessary, for Jewish hearts were slow to believe, and the truth taught was of transcendent importance. As they had not seen, they were unwilling to believe that He had come down from heaven. And they had not enough clearness of perception, not enough generalising and logical power to see that He who could with five loaves satisfy six thousand people with food, to whom it was of no consideration whether He trod on rock or on foam-crested waves, whose voice the winds heard and obeyed, from whose presence devils fled in dismay, must be the Heir, the proper Son of the Supreme Father. It would seem as if no claim could have been too high for His self-vindicatory works. The Son of God in His own world ! He exercised unlimited authority and power, and when His transcendent claims staggered the faith of His disciples, He wanted to know what they would say if they should see Him, as the Son of Man, ascend up where, as the Son of God, He was before—before His descent, before His assumption of flesh, before David sang His Psalms, or Noah built his ark, or Abel offered his sacrifice, or the angels sang the world's birth-song ?

When some of the disciples were leaving Him and others were shaken in their allegiance, Jesus said to the twelve, 'Will ye also go away?' Peter, as on another great occasion, answering for all, said, 'Lord'—yes, Peter, to-day, in the highest, holiest sense, it must be 'Lord'—'Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life. And we believe and are sure that Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.'

Of any Sonship arising from the miraculous conception it is hardly probable that Peter had any knowledge. At this phase of His life Jesus seems never to have hinted. It may be safely assumed that the disciples had no suspicion of their Master's parentage. The Sonship here confessed was one of which Joseph knew nothing, of which Mary knew nothing, of which the human race could have known nothing excepting by revelation—a Sonship on which the Church should be based immovably, a Sonship high, holy, inscrutable, and ineffable.

By the Egoism, the self-assertion of the eighth chapter, the Jews, at one of their national gatherings, were maddened to frenzy. 'I am the Light of the world. I know whence I come and whither I go. If I judge, My judgment is true, for I am not alone, but I and the Father that sent Me. If ye had known Me, ye would have known my Father also. I go My way, and ye shall seek Me and die in your sins. Whither I go ye cannot come. Ye are from beneath, I am from above; ye are of this world, I am not of this world. I have many things to say and to judge of you. If ye continue in My word, then are ye My disciples indeed. Verily, verily, I say unto you, whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin. I speak that which I have seen with My Father. I proceeded forth and came from God. If a man keep My saying, he shall never see death. Your father, Abraham, rejoiced to see My day, and he saw it and was glad. Verily, verily, I say unto you, before Abraham was I am.' The chapter contains puzzling, perplexing paradoxes. The Jews were and they were not the children of Abraham. They were and they were not in a state of freedom. He, not fifty years old, how could He have seen Abraham, or how could Abraham have seen Him? Judging everything according to the flesh, how could they understand Him? It was with the Son of God that Abraham pleaded for Sodom. It was the Son of God who told him his children should be as innumerable as the stars. It was the Son of God who told him that in his seed should all nations be blessed. Abraham saw His day not merely symbolically and prospectively, but temporally and really. Abraham was eminent enough as a servant; but a servant, a seer, a prophet,

however eminent, could not make men free, internally, externally free. But if the Son, the sole-begotten, the *Λογος* shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed. This freedom, this eternal deliverance is the work to accomplish which the Son was sent into the world; for if God has given to us eternal life, this life is in His Son. If, therefore, the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed. In truth, it may be said that the one aim of Jesus in all His controversies and conversations was to induce men to believe that He was from God, of God, the Son, the proper Son, and that, as such, He had come to bestow all the treasures of heaven on such as should become His disciples.

The ninth chapter is mostly narrative. Jesus, passing from the exasperated Jews, gave sight to a person who had been born blind. The man's neighbours carried him before the authorities, and the matter was judicially investigated. The miracle could not be denied; but they said, as it had been wrought by an unknown sinner, God must have the praise. To the brave-hearted man this was both strange logic and strange theology. Till that day he had never seen his mother's face; and for that pleasure was he to believe he was indebted to a sinner? For the favourable idea he had of Jesus, he was excommunicated, cast out of the Synagogue. Jesus, finding him, said, 'Dost thou believe on the Son of God?' He answered and said, 'Who is He, Lord, that I might believe on Him?' And Jesus said unto him, 'Thou hast both seen Him, and it is He that talketh with thee.' It was, then, the Son of God who had given him sight; and, as the Son of God, the man worshipped Him.

The majestic, natural, necessary self-assertion of the tenth chapter is profoundly impressive. In twenty-five verses Jesus uses the first personal pronoun about sixty times. Placing Himself in front of the human race, He tells us that there is no possible way to the Father but by Him. He says, 'I am the door. I am the Good Shepherd. The Good Shepherd layeth His life down for the sheep. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it up again.' For simplicity, for depth and fulness of meaning, for sublimity of sentiment, it may be said that the chapter is unsurpassed even in this unique Gospel. It is hardly possible to read the Saviour's magnificent utterances without both seeing and feeling that they are based on the essential union existing between the Father and the Son. What human being could, under any circumstances, say, 'As the Father knoweth me, even so know I the Father.' As the relationship is that of 'the Father,' the correlation must be that of 'the Son.' Not, to be sure, the Son of

Mary, of David, of Abraham, but of God. This knowledge absolutely indicates an internal, essential oneness of nature, of plan, and purpose. In majesty, in fulness, in comprehensiveness, what could surpass the Divine saying, 'I and the Father are one?' Thou, Father, hast sheep. Thou hast given them to Me. To them I give eternal life. No one can pluck them out of My hands. Thy hands are Mine; My hands are Thine. I and the Father are one.

The eleventh is one of the most pathetic of chapters. A tender friendship existed between Jesus and the family at Bethany. He had done great things for thousands of persons whom He never called 'friends;' and now 'our friend Lazarus sleeps,' is dead. 'But I go that I may awake him.' The timorous disciples were afraid of their Master venturing again and so soon among the infuriated Jews. Perfectly calm would their tremulous hearts have been had they known in whose mighty presence they marched up and down and athwart the country. Poor, disconsolate ones, had they not heard Him say of His life, 'I lay it down of Myself; no man taketh it from Me'? The hour and the power of darkness could not be a result of the plottings and chicaneries of men. Unbelief is prolific enough of paradoxes. He was going up the country that He might raise his friend Lazarus from the dead; and they were trembling for Him lest His own life should be taken. As yet their faith in Him was dim, indistinct, inconstant. And so, together, they march towards Bethany: He fully conscious of Divine, absolute power and prescience; they timid, tremulous, hesitant, cast down: He to work the greatest, the most brilliant miracle of His incarnation under the eyes of His adversaries in the precincts of their city!

Martha met Him as He entered the village. 'Lord,' she said, 'if Thou hadst been here, my brother had not died. But I know that even now whatsoever Thou wilt ask of God, God will give Thee.' 'Thy brother shall rise again,' said Jesus. 'I know,' said she, 'that he shall rise again in the resurrection at the last day.' To which Jesus replied substantially, 'I am the resurrection and the last day; what I shall do then, I can do now. I am the resurrection and the life: he that believeth in Me, though he were dead, yet shall he live, and whosoever liveth and believeth in Me shall never die. Believest thou this?'

When Jesus, standing at the mouth of the cave with His disciples, the two sisters and their friends, said, 'Take ye away the stone,' Martha immediately interposed, 'Lord, by this time he stinketh.' 'Said I not unto thee that, if thou wouldest believe, thou shouldest see the glory of God?' Jesus had previously informed His disciples that

Lazarus had died, that God and the Son of God might be glorified thereby. To Martha He said the same, though now she is interfering with His work. Blessed indeed were the eyes and ears of those persons who stood there that day. The nation was doubtful, hesitant, desiring, and yet afraid to believe. The greater part of the officials had from almost the first been in deadly antagonism. The very disciples could not always believe that the only proper Son of God had come down from heaven to be their Master. 'I go,' He had said, 'that I may awake him.' And now all stand by the side of the cave. There, behind the stone, lies Lazarus, swathed in many a fold of linen. In sympathy with the sisters and with the world in its woes, He had groaned and wept. And now the sisters are to be made glad, and the Son of God is to be glorified. Lazarus, He called, come hither out; and he that had been dead came forth—an indication, a vindication of the Divine power and Godhead of the Son. Lazarus had been permitted to die that the Divine filiation might be made clearer. The death and resurrection of Lazarus were indisputable. Was it to honour, to magnify the miraculous conception that Lazarus was called back to a second life? Scores of times did Jesus say and imply that He came forth from God, down from heaven, that He was in the Father, that the Father was in Him, that He knew the Father as the Father knew Him, that He and the Father were one. To any other phase of sonship He never referred. He left the common notion, that he was the son of Joseph, uncontradicted. No one needed to be told that He was a man. Every one needed to be told that He was God. Is it not beyond measure absurd to suppose that He marched up the country, raised His friend from the dead, to glorify a mystery which He never published? Only one conclusion is relevant, is indeed possible, that Lazarus was raised from the dead to declare, to honour the inscrutable, ineffable, the high, holy, everlasting descent of the proper Son of God.

The fourteenth chapter of this Gospel is peculiarly impressive. In many a form of words had Jesus told His disciples that His life would end tragically. And now the last evening had come. He washed the feet of His disciples, ate of the paschal lamb, instituted the sacred Supper, plainly telling them that He gave His blood for many for the remission of sins. They could not fail to see and feel that the crisis was at hand. Judas, in pursuance of his fell purpose, had gone out. Jesus and the eleven, saddest of mortals, were left alone. All their hopes of a splendid kingdom, of occupying the first seats therein, were melting away. But now, when the darkest night of their life

and of the world's history had arrived, He turned to them, and in words of heavenly sweetness, He said, 'Let not your heart be troubled, trust in God, and trust in Me. In My Father's house there are many mansions; were it not so, I would have told you! I go to prepare a place for you. And if I go to prepare a place for you, I will come again and receive you to myself, that where I am ye may be also.' He was about to leave them, but He would not forget them. With them, He had taken care of them; away, He would prepare them a place. He had shown them that He was Master of all things here, of winds, of waves, of disease, of death, of unclean spirits, and of spirits clean. And now He intimates that of other worlds He is Master, of the various mansions, dwelling places of the blest, homes of the perfectly purified scattered through infinite space. Of this large, boundless house of His Father's He is the heir and heriter. And though He was about to die by violence, He would not have His disciples believe that He was driven away. 'I go,' He says, 'up into the great house of My Father; I go and I come again.' He, the sole begotten of the Father; He, who owned and made whatever use He pleased of the universe; He, who foresaw all things, to whom nothing was an accident or surprise, might well say to the weak, tremulous disciples, 'Trust in God and trust in Me.' The difference is infinite between conscious weakness and conscious power, between dependence and omnipotence, between location, limitation, and ubiquity. When Thomas said, 'Lord, we know not whither Thou goest, and how can we know the way?' as before, when Martha said, 'I know that my brother shall rise again in the resurrection at the last day,' Jesus said immediately, 'I am the resurrection and the life, I am the raiser, I am the life giver.' So now He says to Thomas, 'I am the way,' the truth of the way, the life of the way. If ye had known Me, He continued, ye should have known my Father also, and from henceforth ye know Him and have seen Him.'

Who does not sympathise with the men who had to receive such lessons? Who does not admire their slowness, their reluctance, their desire for visible certainty? Jesus spoke of 'Me and my Father,' and Philip asks to see the Father and avows that then both himself and his fellow Apostles would be satisfied. Have patience with these men; for if Sir Isaac Newton spent eighteen of the best years of his life in finding out the great law of gravitation, shall we not readily grant to the Apostles a sixth of that time in which to find out an infinitely greater law of gravitation, the secret of secrets, the profound mystery of godliness, the unique truth that the Son of God had condescended to be made flesh? How kind, loving, and gentle is the answer, 'Have

I been so long time with you, and yet hast thou not seen me, Philip? He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father; and how sayest thou, then, show us the Father? Believest thou not that I am in the Father, and the Father in Me? . . . Believe Me that I am in the Father, and the Father in Me, or else believe Me for the very work's sake.' Sure, such a demand had never before been made on human faith. Let it be remembered that He who made the demand was sitting in their midst, clothed with the frail palpabilities of flesh; that He had just washed their feet and eaten of the paschal lamb. To us the words of St. Paul come with irresistible force: 'The brightness of His glory and the express image of His person;' but no such words came to them. To Paul had been granted what could not then have been granted to them. Paul, on the Syrian plain, had seen the Son of God in a cloud of blinding glory—had also been caught up into the third heaven, the Father's great house of many mansions—had seen bright angel forms, and heard their songs of praise—had seen the Son of God sitting on His throne of mercy in glory and majesty ineffable—and had then been let down to earth to preach the Gospel, to found churches, to write incorruptible truth, and to become the bold, daring, self-denying hero known to history. But Philip had seen no such blazing glory, no such ineffable majesty. Philip was with a Person who wept and walked, who slept and prayed, and whose Divine lineaments were concealed by the dim coatings and surroundings of flesh. Philip's request is an indication that faith is a plant not easily reared, slowly and with difficulty brought to perfection. But what is clear to us is, that the idea, the assumption of the Divine filiation, the close, eternal, inscrutable relationship existing between the Father and the Son underlies all these sayings, transparent as a sea of gold.

In all literature there is nothing more melodious than this chapter. Though He was going away, He would be still working for them. He would not only prepare mansions for them, but He would hear their prayers and grant their desires. Nay, He declares in words of surpassing kindness and condescension, that both Himself and His Father will make their abode with every one who loves the Son and keeps His word. In all these sayings the assertion is strong and clear of a Divine personality with them; of a Divine personality, in some sense, not with them; a plurality of persons in a oneness of nature; an everlasting Father, and an eternal Son.

VI.—MODERN BRITISH METHODISM.*

THE welcome presence at our late General Conference of the fraternal delegates from the British Wesleyan Conference, the Rev. William Arthur, A.M., and the Rev. Frederick W. M'Donald, and also of the Rev. Wallace M'Mullen, the fraternal delegate from the Irish Wesleyan Conference, awakens fresh interest in the relations subsisting between American and British Methodism. Although one in doctrine and in spirit, there is a wide distinction between them in organic form; the British and Colonial Wesleyans having the Presbyterian form of church government, while the chief body of American Methodists is episcopal.

A great religious convocation like that recently in session at Cincinnati furnishes a fit occasion for reviewing the processes and events which have resulted in such a wide departure of British Methodism from the oft-repeated views and intentions of Mr. Wesley, a review which may be of some substantial value to those reformers in the Methodist Episcopal Church whose chief grievance therewith is its episcopacy, and whose apparent mission it is to write and talk our Church into the same anomalous ecclesiastical condition as that which is now occupied by our Wesleyan brethren in Great Britain.

It is often asserted by our Protestant Episcopal friends that Mr. Wesley, from the first to the last, was an ardent, loyal, and even intense Churchman—a fact which his spiritual descendants in England have dutifully and persistently repeated, and in view of which they have refused to be called 'Dissenters,' though departing more and more from the forms and orders of the State Church. The American Methodists, remembering also that their great leader was an Episcopalian, and many of them believing that he was a bishop in his own right by immediate inspiration and providential ordering, have established the order of bishops in their section of the Church of God, whose chief ministers may trace their apostolic succession from the most apostolic man since the apostolic age, and through him may, if they choose, claim connection both with the Greek and the Latin hierarchy, which two grand divisions of Christendom have fostered and enlarged that historic delusion, namely, an unbroken official succession of bishops from St. Peter, the first bishop of Rome.

An opening up of this subject in the light of the facts ought not to be displeasing to our brethren across the ocean; and in view of the

* From the American *National Repository*.

outcome of the recent council for the organisation of an ecumenical Methodism, it may call out such further discussions as will result in a larger degree of unity and a more perfect historic consistency among the various branches of the great Methodist family.

‘By whom was this cemetery consecrated?’ asked Dean Stanley of the old sexton of the burial-ground at the City-road Chapel, London.

‘By the bones of that holy man, that servant of God, John Wesley,’ was the reply.

If the reverend dean were to change the form of his question, and ask the British Conference, ‘By whom was this body of ministers consecrated?’ they could not answer after the manner of the old sexton and say, ‘By the hands of that holy man, that servant of God, John Wesley, and his successors.’ Such an answer to that question could only be given on behalf of the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

There can be no reasonable doubt that Mr. Wesley intended an episcopal form of government, both for the British and the American conference of Methodists. Why else did he ordain a ‘superintendent’ for each of them—Alexander Mather for Great Britain and Thomas Coke for the United States? If it be replied, Mr. Wesley ordained ‘superintendents’ and not bishops, and that he himself was a ‘superintendent’ and not a bishop, the burden would be on the respondents to show what actual difference there was between Mr. Wesley and his ‘superintendents’ on the one hand, and the bishops of the English Church on the other. The only differences readily observable are such as grow out of unsupported tradition and State Church politics, thus leaving the great substantial fact undisturbed, that a bishop is a ‘superintendent,’ and a ‘superintendent,’ such as Mr. Wesley or Thomas Coke, is a bishop. If it is objected that Mr. Wesley declared that no man by his consent should call him bishop, the answer appears on the surface of the subject. If Mr. Wesley chose to forego, for the sake of peace, the enjoyment of that titular distinction, and advised his ‘dear Frankie’ in America to do the same, he showed thereby a degree of sagacity, as well as humility, which renders him all the more honourable, and proves him more fit for the bishopric which for years he actually held. Mr. Wesley never says, ‘*I am not a bishop,*’ a statement which in five words would have changed the whole complexion of his sayings and his doings, and the absence of which, with such abundant testimony in favour of his actual episcopacy, as shown by his ordination of deacons, elders, and ‘superintendents,’ leaves such a burden of proof on those Presbyterians who call themselves Wesleyans

as seems very much to oppress them in their efforts to defend their position.

The Rev. Alexander Mather, whom Wesley ordained in 1788 for the work of a 'superintendent' in Great Britain, was one of the most apostolic men, a man of whom it is said in a memorial notice in the minutes of the British Conference, 'His wisdom and experience, his courage and perseverance, rendered him an invaluable friend to our connexion during some late troubles under which it suffered. He was never intimidated by any fear of calumny from pursuing those plans which he conceived to tend toward peace and union of the societies. His noble soul was elevated above the momentary opinion of a party. He looked only at the interests and glory of the Redeemer's kingdom, and waited for his reward in a better world.' Such was the man chosen by Mr. Wesley as his official successor, and whom he ordained to the office above that of elder, which office he was pleased to designate as that of 'superintendent,' thus translating, instead of transferring, the Greek word which, in the New Testament and everywhere else, stands for the highest order in the ministry.

The loyalty of the arch-Methodist to the State Church of England gave him no small trouble in the management of his great body of itinerant preachers. It was a high distinction for a British labourer or tradesman to be 'set up to preach.' It gave him almost the position of a 'gentleman,' the only element wanting to this social dignity being the regular ordination to the ministry. In England, in Mr. Wesley's time, the system of caste prevailed to a greater degree than can well be conceived of by us democratic Americans; the common clergy joined on to the small end of the nobility, and among the Wesleyan preachers there was a constant temptation to seek for orders as a means of acquiring this social distinction. A considerable number of Wesley's most prominent and successful co-labourers were lost to him in consequence of the success of their ambition in this line; and the urgency of the demand of his followers for some form of ministerial designation became too strong to be resisted.

The English Methodists had become divided into two parties on the question of the sacraments, the 'High Church party' demanding that the original status of Methodism, as a society within, and subordinate to the Established Church, should be maintained; the other party, who were scornfully termed 'Dissenters' by their High Church brethren, claiming that Methodism had a life and mission of its own; that it was a portion of the Church of God; that its ministers were true ministers of Jesus Christ, and that the people were entitled to receive

from their hands the holy ordinances of baptism and of the Lord's Supper. The 'High Church party,' which comprised most of the wealthy and respectable of British Methodists, were greatly desirous not to offend against the State Church, to whose clergy they still looked for all official acts; while the masses of the membership of the Wesleyan societies could not see why their preachers were not just as good as parish parsons, and entitled to celebrate the sacrament as well as to preach the Gospel.

As a specimen of the proceedings of the 'High Church party,' the case of the Bristol Circuit may be stated. The chapels in the circuit were among the very small number of those whose trust deeds had not been drawn according to Mr. Wesley's plan. Instead of being wholly under the control of the Conference, for the unquestioned and unrestricted use of such ministers as Mr. Wesley and his successors should appoint, these chapels were held under a form of title which enabled the trustees to turn them into citadels for the defence of State Churchism. At the Conference of 1794 the 'Stationing Committee,' which had succeeded to Mr. Wesley's power of appointment, had set down Joseph Benson as president of the Bristol Circuit, with Messrs. Rodda, Vasey, and Moore as associate preachers. Benson, known to us through his commentaries, was one of the leaders in the 'High Church party,' and Vasey had been ordained a clergyman in the English Church, while Moore was a sturdy defender of the rights of the preachers to administer the sacraments, and also was an advocate of the plan of setting up a British Wesleyan episcopacy.

The Portland-street chapel in Bristol was regularly 'settled' according to Mr. Wesley's plan, and here the ordained Mr. Moore celebrated the Lord's Supper; where-upon the trustees of the circuit served a notice upon him forbidding him to preach in the other two chapels, on the ground that the right to fill those pulpits was not vested in the Conference, but in the trustees. The next Sunday Mr. Moore appeared in one of the forbidden pulpits, rehearsed the action of the trustees, and then took his departure for the Portland-street chapel, followed by almost the entire congregation. Bristol at once became the centre of controversial interest. Circulars and addresses were issued in which the trustees of over fifty out of one hundred and fifteen circuits set themselves up to defy the Conference in the interest of State Church exclusiveness; an action whereby they separated themselves from the great majority of their people. In the Bristol Circuit, comprising about one thousand members, eight hundred sustained Mr. Moore, and after his exclusion from the other Wesleyan premises,

straightway set about building a chapel in which the sacraments as well as the Gospel should be freely administered. This was one of the 'late troubles' to which reference is made in the memorial tribute to Alexander Mather above quoted.

On March 30, 1791, twenty-eight days after Wesley's death, a document, known as 'the Halifax Circular,' concocted by a little company of Methodist preachers under the lead of William Thompson, the 'assistant' in the Halifax Circuit, was promulgated, which proposed a constitution for Methodism on the basis of Mr. Wesley's 'Deed of Declaration,' which document, it will be remembered, set forth his own personal and official relations to 'the people called Methodists,' and provided for a legal body of a hundred ministers, who, after his death should constitute the 'conference.' This proposition was a signal for battle, since it secured to the 'legal hundred' the entire control of general Methodist affairs, to the exclusion of certain boards of chapel trustees, among whom there was a strong combination for the avowed purpose of capturing and controlling the pulpits in their several circuits in the interests of the 'High Church party.'

But Methodism was now fifty years of age, and the most of its membership had been born within its fold. Of those who had joined the societies in adult years there were many who had never been Episcopalians at all, except by the legal fiction which claims the entire population for the State Church, 'with the exception of those who have actual membership in dissenting bodies.' In the interest of the preachers who represented this large popular majority the 'Halifax Circular' was issued, which was quickly followed by the 'Hull Circular,' in the interest of the cabal of chapel trustees; and the battle thus drawn was kept up with circulars and addresses till the session of the first post-Wesleyan Conference at Manchester, July 26, 1791. At this Conference more than three hundred preachers were present, and all who were in full connection were allowed the privileges of membership according to Mr. Wesley's request, without reference to whether or not their names appeared in the list of the 'legal hundred.'

Now was the time for carrying out Mr. Wesley's plan for a general superintendency. 'Superintendent' Mather was ready to exercise his official functions; but the Conference deliberately rejected him, and Mather, after vainly presenting himself to his brethren as the regular successor in office of John Wesley, modestly resumed his place among his brethren, and finished a godly and successful ministry as an itinerant preacher in the year 1800.

It is an interesting question, and one which our English brethren

can answer better than we, why the Wesleyan Episcopal succession was rejected, when, so far as the purpose and authority of Mr. Wesley was concerned, it was of equal force with his 'Deeds of Declaration.' Several possible reasons may be mentioned. The British Conference had now become a large, powerful, and somewhat independent body. During the last years of the life of their great chief they had found his plenary authority somewhat irksome, and the transference of this master-spirit to glory afforded them an opportunity to take into their own hands the powers under which they had sometimes experienced discomfort. Again, with Wesley's death came the disappearance of the only man naturally qualified and providentially entitled to govern. Men were not wanting in this goodly fellowship who had the disposition to control events; the difficulty was the presence of too many such, no one of whom could reasonably admit the superiority of another. The only person among them marked by any great distinction was Alexander Mather, and the only great distinction which separated him from numbers of his brethren was his ordination by Mr. Wesley to the office of 'superintendent.' It may be, in addition to these considerations, that the members of the Wesleyan Conference had seen too much episcopacy in the specimens thereof which occupied the dioceses through which they made their preaching tours, and that, on account of the unloveliness of these State Church prelates in their eyes, more than on account of the dogmatism of their own dead leader, they were determined that no such yoke should again be placed upon their necks.

A 'Conference' was a necessity. There was property to be held, chapels and schools to be controlled, power to be wielded; but a 'superintendent' was not a necessity; thus the purposes of the great leader were honoured in one direction, but dishonoured in the other, and, as a substitute for the chief episcopal function hitherto exercised by Mr. Wesley—that of stationing the preachers—this first Conference after his death created a 'Stationing Committee.' This committee was raised in the following manner:

One of the first acts of this Conference was to divide the United Kingdom into districts, seventeen in England, two in Scotland, five in Ireland, and one in Wales. It was then determined that all the ministers in full connection in each district should meet at the call, and under the presidency of the chairman, and should elect one of their number to represent them in the 'Stationing Committee,' whose duty it was to meet at the place appointed for the annual session of the Conference at least three days previous to its opening and prepare and report a plan for stationing the preachers. A similar committee was appointed

for the Irish Conference, whose president should be elected from, and sent over by, the British Conference, and he was to be an *ex-officio* member of the Irish 'Stationing Committee.' This action was taken with much unanimity and good feeling. The troublesome question of the sacraments was by common consent passed over, and for the time being it was agreed 'to follow strictly the plan which Mr. Wesley left us at his death.' Such words, after an action so utterly subversive of Mr. Wesley's plan for a general superintendency, will not fail to strike the reader with surprise.

At this Conference three hundred and twenty-six preachers received appointments, one hundred and nine of whom were married men, for the support of whose families a separate provision was made, twelve candidates for the ministry were admitted on trial, and fifteen others were placed on the reserve list as not being immediately needed, but entitled to come in on trial as vacancies should occur. The number of members represented in the societies of the United Kingdom was seventy-two thousand four hundred and sixty-eight, beside sixty-five hundred and twenty-five in the mission societies in British America and the West Indies. The increase in membership during the Conference year of 1790-1 was eighteen hundred and twenty-five.

The Methodist Moses was dead, the Methodist Conference had refused to have a Joshua or an Aaron; and no sooner had the Conference adjourned than the old dissensions broke out again.

'What is meant by 'the plan which Mr. Wesley left us at his death?'

'It means,' said the High Church party, 'that the Methodists, like Wesley himself, should be loyal to the Establishment.'

'No,' said the others; 'it means that we shall go on doing just as we did during Mr. Wesley's life-time.'

One party would have the societies go back to what they were in the mind of their leader before the pressure of their increasing greatness forced him into certain variations from the Church; the other party pointed out the direction in which Mr. Wesley was moving during the last years of his life, and determined to keep on towards liberty and independence.

'The Church of England allows no man to administer the Lord's Supper except ordained priests,' said the conservatives.

'True,' answered the progressives; 'but Mr. Wesley himself ordained some of his own preachers for that very purpose; and, what is more, there are chapels in which the sacraments have been steadily administered by Methodist preachers who have not been ordained.'

'We hold the property, and are determined to maintain Church discipline,' said the High Church trustees.

‘And I am resolved,’ said Adam Clarke—voicing the purpose of the whole progressive party both among the ministers and laymen—‘to have liberty of conscience, or go to the ends of the earth for it. I will administer the sacraments where the people desire it, and take the consequences.’

Thus it was the same old question over again. Do the sacraments rightfully belong to the people, or are they the prerogative of the clergy?

This seems to have been a question over which Mr. Wesley was so greatly exercised that, in order to prevent the division, if not the destruction of his societies in consequence of it, he conferred the order of ‘superintendent’ upon Alexander Mather, that he, in his turn, might ordain the Methodist preachers, and thereby give to the itinerants the nominal, in addition to the natural and rightful, authority to serve the people in the sacraments as well as in the Word of the Gospel. The sacramental question was now the rock on which British Methodism was in danger of being wrecked; and that because of the action of his sons in the ministry, who, while verbally resolving ‘to follow strictly the plan which Mr. Wesley left us at his death,’ sent his appointed captain from the deck, and appointed an annual elective committee to navigate the ship.

Year after year the High Church party lost ground. Thus, for instance, at the Conference of 1793, at Leeds, it was agreed, by way of compromise, that ‘no gowns, cassocks, bands, or surplices shall be worn by any,’ and that ‘the title of ‘reverend’ shall not be used by us towards each other in the future.’ On the other hand, it was conceded that full membership in the Conference and the appointment thereby to administer the sacraments should be sufficient ordination without any imposition of hands, and that ‘the sacraments should be celebrated in those societies which unanimously desired them.’ A sharper bargain than this, under the name of ‘compromise,’ was rarely ever driven in the ecclesiastical market, and the High Church party were not long in coming to a sense of it. They had preserved the sanctity of the title and the millinery of the establishment; but the priestly prerogative and ownership in the sacraments had been for ever lost, and plain Methodist preachers, who might not be called ‘reverend,’ and who must not wear ‘gowns, cassocks, bands, or surplices,’ might, in such other garments as suited their tastes or their purse, administer the sacramental water and bread and wine. Thus the conservatives, indeed, strained out the gnat, but gulped down the camel.

Soon, however, the Liberals began to be troubled with the word

'unanimous' in the treaty, whereby a single member of any society could outvote all the rest, and they moved for, and secured the re-establishment of the *status* which existed at Wesley's death, namely, that the sacraments should be again administered in those chapels where they had been formerly enjoyed. In the year 1794 there had come to be nearly one hundred Methodist societies in which the sacraments were celebrated by their preachers with no reference whatever to the question whether or not they had been ordained. In view of this dreadful state of things, the High Church party, claiming to represent 'the people,' though it was notorious that the people generally demanded the sacraments, organised themselves into a body, and, as the custodians of the property, attempted to push the societies into conformity with their views. Nevertheless, the Conference, at its session in 1794, re-affirmed its statement that 'imposition of hands is not essential to ordination, but merely a circumstance, although generally a significant one; the act of admission into the ministry, so as to be wholly devoted to it and to exercise the pastoral charge, being the true Scriptural ordination both to preach the Word and to administer the sacraments.'

But what about following strictly 'the plan which Mr. Wesley left us at his death?' This was following out of sight behind, if it were not, indeed, travelling in the opposite direction. By their act in refusing the superintendent whom Mr. Wesley had ordained for the purpose of securing an orderly administration of the Christian sacraments, the Conference, within three years after his death, had been driven to such a wide departure from his 'plan' as to leave nothing at all of it in force so far as the official *status* of the ministry was concerned. At this point the British Conference lost the right to call themselves Wesleyans; and, by solemn official utterances, committed themselves to a theory only one step removed from the baldest theories of the people who are now called 'Plymouth Brethren.'

Foreseeing the extremity of dissent to which the Conference was tending, Mr. Wesley's two superintendents, Coke and Mather, with Drs. Pawson, Taylor, and Moore, Rev. Messrs. Richardson, Bradburn, and Adam Clarke, held a consultation at Lichfield on April 2, 1794, and drafted a memorial to the ensuing conference, setting forth the fact that Methodism possessed an episcopacy in the persons of Drs. Coke and Mather, whom Mr. Wesley had ordained as 'superintendents,' and proposing that, without any avowed separation from the Church of England, 'there be an order of superintendents appointed by the Conference, by whom all the lay preachers who desire, and all who

should thereafter be admitted into full connection, should be ordained.' It was also proposed that 'superintendents' Coke and Mather should ordain six other 'superintendents,' who should preside respectively over eight districts, into which the Connexion should be divided, their jurisdiction being subject to annual change at the pleasure of the Conference. This would have given British Methodism the same form of episcopacy as that possessed by American Methodism; and, besides the numerous practical advantages accruing therefrom, would have had the merit of being in accordance with Mr. Wesley's 'plan.' Nevertheless, the proposition of the Lichfield memorialists was rejected, partly because it would have set up an order or aristocracy among the preachers themselves, of which thing, both in Church and State, these Englishmen thought they had somewhat too much already.

In the height of the general excitement over the Bristol usurpation, the war of the circulars, the Kilhamite republican constitution, and the rejection of the 'Episcopal Plan,' the Conference of 1795 assembled at Manchester. Realising the momentous issues which were pending, the Conference commenced its session with a day of solemn fasting and prayer, after which a committee of nine was chosen to draft some plan for adjusting the differences that threatened the existence of the body. The method of electing this committee was as follows:

Each member of the Conference received nine slips of paper, on each of which he was to write one name, with the understanding that the nine men whose names appeared on the largest number of papers should constitute the proposed committee. This vote resulted in the choice of Joseph Bradford (who was President of the Conference), John Pawson, Alexander Mather, Thomas Coke (who was Secretary), William Thompson (the Author of the 'Halifax Circular'), Samuel Bradburn, Joseph Benson, Henry Moore, and Adam Clarke. The committee represented all shades of opinion, and the list of names is interesting on two accounts: first, as showing who were actually the nine chief men among the Methodist preachers of that day; and second, as indicating the dignity and position of the Lichfield memorialists, by whom the 'Episcopal Plan' had been presented the previous year. Of the nine members of this committee, six—namely, Pawson, Mather, Coke, Bradburn, Moore, and Clarke, were members of the little council at Lichfield, which only comprised eight men.

Meanwhile, the voluntary lay representatives of the High Church property party were making anything but a creditable exhibition of themselves. The devil of dissention goeth not forth except by prayer and fasting, and the laymen had not followed the example of the

Conference in that respect. They had come up from the various societies throughout the Connexion which they were able to strangle or control, but found themselves unable to do either with the whole Methodist Conference. They met and they wrangled until they split into two opposing factions, which then held separate sessions ; but they brought forth nothing but wind. The Conference treated them with every possible courtesy, receiving their demands and replying to them, until at length the committee above mentioned brought in their famous 'Plan of Pacification,' which was finally adopted unanimously by the Conference, and also by a majority of the lay delegates. This famous plan provided that the sacraments should be continued wherever they had already been administered ; but that, in order to such service in any new place, the consent of the Conference should first be obtained. This consent should not be given unless it were asked by a majority of the chapel trustees and of the stewards of the society in question, or by a majority of the stewards alone in cases where the societies possessed no chapels.

Another bone of contention had been the question of holding Wesleyan meetings during the hours of Church service. This also was referred to the local trustees and stewards ; but no society was to celebrate the Lord's Supper on the same day and hour at which it was celebrated at the parish church ; and no preacher was to be permitted to officiate at the Lord's table except those who had been duly authorised by the Conference for that office. It was provided that the Lord's Supper should always be administered according to the form of the Established Church ; but the person who administered it should have full liberty to give out hymns and use exhortations and extempore prayer ; and also that, whenever Divine service was performed in England on the Lord's-day in church hours, the officiating preacher should either read the service of the Established Church, Mr. Wesley's 'abridgement' thereof, or at least the lessons appointed by the calendar.

There was another section to this famous 'Plan of Pacification' concerning discipline, which provided that the appointment of the preachers should remain wholly with the Conference ; that no trustees or any board of trustees should expel or exclude from their chapel or chapels any preacher so appointed ; that an offending preacher, who was believed by a majority of the trustees, or stewards, or elders to be 'immoral, erroneous in doctrine, or deficient in abilities,' should be tried by a court comprising all the preachers of his district, and trustees and stewards and elders of the circuit to which he belonged, and, if adjudged guilty by a majority of this court, he was to be

removed, and the district to appoint another preacher in his place to serve until the next session of the Conference. In order to prevent further mischief of the kind which this plan was intended to correct, it was finally agreed that any preacher who should disturb the peace of the society by discussions of the relative merits of the 'new or old plan' should be tried as above; and any local preacher, trustee, or steward, or elder convicted of a like offence by the circuit conference, should be expelled from the society. Thus peace was established, and war declared against any member who ventured to disturb it.

In order that there might be a well-understood basis for the operation of this new 'plan,' Mr. John Pawson set about compiling and codifying the proceedings and decisions of the Wesleyan Conferences from the annual minutes thereof, which compilation, under the name of the 'Large Minutes,' was reported to and adopted by the Conference of 1797, all the preachers present except one signing a declaration solemnly engaging to comply with this code of laws 'as essential to the existence of Methodism.' Thus the Conference became possessed of a written constitution, which, with various additions and amendments, remains in force to this day.

In the matter of ordinations, however, an important change was effected by the Conference of 1834. Hitherto that service had been regarded as a mere form; but its manifest propriety, as well as the almost universal custom of Christendom, at length prevailed in the Wesleyan body, and the thirty young men who were that year received were ordained by the laying on of hands of the President of the Conference, assisted by the ex-President and the Secretary, the following formula being invented for the occasion:

'Mayest thou receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a Christian minister now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands, and be thou a faithful dispenser of the Word of God and of His holy sacraments, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.'

This form of ordination is still in use by the Wesleyan Methodists, who, though steadily refusing to be called 'Dissenters,' hereby most conspicuously show their dissent, not only from the scheme of the English Prayer Book, but from the precepts and practice of him whose name they bear.

Believers in strong government could hardly fail to be pleased with this Methodist constitution, the discussion of whose origin, merits, or authority was set down as an offence for which the culprit, on conviction, shall be expelled from the society; and, in view of the excited

state of the English people caused by the political commotions similar to those which in France were so rapidly tending to revolution, as well as on account of the internal dissensions of the Methodist societies themselves, it was no wonder that in some cases this pacification failed to pacify. Mr. Alexander Kilman, already referred to as the leader of a party in England similar to that now represented by the '*Methodist*' newspaper in New York, had denounced the 'plan of pacification' as a clerical usurpation of the rights of the laity, which, as intelligent Christians and free-born Britons, they were bound in honour to resist. As a matter of course, the Conference had no alternative but to try him for dissension, and after giving him space for repentance, which space he used for quite another purpose, the extreme penalty of the Conference law was executed upon him in 1796, whereupon Mr. William Thompson, of 'Halifax Circular' fame, and four other disaffected brothers, joined themselves to him, and these six preachers set up what they called 'The New Connexion,' in which they sought to carry into effect their own democratic views of church government. But for this the time was not yet ripe; the movement failed to prosper, and two of the five, namely, Michael Emmett and Henry Taylor, not long after returned to the Conference, confessing themselves sorely disappointed in their new leader and his new scheme. Thus the British Conference, under the 'plan of pacification,' gained its first notable victory.

The Wesleyan movement having now safely weathered the point where its enemies had hoped to see it wrecked, and where, indeed, for want of a little more true Wesleyanism, they had narrowly escaped going to pieces, entered upon an era of fame and success which seemed to bode misfortune to the Established Church under the labours of such men as Benson, Bramwell, and Olivers, in England; Ouseley and Graham, in Ireland; Jones and Davis, in Wales. The three kingdoms were during the fifteen years immediately succeeding the death of Mr. Wesley lighted up with glorious revivals of religion. Already Jabez Bunting and Richard Watson were beginning to show great promise of power. Dr. Adam Clarke, by his almost unequalled Oriental scholarship, was bringing honour to the Wesleyan body; while Dr. Coke, who was a whole missionary society in himself, was extending his outposts through destitute regions at home and abroad, collecting money, which he supplemented with large gifts of his own, finding out suitable men, whom he sent forth to preach the Gospel in destitute regions in Britain, as well as in foreign parts, and keeping the whole body astir by the brilliancy of his efforts and the splendour

of his success—a man of true apostolic spirit and the brightest ornament of Methodist history after John Wesley himself.

Certain anxious partisans of the State Church had tried to stamp out this Methodist fire, but they only succeeded in spreading it more widely; then they tried letting it alone, but it still kept spreading, till, in the year 1800, one of the British reviews began to toll the alarm bell. After saying that the Methodist body had increased during the past thirty years from 29,000 to 109,000, the writer of the article exclaims:

‘How long will it be before this people begins to count hands with the Establishment? No works in this country,’ he continues, ‘are so widely circulated and studied by so many thousand readers as the Evangelical and Methodist Magazines,’ which periodicals, he affirms, ‘produce evil, nothing but evil; tend to narrow the judgment, debase the intellect, and harden the heart.’ What class of articles published in these magazines was calculated to produce such mournful effects this writer does not stop to inform us; and it is somewhat remarkable that, with such general study of such bad literature, the Methodist body should have kept on growing in grace, as it seems to have done. Furthermore, this same Jeremiah goes on to lament that Methodism has ‘a confederated and indefatigable priesthood, who barely tolerate literature, and actually hate it.’ Again, ‘their systems and ideas are a mildewing superstition, blasting all genius in the bud, and withering every flower of loveliness and of innocent enjoyment.’ It is but charitable to suppose that this reviewer was not acquainted with the subject on which he was writing. The only fact of which he seems to be cognizant is, that the Methodists are becoming alarmingly numerous; and, taking counsel of his envy and jealousy, he pours out this complaint in the interest of the Establishment. He probably was not intimate with the leaders of the Methodists, some of whom, in genius and scholarship, were among the foremost men of the times. He probably had not visited the Wesleyan Book-room, or seen the itinerant preachers riding their wide circuits, their saddle-bags stuffed with literature, and a book lying upon the horn of the saddle before them.

Six years later the Rev. Sydney Smith, one of the projectors of the *Edinburgh Review*, groans out this sad confession:

‘The Methodists have made an alarming inroad into the Church, and they are attacking the army and navy. The principality of Wales and the East India Company they have already acquired. All mines and subterranean places belong to them; they creep into hospitals and small schools;’ and his indignation waxes high over what he calls ‘the

dreadful pillage of the poor by the Methodists,' citing in proof thereof the fact that 'a poor man with a family, earning only twenty-eight shillings a week, had made two donations of ten guineas each to the missionary fund!'

It was high time something was done to prevent these terrible Methodists from saving so many sinners; their success was shaming the Establishment itself! Accordingly, in May, 1811, Lord Sidmouth, in the House of Lords, moved for leave to bring in a bill which he called 'An Act to explain and render more effectual certain Acts of the First Year of King William and Queen Mary, and of the Reign of His Present Majesty, so far as the same relates to Protestant Dissenting Ministers.' The noble lord explained that the 'Act of Toleration' had been so construed that a great many persons had obtained licenses to preach who were not well qualified for such work. He lamented the great increase of the dissenting ministers, and declared it to be his belief that no person ought to be allowed to preach who was not in 'holy orders' and the regular pastor of some local congregation. This was plainly a blow at the Wesleyan itinerants, who, with their friends, were not slow to take alarm. In the agitation which followed this attempt to suppress religious liberty the following significant figures were brought out:

Total number of churches and chapels of the Church of England.....	2,547
Total number of dissenting chapels	3,457

Balance against the Establishment.....	910
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Thus the Established Church was only in a political sense 'the Church of England:' in reality it was the Church of only about two-fifths of England. Lord Sidmouth was evidently too late with his bill. It belonged to an age that was passed—the age of the 'Five Mile Act' and the 'Act of Toleration.' The State Church, with all its prestige of wealth, power, and tradition, was already in the minority, and this attempt of the minority to abridge the rights of the majority in matters where men were beginning to feel themselves free and equal awoke such a storm of indignation that the House which had given the noble lord permission to bring in his bill presently gave him permission to take it out again; and on July 29, 1812, a 'Civil Liberty Bill' passed both Houses of Parliament and received the King's approval, recognising 'the inalienable right of every man to worship God agreeably to the dictates of his own conscience, and that he has the right to hear and teach those truths which he conscientiously believes, without any restraint or prejudicial interference from the civil magistrates, provided he does not thereby disturb the peace of

the community.' Such was the answer of Great Britain to the narrow judgment of State Church partisans and the whine of small-souled ecclesiastics like those writers in the *Edinburgh Review*.

It is interesting to notice with what steady loyalty the British Wesleyan Conference, as a body, adhered to what there was left of their Churchmanship. Perhaps it was on this very account that they had won a victory over the small minority of extremists in the Establishment, and had secured the voice of the King and the vote of Parliament in defence of their rights as religious worshippers.

The great body of Methodists and the great body of British Episcopalians have always been in a good degree of accord, and to maintain this friendly relation towards the Mother Church, the leaders of the British Conference have been ready to sacrifice some of their brethren. In the year 1832, at which time the Rev. Jabez Bunting was the leading spirit in the Conference, a man who most nearly resembled John Wesley of any of his spiritual descendants, one of the ex-Presidents of the Conference, the Rev. Joseph Reyner Stephens, headed a movement called 'The Church Separation Society,' whose object was to secure 'the immediate and total separation of the Church from the State, so that all penal statutes affecting religious liberty and all compulsory payments for religious purposes shall for ever cease in his Majesty's dominions.' Here was a new issue not foreseen; but the Conference fell back upon the half-dishonoured traditions of their great founder, and, remembering that Mr. Wesley had desired them to maintain their loyalty both to Church and State, they treated Mr. Stephens as a malcontent and an enemy, and warned him to resign the Secretaryship of the Church Separation Society on pain of suspension from his circuit. But he was as firm in his view as Bunting and his followers were in theirs. He knew, of course, that the vast majority of the people of England were of his opinion; for why should two-thirds of the church-goers of the United Kingdom be taxed for the support of a Church whose ministry they never attended? In response, therefore, to this threat of the Conference, Stephens raised the battle-cry of 'Stop the supplies,' which signified that the membership of the societies should starve the preachers out of their anomalous condition of semi-rebellion against, and semi-loyalty to, the Established Church of England.

But it was of no avail. There is a sword which appertains to the office of ruler in the Church, and this implement the Conference, under the leadership of Mr. Bunting and Robert Newton, now felt constrained to use. Here was the Methodist preacher guilty of seeking actual

independence of the Establishment. What a crime! He would have members of the Methodist societies excused from paying tithes to the Establishment. What treason against the State Church! He would have the Wesleyan Conference assert its full independence. What contumacy and folly! Upon this the sword of the Conference was lifted, and the anti-Church Methodist preacher was offered this alternative: 'Either repent in writing, and pledge your abstinence from anti-Church agitation, or be cut off from the Methodist Connexion.' The sword was suspended over him for a year in order to allow him full time to save his head. But Mr. Stephens, being in hot blood and full of it, at once resigned his place in the body, and the entry was accordingly made in the Conference Minutes of 1834, 'Joseph R. Stephens has retired from our work.' Thus was maintained the nominal harmony of Wesleyan Methodism with the Established Church of England. Though just what that degree of harmony might be worth with a body which utterly repudiated them, and the functions of whose clergy their unordained ministers were assuming, it would be somewhat difficult to estimate. The 'Great Jabez,' as Mr. Bunting was called by the Stephens party, laid down the sword close under his hand, not knowing how soon it might be wanted again; but the next agitator who appeared was not disposed to risk his head as his predecessor had done. His plan was to restrain the arm which wielded that sword, and place the right of private judgment of Methodist preachers under the protection of the British Common law.

Dr. Samuel Warren, superintendent of the first Manchester Circuit, an able member of the Connexion, was suspended by the Manchester District Meeting for a course of conduct similar to that of Mr. Stephens; but the doctor refused to acknowledge the power of the district to suspend him from exercising the right of free speech, in which exercise, as it appears, he had been remarkably free; and he applied to the Court of Chancery for an injunction against Robert Newton, who had taken his place on the Manchester Circuit, and against the trustees of the chapel from which he had been excluded. Here again appeared the shade of John Wesley. In his deed of settlement no right of appeal to the civil courts against the action of the Conference had been allowed the individual members thereof, and the Conference, taking their stand upon this deed, joined issue with Dr. Warren in the courts of law. The Vice-Chancellor, Sir Launcelot Shadewell, before whom the case was urged, sustained the district meeting, and availed himself of the occasion to pronounce an opinion of the character of the Methodist Connexion as follows:

‘I do not think that any question can be deemed or considered of a trifling nature which concerns the well-being—I may also say the existence—of a body such as that which is composed of the Wesleyan Methodists. It is my firm belief that to that body we are indebted for a large portion of the religious feeling which exists among the general body of the community not only of this country, but throughout a great portion of the civilised world besides. When, also, I recollect that the society owes its origin and first formation to an individual so eminently distinguished as the late John Wesley, and when I remember that from time to time there have arisen out of this body some of the most able and distinguished individuals that ever graced and ornamented any society whatever—I may name one for all, the late Dr. Adam Clarke—I must come to the conclusion that no persons having any proper understanding of what religion is and regard for it can look upon the general body of Wesleyan Methodists without the most affectionate interest and concern.’

Warren and his anti-state Church associates were confounded at first by the decision of the Vice-Chancellor; but they resolved to carry the case by appeal to the Lord Chancellor. This they did; and on March 25, 1835, in the presence of a great concourse of Methodists, among whom the most intense excitement prevailed—since upon his judgment depended the possibility of maintaining the dictatorship of the Conference over the property of the Connexion—the Chancellor delivered his judgment in an elaborate review of the Methodist polity as set forth in Wesley’s Deed of Declaration and as exemplified in the history of Conference action. When it was perceived what his conclusion must be, deep but controlled emotion prevailed throughout the assembly; many good Methodists wept for joy; and when he finally pronounced that ‘the judgment of the Vice-Chancellor must be confirmed,’ it was felt that a momentous era in Methodism had been reached, that the broad seal of English law had been stamped upon the legislation of John Wesley, and that the powers and possessions of the British Wesleyan Conference which he had founded were now beyond peradventure secure.

At the next Conference session Dr. Warren appeared in his own defence. He was listened to with that quiet, calm, terrible courtesy with which the judges listen when they ask the prisoner in the dock if he has anything to say why sentence of death should not be pronounced against him. When he had finished the sword was raised, solemnly and sternly, and off rolled the head of another Methodist preacher, whose ambition may have outrun his opportunities, and whose wisdom

may not have kept pace with his zeal, but whose offence at this distance of time and space seems scarcely to have merited so stern a punishment, since he was only seeking to defend his rights as an Englishman against a Conference which had itself violated both the letter and the spirit of Mr. Wesley's prescribed form of Methodist church government.

This judgment of the Vice-Chancellor, sustained by the Lord Chancellor, whereby John Wesley's Deed of Settlement became a part of the law of the realm, still further strengthened the bonds which bound the Methodist Conference to the British Government. From that time the world has had fair notice that Wesleyan ministers must not be Dissenters in any such sense or degree as would lead them to take sides with any malcontents against the State Church.

The expulsion of Dr. Warren by the British Conference after he had been non-suited before the Lord Chancellor, did not fail to be noticed and approved in State Church circles. 'The Wesleyans are irregular,' said the prelates; 'but John Wesley was one of us, and his followers are evidently our friends.' There was no such tie binding any other body of Dissenters to the Establishment. It was not possible to measure the distance by which Baptists or Independents were removed from Protestant Episcopalianism; but in the case of the Wesleyans the distance had been measured again and again, and this is the extent thereof, namely: If the Wesleyan ministers will consent to be re-ordained by the bishops of the Church, the whole body may be regarded as part and parcel thereof. Against this assumption the British Conference still silently demurs. But the weakness of their ecclesiastical position, the un-Wesleyan as well as the un-Churchly status of their clergy, the irregular method of their ordination, which evidently was a mere provision for an emergency, and the fact that the chief body of Methodists on earth possess and glory in a perfect Wesleyan Episcopal succession, are facts which must claim the attention of all lovers of Methodist unity.

Was John Wesley a Greek bishop by the imposition of the hands of Erasmus? Was he rightfully an English bishop by reason of his actual and providential office as superintendent in the Church wherein he held the orders of deacon and presbyter? And is an ordination through his line a valid one, entitling those who bear it to be accounted as in the regular Apostolic successions? These questions have usually been answered by the English Church in the negative.

Can the British Conference so far humiliate itself as to renounce its clerical status? This question, too, seems likely to receive a negative-

reply. The Wesleyans in England, then, are in fact Dissenters. They have no Wesleyan Episcopal ordination—the clearest and most Apostolic line of succession now in existence, and they have thus far refused to seek or receive ordination from the State Church, with which they claim to be in a kind of ‘half-way covenant.’ American Methodism is Episcopal with a Wesleyan succession. British Wesleyans, then, are also Dissenters as respects the Methodist Episcopal Church. Where, then, is the possibility of Methodist unity? Manifestly, the first step thereto is the universal recognition of the Wesleyan Episcopal succession and the Wesleyan ordination, not *re-ordination*, of all Methodist ministers who are not now in the true Wesleyan line. By this, and by this only, can the unity of the largest body of Christians on earth be formally and really established. With this great result once reached, *the* Episcopacy of Christendom is not that of Rome, or Antioch, or Canterbury, but that of the unified millions of Methodists, whose ministry preaches the theology, works the methods, cherishes the spirit, and realises the purposes of him who, under God, has been given to the world in these last days as the chief religious leader of mankind. Will the coming Ecumenical Council face this question and bring order out of this confusion?

VII.—JOSEPH BARKER.*

WE all know that a high authority has enjoined upon mankind the study of man. Assuming that the teaching of our Master is good, we should be thankful to any one who furnishes a good subject for study. Whatever interest physical phenomena and philosophical speculations may have, we turn with awakened and heightening concern to the struggles, growth, education, and perfections of a human spirit. In the study of history it is the deeds and fate of men that we care for. As Kingsley says, in his *Roman and Teuton* :

If any of you should ask how to study history, I should answer, 'Take, by all means, biographies—wheresoever possible, autobiographies; study them, fill your minds with live, human figures, men of like human passions with yourselves; see how each lived and worked in the time and place in which God put him.'

We have to place before our readers a subject for study of rare qualities—a true human life, with the greatest varieties and alternations of light and shade, a life which reminds us how human it is to err, and yet a life in which there is much that is lofty and heroic. From this point we learn, as Emerson puts it, 'that there is no way for making heroism easy. Labour, iron labour, is his lot.' 'He can toil terribly,' said Cecil of Sir W. Raleigh. These few words sting, and bite, and lash us when we are frivolous. Let us get out of the way of their blows by making them true of ourselves. All who study the life before us will see how true Joseph Barker made them of himself. Those who knew Mr. Barker will be glad that he wrote this story of his eventful life, of his inner life, as to how he used the world, as well as to how the world used him. Most readers, however, we opine, will wish that he had re-written it in his maturer years, when his mind was not discoloured and perverted by infidelity. As regards the manner of the work, we may state at once its characteristic faults. A number of unimportant details might have given place to the fuller treatment of the more interesting events of his after life. These are recorded in a hurried, sketchy, scrappy manner. To name one instance out of many, the great discussion in Newcastle-on-Tyne with the Rev. Dr. Cooke is dismissed in two paragraphs, while eight pages are occupied by a depreciatory account of the details of class-meet-

* *The Life of Joseph Barker*. Written by Himself. Edited by his Nephew, John Thomas Barker. With steel portrait. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 27, Paternoster-row, 1880.

ings. There is also a sad want of dates and chronological exactness. But neither author nor editor condescend to dates. From his birth, in 1806, on to 1835, we can find no dates. We have to guess and infer when he became a Methodist, when he joined the New Connexion, when he began to preach, when he commenced to travel, and his different stations as a minister. It is right to say that the editorial portions are remarkably well written; but they are neither well incorporated, nor yet well kept apart. These are minor faults, and we gladly bear testimony to the charm of the book, which never intermits from beginning to end. It is a work racy of a strong, fresh, mental, idiosyncratic nature. The style has the accent of individuality, which would have been softened and modified by a wider culture. The author was truly a self-made man. The old epitome of life, 'he was born, he was wretched, he died,' could not be applied to this man; he lived heroically, struggling with fortune and conquering. His parents were lowly and obscure; he had no scroll of titled ancestry, no heritage of broad acres, no heirlooms of pomp and power. If he became great, he achieved it himself, and found the conditions of elevation within rather than without. This is one of the advantages of an autobiography: the writer takes you into his confidence; he tells you the story of his inner life, of what he really was, rather than what he appeared to be. There is just the danger of morbid conditions of mind interfering with the clear vision of your interlocutor; he may say too little or too much, may magnify or minimise events, or he may allow preference or prejudice to distort his sight. Let our readers remember all this when they take up this volume. Two-thirds of this autobiography was written when the writer was a Unitarian, when 'his mind was in a condition of bitter revolt against old ties and religious beliefs,' and when 'his mind was less matured and rational' than in after years. Like many young men of ardent temperament and reforming tendencies, Mr. Barker was fanatical in his notions that the church was all wrong in both doctrine and practice, and that he was the man to correct its errors and reform its practice. Considering that he was animated by so vehement a hatred to evangelical Christianity, it is greatly to his credit that he writes so fairly and in such sympathy with Christian truth. In his later years he says: 'I can see most clearly that in judging the churches and the priesthoods [why this contemptuous term, 'Priesthoods?'] and used at the time when he was a returned Methodist] I did not make due allowance for the weakness and imperfections of that common human nature which the best of Christians and Christian ministers are obliged to carry about with them in the present state.'

He was born in Bramley, in the West Riding of Yorkshire. He gives many interesting facts of the history of his family. On his father's side his ancestors dwelt in Keighley, and were cloth makers. Three generations before his own day they removed to Bramley, an old country town situated on a hill four miles from Leeds. His ancestry on the female side had dwelt in Bramley from immemorial time. His grandfather, Samuel Barker, was one of the first to introduce steam power in cloth manufacture. The use of machinery was regarded by the work people as an invasion of the rights of labour, was stubbornly resisted for many years in Yorkshire, Lancashire, and in other places. From what Mr. Barker says of his native place, we gather that neither the tone of its morals nor the standard of its intelligence was very high; not that the Bramley people were worse than their neighbours or their fellows. He gives many stories of the wide-spread belief in witchcraft and astrology. It was firmly believed that certain women had diabolical power over the persons, cattle, and goods of others. The obnoxious person might be taken with fever, consumption, or other complaints; or a child might be struck down, or seized with a wasting away; or the cattle would die, or cows would suddenly refuse to give milk, or the milk would become unfit for use. As checks to these malign persons, or as antidotes for the ailments or accidents which they caused, sundry extraordinary devices were resorted to. One cure much believed in was to bleed the person bewitched, always taking care that the blood should run into a hot fire. When this was done, the witch, wherever she might be, or whatever she might be doing, would be instantly and irresistibly cast into a fire, and if the fire was hot enough to consume the blood of the troubled person, the witch would be inevitably consumed. Fairies and pixies, beings resembling men in form, only eight or ten times smaller, were interested in human affairs, hurting or helping, making or marring men's lives. Readers of Leckey will recall the array of facts he gives showing how wide-spread and pernicious was this belief. It is no discredit to Mr. Barker's parents that they shared the common opinions on these popular superstitions. The facts he relates concerning his parents are full of interest, as, for example, the wandering life of his father in the militia. It was in his soldier's travels in Devonshire that he met the good, clever, lively, high-spirited young woman who became his wife. In due time they were married, and she removed to Bramley, while he continued to serve his term of military service. In the county of Kent he heard the Methodists, and was made the subject of the renewing grace of God. He was anxious to inform his young

wife of the great change he had experienced, but could not read or write a single word. Few things in this interesting book interests one like this account of his father's mastering his 'Reading-made-Easy;' the only thing to surpass it is his own efforts in the acquisition of learning. With dogged application and perseverance the elder Barker surmounted the difficulties in his path and wrote home in creditable caligraphy the glad news of his conversion. His wanderings were at length ended, and he settled down for life at Bramley. They became steadfast and life-long Methodists. 'They were poor,' writes Mr. Barker, 'but what of that? They had but few wants, they had both of them been used to hard work and poor fare, so that hardships were no strangers to them. They had no concern about appearances. They sang, and prayed, and talked together. They went together to the class, the preaching, and the prayer meeting. . . They looked upon the preacher as God's trumpet, and every word was welcomed as God's word. They knew nothing of theology, nothing of controversy. Their simple creed was that there was one God, one Christ, one hope, one religion, one heaven. To love God and all mankind, to shun evil and do good, to go through life with clean hands and pure hearts, rejoicing in hopes of everlasting blessedness was all they cared for. This was their religion, their theology, their all.' This is a beautiful picture, and carries the stamp and impress of truth.

It will not excite surprise that, with such parents and such a home life, young Joseph Barker's mind, as he grew up, should be deeply imbued with the spirit of Methodism. He describes his child-longings after God and divine things. But his young life was saddened by extreme poverty, dearth of food, and personal sufferings. The little food that was procurable was rough and indigestible, and only to be obtained at famine prices. European wars, continued failure of harvests, and universal stagnation of trade had reduced the poor of the country to the borders of starvation. In this wide-spread distress Bramley was no better, nor, indeed, any worse, than other places, and the poor there, in all their misery, were only sufferers in common with people all over the land. But brighter and better days dawned at length; his parents got into a small way of business, and their home was blessed with material comforts. During his youth he exemplified many of the qualities which marked and characterised his mature life. In this he was an instance of how much the child is the father of the man. He was always the soul of honour and truth. But he was impatient of control, headstrong, prone to quarrelling and controversy, and ready on the instant to return blow for blow. He had early con-

tracted a passion for pugilism, being often engaged in encounters himself. He gives a vivid description of the power this brutal practice had over him. It was when he was just commencing his Christian profession. There was to be a celebrated pugilistic battle in the neighbourhood between two notorious boxers. His old delight in witnessing these horrible scenes came upon him in all its former power, and the struggle between the new life and the old passion was long and extreme. He stood still, forgetting his work as the conflict raged in his bosom. Should he yield, or should he resist? Should conscience or the old lust be master? The victory was with the right, and he was never troubled in this way afterwards. His eldest brother prevailed upon him to join the Wesleyan society. We have an unnecessarily detailed description of the Methodist class meeting, written in a most unfriendly spirit; written, too, when his mind was not only in a state of revolt against Methodism, but against Christianity itself. It may be that some of the things alleged or insinuated against the class meetings, as they are too frequently conducted, lie with much truth against them, but only as weaknesses and defects of working. The strength, compactness, and coherence of Methodism have arisen in no small degree from the class meeting, as its maintainance is a guarantee of its permanence and stability. The Rev. R. W. Dale, of Birmingham, in his recently-published volume of sermons, delivers this judgment:

The class meeting is, perhaps, the most striking and original of all the fruits of the revival. It was not invented, it was the creation of the revival; it was a natural product of the soil, and the Methodist people should take heed how they treat so precious and wonderful a growth. It renders possible a far more effective fulfilment of the idea of the pastorate, and a far more perfect realisation of the communion of saints than are common in any other Protestant community.

We are willing to let the one opinion stand against the other, remarking only that in this we have an example of what Mr. Barker frequently did—take extreme and exceptional cases as general and representative ones. The bare facts of Mr. Barker's self-education are stranger far than any fiction. How he wrestled with poverty and disadvantage until he won for himself intellectual competence is one of the finest examples of self-help that we know of. These chapters, purged from some objectionable references, published separately, would furnish admirable stimulus and encouragement to all who, like him, have to fight the battle of life against serious odds, but who bravely set themselves, odds notwithstanding, to win the fight. From sixteen to

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twenty he laid the foundation of that solid and extensive mass of learning which he afterwards used with such notable effect. In addition to which, he read in early life the great works, both ancient and modern, which have widened the boundaries of human research and knowledge in history, philosophy, and theology. The lack in his intellectual composition and in his education was that breadth and balance which we call culture, which does not exist apart from learning, though there may be learning without culture.

Another important matter in these early chapters is the settlement of the landmarks of his creed. We think it difficult for any student of Joseph Barker's life and works to allow that, in any wide, philosophic sense he was a theologian. Whether this is a matter to be commended or reprehended is not now the question. The fact is clear enough, he was the acutest of critics and knew well the peculiarities of theological systems; but he always and everywhere decried the use and value of theological science. He spent most of his life in trying to pull theological systems down. He strongly deprecated the formulating and systematising of revealed truth; he had no intellectual sympathy with the great men who have combined the related parts of Divine truth into a consistent whole. His cast of mind was intensely practical. He denounced theological and doctrinal preaching to the last. Towards the close of the book and towards the close of his life he says, 'I think my practical style of preaching was the right one, and find myself unable to adopt any other. The theological style seems to me as unscriptural and foolish as ever it did.' Let the practical-minded man preach according to his own bent and method; but let him not, in this narrow and dogmatic manner, undervalue his brother gifted with luminous scientific mind, who can exhibit the proportions and unity of the faith once delivered unto the saints. Nothing is easier and cheaper than to raise a cry against creeds, doctrine, and theology. It will be a day ominous of evil when Methodism wants the noble class of men, many of whom we have known and revered, who could stand in the breach and uphold, defend, and vindicate her grand theology. This practicalness of his intellect was seen in Mr. Barker's method of setting out the boundaries of his creed. In this settlement of the articles of his belief we see (1) that they were not Methodistic, and only by accommodation could they be said to be evangelical; and (2) that, defective and deficient as it was, he never altered it till he left it far behind. He rejected the words Trinity and persons as applicable to the Divine Being. He also surrendered what is the essence of the atonement by maintaining 'that the Scriptures no where

say that Christ had paid our debt to God, or that he had become our surety, or that he had satisfied Divine justice, or that sinners have to trust in Christ's merits, or in His blood, or to rely upon His sacrifice.' He modified his views upon faith and justification, though to what extent does not appear. He also gave up the doctrine of human depravity, coolly saying that 'the orthodox view was without authority or proof.' With a creed like this, whatever else a man may be, he cannot be in doctrine a consistent Methodist. Yet this was his creed when he became a local preacher, when he went out to travel, and throughout his Methodist life; even after his return it would appear that he still held the creed of his youth.

From the first he was successful and popular as a preacher. He preached much as a young man, and the knowing people all affirmed that there was 'the making of a travelling preacher in him.' His trial sermon puzzled the preacher who officially heard him. It was the substance of Grotius's treatise on *The Christian Religion*, which he was then translating from the Latin and turning into English again. The preacher demanded of him his authority. Was the sermon from Paley, Doddridge, or where? After several trials he was raised to the status of local preacher. Many things in Wesleyanism appeared objectionable to him, so that when he found surroundings more congenial in the New Connexion, he went among them. It should be said that before he left the Wesleyans several of the preachers made attempts to get him into the ministry, and would have succeeded but for his objection to place himself unreservedly in the hands of the Conference for home or foreign work. He commenced his itinerant life as a New Connexion minister in Nottingham. After a few weeks he removed to Liverpool. He remained here several months as a supply. He speaks of the too rapid exhaustion of his small stock of sermons and of the agony of having to face his congregations in an ill-furnished condition—an agony known to many a young Methodist preacher. In the difficulty he says, 'I could have got plenty of skeletons and sketches of sermons, and could have easily prepared them for the pulpit and preached them, but could not persuade myself to do that.' His regular work in the ministry began at Hanley, the head quarters of New Connexionism. The chapels and congregations were large, and afforded him ample scope in the exercise of his remarkable pulpit talents. His only drawback and difficulty was the annoyance of having a small-minded, jealous superintendent. The petty persecutions he was subjected to has been the experience of not a few young men of superior parts. The event of supreme concern

to him occurred here. He became acquainted with the young person who became, for a long life of strange vicissitudes, his noble helpmeet, whose wifely qualities were of the highest order, whose mind was of superior endowments, whose love never failed, not even faltered, and whose piety shone out brightest and best in the darkness of sorrow and distress. Contrary to Methodist law, he married in the second year of his probation. The law in the New Connexion appears to have been liable to some relaxation, for, after some discussion, his offence was condoned by the penalty of a year added to his probation. He complains that he was tried and condemned in his absence, that he had given no pledge to remain unmarried for a term of years, and, finally, he complains of being punished by being 'transported' to Blyth, in the Newcastle-on-Tyne Circuit. Thus was commenced his connection with the North of England, the scene of so much turmoil and agitation in his after years. His life in Blyth and Newcastle was, on the whole, happy; it was certainly successful. It would be too much to say that he 'was passing rich with £40 a year;' but this was the regulation stipend for salary, home, rent, and all. 'We received,' he says, 'only £40 a year from the circuit, so that we were somewhat straitened in circumstances. We had, beside, to meet many extra expenses. But we never went into debt, and never asked a favour from any one, nor did I ever complain of poverty or hardships. This was, of course, owing to, in a great measure, the economy of my wife, who understood, as well as most good wives, how to create a great deal of comfort out of a scanty supply of materials. My kind parents also supplied me with clothes, which lightened the burden we had to bear.' His course of reading was much extended during his residence in Newcastle, and he had the advantage of access to one of the best of theological libraries—the Tomlinson Library. He also commenced to play the rôle of reformer in ecclesiastical matters. Schemes of reform had occupied his mind from the first. Whether his 'reforms' were doctrinal or economical he does not say; but there can be little doubt that they included both. In this season of youth, inexperience, and sanguine hopes, he appears to have made confidants too freely, committing his plans to his ready listeners only to find what he had told in secret was published on the house-top. He was too artless, ingenuous, and unsuspecting for the worldly-wise people about. He was the young Melancthon worsted by the old Adam. Amongst those to whom he trustingly confided his reforming opinions on Methodist doctrines was his superintendent, a man little in body and mind, and great only in his own estimation, who went away and got a storm up

about the young heretic's head. He says that he was afterwards surprised to find how near his views were to Unitarianism. His next station—in Durham—was a repetition of his Newcastle experiences. In this circuit he became acquainted with Mr. Joseph Love. At that time Mr. Love was a prosperous grocer in Easington Lane, a colliery village some eight miles from Durham, and was an enthusiastic New Connexionist. He became possessed of enormous wealth, and died a millionaire. His gifts to his own church were of the most munificent character. All through these early years he was the true and firm friend of Mr. Barker. At the Nottingham Conference the question of his reception was settled in his favour. This was not done without stern opposition on the part of a strong minority. His year was restored to him; but the brunt of the fight had respect to his orthodoxy. He was asked to set down in writing his belief upon the cardinal subjects of the Trinity, the Divinity of Christ, and the Atonement. This is his statement on the Atonement:

I believe the sufferings and death of Christ were properly propitiatory, expiatory, or sacrificial; that they were necessary as a satisfaction in some way; that, without them, God could not forgive sin, so far as we can learn; that, through them, God can be just and yet the justifier of the ungodly that believeth in Jesus.

A statement so sound and cautious as this, of course, carried the assent of the Conference. Mr. Love wanted to take him back to Sunderland as their preacher; but he was, finally, put down for Sheffield. His editor gives a good description of his outer man and his general manner at this time, when he was twenty-seven years of age:

He was rough and unpolished. Low and vulgar he never was. But to the last he was perfectly indifferent to those little arts of personal adornment which add grace and dignity to the outward man. He was as little favoured by nature as by birth and circumstances so far as his outward appearance was concerned. His complexion was dark, his eyes small and deep set in his forehead, and surmounted by thick, bushy eyebrows, which almost hid them from view. His hair was long and thick, and his face surmounted, as if framed, in a mass of long, shaggy whiskers of the same raven hue, and the whole was left to take care of itself without much assistance from either comb or brush. He had, besides, some of his Bramley habits and a good deal of the Bramley brogue strong upon him, and never entirely lost either the one or the other to the last day of his life. He also had the habit, when preaching, of thrusting his hands deep into his pockets till some friends suggested to his wife the expedient of sewing up the said pockets. His countenance was dull, sleepy, and heavy, except when he was engaged in animated discourse. The first feeling of the Sheffield people was one of surprise that the Conference should send them this heavy, stupid-looking man; but they soon found out that in the pulpit

he was like a King upon his throne. The great congregation listened with breathless attention, and when, as was occasionally the case, his language rose to the dignity of real eloquence, his audience was with difficulty restrained from rising from their seats.

His life at Sheffield was noteworthy on three grounds: first, his relation to and attitude towards revivalism; second, his adoption of teetotalism; third, the commencement of his career as a Christian controversialist. One of those great outbursts of religious life took place at Sheffield which have characterised the history of Methodism—may we not say the history of Christianity and the history of religion, known as revivals. The description of this great movement is as good a piece of writing as we know anywhere; but it is the production of a hostile critic. The covert sneer, the misconstruction of what was done, the overdrawing of the details of the picture, his own ill-concealed dislike, all show his utter want of sympathy with, as well as his lack of understanding of, revivals of religion. He, by nature and by preference, dwelt exclusively upon the ethical aspects of Christianity. He was an educator, and could not be a revivalist. In seasons of religious upheaval the propriety of very equable-minded and unsympathetic people often receives a shock. But when a neighbourhood, or town, or country is roused from a fatal slumber by the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, the sneers of these good people, as well as the criticisms of unfriendly friends, must be borne. Let those whose sympathies and preferences unfit them to engage in revival work not condemn the noble men who are constituted and called for this department of God's service. In the elastic system of Methodism there is room and place for every variety of talent and gift. There is need for all and work for all. Let us by all means have the quiet teacher, the clear expositor, the scholastic critic, the philosophic expounder of the higher aspects of Scripture teaching and the interrelations of truth; but let us also have the Boanerges, the enthusiastic revivalist. Mr. Barker could not do revival work; Mr. Andrew Lynn, whom he depreciates, could do it nobly and grandly. Why should they not recognise and respect each other as each within God's law of variety in gift, constitution, and utility? Well does Mr. Dale, whose words we have quoted elsewhere, say, at the close of his first sermon:

When we learn to trust in God with all our heart, and to care for nothing except the final victory of His righteousness and love, we may discover that He is both willing and able to do as much for us in our times as He ever did for our fathers in the brightest and most sacred periods of the history of Christendom.

Of Mr. Barker's adoption of teetotalism we must speak at some length, because of its effect upon his health and his subsequent life. Before he abstained he suffered from almost constant toothache, also from chest and throat affection, from continued heartburn, and was unusually subject to colds. This burden of ills and ailments was a serious matter, and he grew worse with time. He was so ill at Boston, whither he had gone for special services, that a medical man was called in. He informed his patient that, unless a change took place, he would die of consumption, brought on by chronic dyspepsia, in eighteen months, or, at most, two years. Among the things enjoined by the doctor was abstinence from intoxicants. He had favoured the 'Teetotal [Reform;]' but he says, 'I fancied that some persons could not live, or at least could not enjoy good health, without a little ale, or porter, or wine.' He also believed that coming from crowded rooms and heated atmospheres, and in cold or stormy weather, a little intoxicating drink was a protection. He was willing to advise the young to abstain, but for older persons and those who had been long accustomed to their wine or ale it was necessary. He, however, resolved to try Dr. Small's prescription. He did it with fear and trembling, as if risking his life. He refused his customary ale, porter, or wine at his meals, and his usual glass of wine after preaching. His chief difficulty was in declining his glass of sparkling sherry, which the chapel-keeper offered him on his little tray in the vestry after service. This difficulty was conquered, and he became an ardent, not to say a passionate, teetotaller. As if by magic, his dyspepsia left him, he was never again troubled with toothache, his rheumatic pains finally disappeared, and his general health was so much improved that he became able to endure labour and fatigue beyond the average run of men. His own verdict is: 'Since I became a teetotaller my improvement in health is incalculable, indescribable, and the increase of enjoyment which I have experienced has also been indescribable.' Few men have advocated teetotalism with such success as he did. His labours in Cheshire were like some great social upheaval; whole districts were reformed, public-houses were closed through the conversion of the publican or through loss of customers. Many of the most inveterate and abandoned drunkards in the districts were reclaimed; many dismal abodes of wretchedness and misery brightened into homes of plenty and peace. In all his mental aberrations in after life his temperance opinions and practice never changed.

He was led to enter the arena of controversy through the agitation created in Sheffield by an atheist, named Carlile. He taught that man was wholly a creature of circumstances, his actions and his

thoughts being the result of his organisation, acted upon by his surroundings, so that all freedom was an impossibility. He also maintained that Christianity was a gross superstition, used by priests for selfish ends and purposes. Mr. Barker's reply to this blasphemous tirade and false reasoning, entitled 'Carlile's Logic,' was as powerful in its vindication of Christianity as it was withering and complete in its exposure of infidel sophisms. The substance of this controversy may be found in his *Christianity Triumphant*. Passing over his public discussion in Mosely, in favour of teaching writing in Sunday-schools, and the controversy involved in his establishment and conduct of the *Evangelical Reformer*, we come to his memorable discussions on socialism. The first was when he was stationed in Gateshead. For several years this pestilential system had been propagated in England and Scotland by missionaries and advocates, until many people trembled for the safety of our social and religious institutions. The first blow was struck at the roots of this upas tree by Mr. Barker, in his discussion in the Lecture-room, Newcastle-on-Tyne. The debate lasted for many nights, and showed that he possessed the powers and gifts of a public disputant in a super-eminent degree. So thorough was his exposure of the fallacies and destructive tendencies of this noxious system, and so noble was his vindication of Christianity as the true Socialism, that Socialism received its quietus in Newcastle. The tidings of his success travelled through the populous districts of Durham, Yorkshire, and Lancashire—districts infested with pernicious socialistic doctrines—and a cry came to him to come over and help them. He thus became drawn fairly and fully into one of the greatest and noblest contests for God, truth, and righteousness. He made arrangements for his week-night appointments with his circuit authorities, and he went from town to town, month by month, for two years, from Sunderland to Staffordshire, lecturing, discussing, and preaching, till the monstrosity was stamped out. The country owes Joseph Barker no small debt of gratitude for the work which he rendered to it in that crisis. The continued physical strain and mental tension involved in this long campaign would have prostrated an ordinary man in six months. Here is an example of the kind of work he did :

After preaching twice at Gateshead on the Sunday, I started on the Sunday night by coach for Leeds, getting into Leeds at ten o'clock Monday morning. From Leeds I took the coach for Manchester, and thence to Bolton, where I arrived at seven in the evening. After a hasty tea, I began my lecture to a crowded audience, and after lecturing an hour-and-a-half went through an hour's debate. The lectures and debates were continued for

five nights. On Friday night, before I could get to bed it was after twelve o'clock. At half-past two I started in a gig to catch the earliest coach from Manchester to Leeds. From Manchester to Gateshead I rode outside the coach, a distance of 140 miles. It was in the depth of winter, and the weather was as cold as I ever remember it to have been. After twenty hours ride in the gig and on the coach, I reached home about half-past ten at night. Next day I preached three times, and at night or early Monday morning started again on my crusade against Socialism. Sometimes I spend eight days at home and twelve away. It seems a wonder how my constitution could bear a strain so fearful and long-continued.

In addition, he kept up an enormous correspondence with friends upon Socialism and other subjects, revised debates and lectures, wrote and published tracts and sermons in great number, and prepared his *Christianity Triumphant* for the press. Should any of our readers possess a copy of this work they will find it a good example of his spirit, method of reasoning, and style of address.

In the midst of all this work he foolishly provoked controversies and disturbances in his own church by a wild attack upon its creed, contending for the impossibility, which still has a charm for some minds—Christianity without creeds. Divest Christianity of its doctrines, and what have you left? Let theology go, and what remains worth keeping? If you cannot formulate your faith, is it a faith at all? This, as we have seen, was one of his stumbling blocks, was a weakness in his mental habitudes, and a source of failure in his life. He broke away from the moorings of his faith, and soon drifted out upon a wild, weltering sea of absurd speculations and sceptical vagaries. Many of his notions bordered upon folly and mania. He threw up his income, and left himself and his family to the mercy of those who chose to give to their support. He took himself out of the Beneficent Fund, and left his old age to take care of itself. He published a pamphlet against baptism, and refused to administer it. He refused in any way to provide for to-morrow, agitating against the fund for aged ministers, and against benefit societies, insurance companies, and all provision of the kind. He was not a man to do things by halves, and was too ardent and impatient for the slow growth of opinion. He was a man of extremes, and utterly impractical. He also agitated against oaths, war, law suits among Christians, and against Christians entering into business relations with non-Christians. He not only set about reforming the New Connexion, but he proposed to remodel and reform the churches of Christendom. He says, 'I became intolerably extravagant.' No wonder that the long suffering of the New Connexion was exhausted, and that he was expelled. In his old age he held that in this he

was ill used. From a review of the facts, we are surprised that he was not put away before. The ground of his expulsion was his teaching upon baptism. He had excited so much feeling in his favour that, had he possessed a grain of prudence, he might have carried fully one-third of the Connexion along with him. But discretion was not one of his virtues, so the whole movement collapsed. He continued to write and discuss with any one upon all kinds of subjects. He also started a periodical called *The Christian*, and became the pastor of a Barkerite church, which was to combine and exemplify all ecclesiastical excellences. They were to believe what they liked, and to give to the church funds upon the same principle, boxes being used so that no one should know what his neighbour gave. In all their festive gatherings there was to be no charge, and all business was to be done by a unanimous vote. How did this model system work? The answer is a melancholy reflection upon human nature. The majority put nothing into the boxes; at their tea meetings they ate all and contributed nothing, and in their business meetings the spirit of faction was so rife that nothing could be done. The wheat and the chaff separated, and the common-sense method of church management was substituted for the visionary one. The saddest fact, next to Mr. Barker's descent into the dark abyss of infidelity, was the fall of so many of his followers in the same direction, many of whom did not, like himself, find their way back to the light. This seems to have been a saddening memory to him to the end. We have seen his eyes fall and heard his voice falter when referring to his early comrades who had gone astray with him, but had not returned, like himself, to a Father's love and welcome. For several years after his severance from Methodism he was the object of a terrible storm of persecution. This is a sad chapter in his history, and numberless rumours were circulated to his detriment, some that he had become grossly immoral, others that he had committed suicide, others, again, that he had become an extreme Calvinist. These slanders were spread through the country, often cried in the street opposite his house, so that his wife and family heard the cry, 'Melancholy death of Mr. Joseph Barker.' His income became very small, and his family were reduced to great distress. He still wandered about, lecturing and debating where he could. He laid aside the name Methodist. From espousing the doctrines of Channing he went down to Theodore Parker. In some articles in his paper, *The Christian*, he was brought into conflict with Rev. W.—now Rev. Dr. Cooke, perhaps the ablest minister in the New Connexion. This led to the most notable of all Mr. Barker's many discussions. We could wish that he had written a

little more fully of this exciting episode in his career. Were we to attempt to describe the excitement, not in Newcastle only, but throughout England, we should be open to the charge of exaggeration from the younger portion of our readers, whose recollection does not carry them back to that time. If you saw groups of people talking upon the road, in hotels, on coach-tops, in public works, in places of public resort, or miners resting from their toil, it would be in canvassing the merits of the disputants, or fighting the battle over again. Directly people met sides were taken, and parties ranged themselves in hostile camps. Friendships were sundered, families quarrelled, and the wounds which were made were long of healing. Hugh Miller, in his *First Impressions of England*, tells how excited the guests were on the subject in the hotel in Newcastle, where he was staying at the time. He describes two enthusiastic Barkerites from Sheffield who had come to the discussion. They were evidently of the mechanic class, respectable men, earning high wages, and knowing how to take care of them. The historian of the Red Sandstone entered into the theological fray, but concludes with a disparagement of the ordinary English intellect when dealing with philosophical and theological questions. The debate lasted ten nights. On his side Mr. Barker showed himself perfect master of all the arts of a practised disputant. He was cool and self-possessed. He was also keen to seize upon and magnify the weak points in his opponent's arguments, whilst his own side was presented with great adroitness and skill. On the Christian side no better champion could have been found than Dr. Cooke, who fully understood his subject and was able to maintain and defend it. On two occasions at least his speeches were extraordinarily powerful, so much so, that the audiences were thrilled with their lofty eloquence and triumphant reasoning. His statement of defence of the doctrine of the atonement was one of these instances. Perhaps the hit of the debate was upon the Divinity of Christ. Mr. Barker had contended that the Logos in John I. was not a person, but a quality, or attribute, say wisdom. Dr. Cooke's reply was the perfection of the *reductio ad absurdum* argument; he read the verses with the word wisdom instead of 'The Word.' Mr. Barker himself must have seen the untenableness and absurdity of his position. If Barkerism was not destroyed by this discussion, it was effectually met and checked. With his review of this debate, written when he was a Methodist, we cannot, by any means, agree. He says, 'As usual, both parties considered themselves victorious. And both were right. Neither the truth, nor the error was all on one side, nor was the argument. Christianity was something different from the creed of either party.' We cannot help

asking, if neither party held and taught Christianity, why does not Mr. Barker say what Christianity is? We have no hesitation in saying that Dr. Cooke's ground was essentially and truly Christian. That there is truth outside our issues may be true; but if Christianity is not to be found in Methodist theology, then it is time that we knew where it is to be found.

After this Mr. Barker slid quickly down the slippery way of unbelief, and soon became an avowed Unitarian. His Unitarian friends, headed by the late Sir John Bowering, presented to him a printing press. Among the good uses this press was put to was the publication of a series of standard works, well printed and bound, for a shilling a volume. The present writer cherishes a grateful memory of the intellectual stimulus he received as a youth from the study of these books. In these days of cheap and abundant literature people little know how great a boon Mr. Barker conferred upon society. In 1846 he was carried away by the rising flood of Chartism. With characteristic impetuosity he threw himself headlong into the agitation. For the next five years extreme political opinions had no more enthusiastic advocate than he. In those days of stormy agitation he had a narrow escape from a term of imprisonment, if not transportation. In the meantime he had been, by a wave of popular feeling, elected M.P. for Bolton. He did not take his seat; but went upon a lecturing tour through America, working in the anti-Slavery cause with such men as Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, and others. By this time he had sunk from Unitarianism into a Deist. His search after truth had ended in questioning if there was any truth to find. The centrifugal power of doubting everything had driven him away so far that, at last, his biographer says, 'it landed him in the bottomless pit of Atheism.' In 1851 he put into execution a long-cherished purpose of settling in the far West of America. He was in a state of miserable unrest, and, to add to his disquietude, his old power of leading and bewitching the masses was leaving him. His nephew and biographer says:

For nearly twenty years he had kept the country in a constant state of excitement and disquietude, until he had almost exhausted himself and wearied the patience of both his friends and enemies. It was a most welcome piece of news to many people when they heard he was bringing his career to a close and preparing to leave the country. In 1851 he sailed for America, and the country had rest.

If he went to America to get rest, he was ruefully disappointed, for agitators and infidels gathered round him as 'a familiar spirit,' and he soon became absorbed in political and anti-Christian debates and

agitations. He had hoped to find that his infidel friends were models of morality, but was shocked to find them flagitiously immoral. He says, 'Their immoral habits were the cause of their antipathy to Christianity.' Infidel as he himself was, he loathed their touch when he shook hands with them, and was ashamed to be seen in the streets with them. In all his wanderings from the truth he never cast away the moralities of life, though 'his character suffered deterioration.' Owing to disturbances among his neighbours, he went farther west among the 'come outers,' people who had broken away from all religious opinions and restraints. Here he learned what, indeed, he had often found, that 'brawlers about liberty were as bigoted, as intolerant, as tyrannical as the greatest despots on earth.' He soon found life to be incompatible with the 'come outers.' He removed this time into the unpeopled territory of Nebraska. In these wild regions, surrounded by Red Indians, wild beasts, and venomous reptiles, he found a resting place. Not that he attained inner and spiritual peace, for he still found it 'hard to kick against the pricks.' Few things are sadder or more affecting than the account he gives of his dispeace and mental tumults. He feared to live and still more feared to die. When the tidings of his mother's death reached him, he expressed his thankfulness that she had died a Christian. He was several times called upon to witness death, and once his own life was in danger. In these critical occasions his infidelity broke down. In 1860 he returned to England, softened in feeling, but unchanged in opinion. On his arrival some troubles soured him, which, with his 'slavery to the bad habit of faulty reasoning, of searching out flaws in arguments, and detecting and exposing pious frauds,' still kept him in the bondage of infidelity. Those who had known him in his old days were glad to find him softened in spirit and expression. In his darkest days and in his worst moods no man could say such downright shocking and blasphemous things in so cool, not to say cold-blooded manner, as Joseph Barker. The hopes of many of his friends were dashed to the earth by seeing his name associated with that of Bradlaugh's, then known under the egotistical and vaunting name of Inconoclast, as joint editor of the *National Reformer*. It is true that he stipulated for a separate half of the paper. Of this print we remember the vile things in Bradlaugh's half, and the biassed and bitter things in Mr. Barker's. An end was put to his connection with this journal by his manly exposure of a book against marriage by a leading secularist. He set himself to re-read the Bible. 'When I came,' he says, 'to the Gospels, and read again the wonderful story of the Man of Nazareth, my whole

soul gave way. The beauty, the tenderness, the glory of His character overpowered me. I was ashamed that I should ever have so fearfully misconceived it and done it such grievous injustice. The tears flowed from my eyes, but I proceeded with my task, and drew the portrait of the Saviour to the best of my ability, sending articles to the press. When my children read those articles in correcting the press, they, too, wept, and said one to another, 'Father is coming right again; he will be himself again by-and-bye.' And they were right in thinking so. I had come in contact with the Great Healer. I had got a view of One on whom it was impossible to look without experiencing transformation of soul. And from this time forward I became less and less of a sceptic, and more and more of a believer in Christianity.' His last public debate was in the City Hall, Glasgow, with Colonel Shaw, an Ayrshire Christian gentleman. In an interval of two days he went to the country seat of this good soldier, where he felt the warmth, beauty, and grace of a Christian home. When the discussion ended the two disputants shook hands warmly amid the loud cheers of an immense audience. He was touched by the solicitude of several friends, who made him feel that they cared for his soul. His old antagonist, the Rev. Dr. Cooke, did much towards the wanderer's return to Christ. Very touching is his reference to the death of his old and steadfast friend, Samuel Methley, of Mirfield. He had often resisted Mr. Barker in his infidel raids. Now that he was dying, he sent for him, and said, 'Pray for me, Joseph.' It was many years since he had last prayed; but he broke down now, and said, 'I will, Sammy;' and at his death he preached his first sermon as a funeral sermon for his true and faithful friend. Then he preached for the Methodist Reformers, then the Tunstall Primitives honoured themselves by asking him to preach in their noble chapel. Some were suspicious, as well they might be; but all were thankful that the recreant soldier had re-enlisted in the service of his Saviour and Lord. He identified himself with the Primitives and spent his time in preaching and lecturing in different parts of the kingdom. He went back to America, to his estate in Nebraska, when this memoir does not say. In the winter of 1874 he became very feeble through persistent dropsy and jaundice. He knew that his end was near. He arranged all his affairs, and was anxious that his full and perfect faith in Christ should be recorded and made known to all his friends. In all his sufferings he was patient and resigned, and, 'finally, slumbered away.' He was buried at Omaha, the principal station on the Union Pacific Railway.

It is a lesson of such importance that it were worth repeating that

Mr. Barker's life teaches us that unfriendly surroundings need not debar any one from becoming, if not great in the ordinary acceptance of the term, yet great in the true sense of the term, great in the power of goodness, and great in the power to influence others. What was said of a greater name than his may yet be said of him: 'He succeeded because all the world in concert could not have kept him back, and because, when committed to a cause, he played his part with a prompt intrepidity and commanding ease that were symptoms of the reserves of energy on which it was his power to draw.' This success represents the hardest of hard work kept up for many years, and which involved the putting forth the whole strength of his powers. His eminence as a speaker in the pulpit or on the platform was attained as the result of thought and careful training. He acquired perfect mastery of his passions. In the scenes of wildest uproar, or sharpest attack, he, perhaps, only once lost his equable temper. His voice, his memory, his reasoning powers were all under perfect control. He never made rash statements through excitement. His habit was to grasp firmly any subject he undertook to discuss. He was careful to discover not only all that could be said for a subject, but also all that could be said against it. His statements and arguments were not only lucid, but luminous. Two other things contributed to make him one of the first public speakers of his day. One was the large use he made of examples and illustrations. No one could hear him or read his sermons, lectures, and essays without seeing that this gave force to his utterances. You not only saw his meaning, but was struck with it, arrested, and held by it. We could, did space allow, give instances of this. Those who have this biography may find examples, though by no means his best, on pages 369, 370, and 377. The second thing which led to his eminence as a speaker was his use of strong, vigorous Saxon speech. We never find a 'tall,' or 'fine' sentence or phrase in any of his productions. He would have despised the use of such a sentence as this: 'The nocturnal scene was brilliantly luminous with the radiance of astral and lunar effulgence.' Superfine phrases, to please gaping 'natives,' were ever beneath him. He was so anxious about the substance of his address that he gave little care to its trappings. We should rejoice if a volume of selected sermons, essays, and lectures could be published. It would be a boon prized by those who knew him, and the generations who know him only by name would be stirred by noble thoughts, expressed in the best, because strongest and clearest, language.

H. E. G.

VIII.—THE VICTORIAN AGE.

FIRST PAPER.

‘WITH the victory of Waterloo we reach a time within the memory of some now living, and the opening of a period of our history the greatest, indeed, of all in real importance and interest, but, perhaps, too near to us as yet to admit of a cool and purely historical treatment.’ So writes Mr. Green,* and then dismisses the history of the last sixty-five years in eight pages. Such an account of such a period, though written in the most interesting style, is utterly inadequate to meet the demands of those who were not living when the battle of Waterloo was fought, who cannot remember the coronation of the Queen, and were too young, too, at the time to appreciate the benefits of the repeal of the Corn Laws. What is required is a full and detailed account of our latest history, so that the present generation may be able to verify and see the full force of Mr. Green’s statement, that it is the greatest of all the ages in real importance and interest.

This work has been accomplished in a clear and able manner by Rev. W. N. Molesworth, M.A., † bringing our history down from 1830 to 1874, and by Mr. Justin McCarthy, M.P., ‡ bringing it down from 1837 to 1880. Mr. Molesworth places the facts and incidents of the period he has undertaken to review in a plain and orderly manner, so that there is no difficulty in tracing the order of events; but he has made very little attempt to delineate the character or ascertain the motives of those whose words and actions he records. Mr. McCarthy has, with considerable success, narrated the facts, traced the causes and tendencies of events, and examined the motives and character of public men, many of whom are still living. It may, however, after all, be doubted whether either the one work or the other meets Mr. Green’s ideal of ‘a cool and purely historical’ treatise, and the time may be far distant when such an ideal can be reached; but, in the meantime, we have to our hands, in pleasant and convenient form, information which gives us an exalted idea of the Victorian Age.

* *A Short History of the English People*, by J. R. Green. London: Macmillan and Co.

† *The History of England from 1830 to 1874*, by Rev. W. N. Molesworth, M.A. London: Chapman and Hall. 3 vols.

‡ *A History of Our Times from 1837 to 1880*, by Justin McCarthy, M.P. London. Chatto and Windus. 4 vols.

Just before the opening of this age changes had taken place in the nation which were likely to exercise the most powerful influence. Railways had been introduced, and the locomotive steam-engine had proved a success. The telegraph wire was gradually stretching its attenuated but powerful arm from one end of the kingdom to the other. The churches were waking up to the condition and needs of the people. Education had become a question of importance to practical Statesmen. Political reforms had been carried by the Whig Ministry of Lord Gray, and afterwards by that of Lord Melbourne with surprising rapidity. The great Bill of 1832, to reform Parliament, was the starting point; and in the year following Slavery was abolished in the West Indies at a cost of twenty millions sterling. 1834 saw the passing of the new Poor Law, by which it was hoped to cure the most glaring evils of pauperism; and in 1835 the Corporations Act was passed, by which old municipal abuses were swept away. In close succession followed the Act instituting a general system of registration of marriages, births, and deaths, and conceding civil marriages to Dissenters; and the Tithes Commutation Act, which brought to an end the constant quarrels occasioned by the Tithe system. Then set in a season of political inactivity, which was fast undermining the power of the Whig Ministry, and there was a general expectation that Lord Melbourne would be driven from office, when the news of the death of William IV. gave the people something else to think about.

When the sensation caused by the death of the King had subsided, the accession of Queen Victoria to the throne was the signal for an outburst of loyalty such as this kingdom had not known for many years. The only instance that can at all be compared with it was when George III. became King after the nation had been governed by his two predecessors, who were really foreigners. The personal unpopularity and reckless wickedness of George IV., and the stupid Toryism of the whole Hanoverian line of Kings had seriously tested the patience and loyalty of a people seeking social and political reform on peaceable and Constitutional lines. True, the admirers of the late King could point to a string of reforms such as might have added lustre to a reign three times its length; but only those who are acquainted with the minute history of those reforms can estimate how near to the gulf of insurrection the King drove the coach of State. Now he is gone, and in their places in Parliament men of all ranks and parties unite to say pleasant things in his memory, and then proceed to consign his remains to the grave.

With William IV. passed away that low, vicious Court which had occupied the Royal palaces during the two previous reigns, and in its place there came, with the young Queen and her mother, a Court pure in sentiment and action. For this had the Duchess of Kent, the Queen's mother, carefully secluded her daughter from Court life, and during the long and trying period of her widowhood trained her in all that was pure and noble.

With the death of the King passed away the dual reign of the monarch which divided our Sovereign between England and Hanover, for the throne of the little Continental kingdom could not be filled by a woman. This was a double blessing, for while it disentangled this country from personal participation in Continental politics, it drew away to another kingdom the most troublesome of all the sons of George III., and, as report said, the most wicked and treacherous. The Duke of Cumberland was thenceforth King of Hanover.

With William IV. passed away the last remnant of personal rule. George III. carried it to an alarming length, and George IV. only modified, but did not abandon it. William IV. came as near giving it up as we could expect him to do; but when the Queen came to the throne she was evidently determined to give our Constitutional government full play, and ever since her Majesty has known no master save the sovereign voice of the people plainly expressed at the polling-booth or the ballot-box.

From June 20, 1837, when her Majesty became Queen, to the coronation, a year elapsed, and during that time the country was becoming more acquainted with their new Sovereign, and she lost no opportunity of becoming familiar to and with her people. In person she prorogued Parliament; soon after she attended a banquet given in her honour by the Lord Mayor of London, and when the new Parliament assembled she passed through the streets of London in State to open the proceedings. On each occasion she received the most convincing proofs of her popularity and the people's loyalty, and when the coronation day came the people went coronation-mad. Westminster Abbey was fitted up in the most gorgeous style; ecclesiastical dignitaries were arrayed in the rich vestments used only on such occasions; the representatives of foreign Courts were there in full force; the princes, nobles, and judges, the members of Parliament and civic officers thronged the places assigned them. Outside the Abbey the decorations from Buckingham Palace had been got up regardless of cost, and the best decoration of all was the presence of a loyal and contented people, who lined the streets, thronged the

windows and housetops, and took up every foot of available space. At ten o'clock her Majesty started from the Palace, and at eleven alighted at the Abbey. As the thunders of applause outside died away the cheer was taken up inside till the singing of the anthem, 'I was glad when they said, Let us go up to the house of the Lord,' recalled the minds of all to the sacredness of the place in which they were met, and the solemnity of the service they were about to engage in. Then was performed the solemn ceremonies which on such occasions had been gone through for ages, and when at length her Majesty sat crowned the Queen of this mighty Empire, the sun burst out and shed his full rays upon the scene, and filled the ancient Abbey with a beauty and glory which seemed to complete the proceedings of the day. At three o'clock the coronation was over, and all went home to finish the day in festivities according to their taste and means.

Looking back upon that day in the light of subsequent history, we may say it was prophetic. It was not merely the coronation of the Queen, but the coronation of an age—an age of loyalty and progress, of development and wealth, of research and culture; that the very joy of the people was prophetic, and as they came out with enthusiasm to greet their youthful Queen, they came out to greet the coming age of advancement and opulence.

In less than two years it was announced that her Majesty was about to marry Prince Albert, her cousin. They had known and loved each other as children, and their elders had looked upon it as both a likely and desirable thing that they should ultimately marry. Yet not a word was said by anyone that could interfere with the free choice of the Queen. Happily, England had reached such a position that the marriage of its Sovereign needed not to be a political event such as to call for State interference, and hence the Queen had but to consult her personal preference, save only that her choice must fall on a Protestant Prince. Amongst all her suitors not one was so poor in this world's goods or more obscure in station, and yet not one more pure in life or richer in personal grace and intellect, than the fortunate Prince Albert. It was purely a matter of affection, and on that account both Parliament and people approved it. On February 10, 1840, the marriage was solemnised in St. James's Chapel with the same service that is used in every Episcopal church in the country.

The position of the Whig Ministry when her Majesty came to the throne was a very unenviable one, and was not much improved at the elections which were immediately afterwards held, though a lavish use of the Queen's name was made by the supporters of the Government.

Lord Melbourne, it was known, stood high in the estimation of the Queen, but he was not highly thought of by the country at large. He either was, or pretended to be, an indolent man; and certainly he was a poor speaker even for the House of Lords. Against him he had the two ex-Lord Chancellors, Brougham and Lyndhurst, with neither of whom was he able to cope. Lord John Russell, the leader of the House of Commons, had for several years been before the country as a strong and successful advocate for reform, and opposite to him sat Sir Robert Peel, who had been Prime Minister, and was now looked upon as the coming man. Lord Stanley and Mr. Gladstone sat on the same side of the House. Lord Palmerston was in the Foreign Office, but very few had yet recognised his extraordinary abilities, and Mr. Disraeli began at this time his remarkable political adventures. Daniel O'Connell and Richard L. Shiel watched the interests of Ireland, supporting or otherwise with their powerful and striking oratory the one party or the other as those interests were affected. The Government had behind it a nominal majority, but no great question to keep it together; while, on the other hand, the Tories, who now took the name of Conservatives, were being formed and educated under the skilful management of Sir Robert Peel, whose reputation as a splendid financier and political economist gave him great power not only with his party, but with the country. Under such circumstances, and when party spirit ran high, any indiscretion might prove fatal to those in power, and many indiscretions were committed. In Canada there had been insurrection, and in Lower Canada, whose inhabitants were for the most part French by descent, custom, and sympathy, the insurrection had been serious. But it was put down, and then came the question of settlement and reconstruction. For a while it seemed as if party strife had been laid aside, and all were agreed upon the fitness of Lord Durham for the work to be done. He was a man of high station, but of Democratic opinions, and went out with the understanding that the constitution of Lower Canada was to be suspended, and he was armed with ample powers to deal as a dictator with the province. But no sooner had he sailed from our shores in 1838 than the old spirit of party prevailed, and his powers were cut down immensely; and when the news came that Lord Durham was acting as a high-handed dictator, such a storm was raised in the House of Lords by Lord Brougham and Lord Lyndhurst, that the Government felt compelled to abandon their representative and disallow his acts, which led to his return home a broken and disappointed man.

The manner in which the Whig Government met the Chartist movement can never be looked upon with satisfaction, and at the time did it great injury. Underlying this agitation were substantial grievances of ancient date. That mass of human beings called 'the people' had for years been overworked and underfed, and they ascribed their sad condition to the manner in which they were governed by the Aristocracy, in whom the government and law-making were vested prior to 1832, when the Reform Bill was passed. To pass the Reform Bill, which lowered the franchise and admitted the middle classes to a share in the government, 'the people' had considerably helped, and without their determined voice no such Bill would have been passed. But they had at the same time a confident expectation that a middle-class Parliament would do something to improve their condition and lighten the lot of the poor man. And what had it done? It had paid twenty millions to liberate the slaves of the West Indies, but it had maintained the Corn Laws at home; and now the recognised leader of the Commons, Lord John Russell, declares that no farther can or will he go in Parliamentary Reform so as to give the people a chance of doing something for themselves. Then began the people to take the matter into their own hands, and the 'Charter' contained the sum total of their demands. Viewed in the light of recent times, there does not appear anything very alarming in these demands—manhood suffrage, annual Parliaments, vote by ballot, abolition of property qualification for members of Parliament, payment of members, and equal electoral districts. Neither was there anything very alarming about the men who advocated the demands. It is true that Fergus O'Connor was violent and hot-headed; but Henry Vincent, the orator, and Thomas Cooper, the poet, and Ernest Jones, the scholar, of the movement, were neither violent nor unreasonable men. No wonder that midnight meetings were held when mid-day and evening meetings were prohibited. No wonder that many violent things were said, and wild, improbable projects formed by many who were hungering and starving without pity or relief. The misfortune was, that there got into the movement a party who advocated physical force; but the Government never distinguished between them and the moral force party. All were classed together, and the very men who were all along advocating peaceable and Constitutional means to obtain the charter were tried, convicted, and imprisoned. Can we, then, wonder that 'the people' lost faith in a middle-class Parliament; that they ceased to trust the Whigs, and chose rather to throw themselves into the arms of the Tories?

The Chinese opium war was not likely to bring credit to the Government. At the beginning of the dispute between the Chinese Government and our merchants, who had imported opium into China against the law, matters might have been arranged and the war averted. But the dispatch was never received by the English resident till war had actually commenced, and then the honour of our name would not allow us to draw back. The war went on, and the Chinese were beaten. A treaty was signed, under which we force a drug upon China which is undermining the strength of the people; and a war indemnity was wrung from them at the same time.

When the Government brought in a Bill to suspend the constitution of Jamaica for five years, it was felt on all hands that, however necessary such a measure might be, it came with bad grace from a party that professed such strong faith in Constitutional government. And yet this was the second proposal of this nature in two years—Canada in 1837, Jamaica in 1839. The Ministry sustained a virtual defeat and resigned. Sir Robert Peel was sent for; but would not undertake to form a Ministry unless certain ladies of the Queen's household closely allied to the outgoing Ministry were dismissed. The Queen objected, and Lord Melbourne returned to place, but not to power.

In no part of their administration did the Government appear to such disadvantage as in finance. Here was confusion and deficiency continually. Things had been allowed to go on in the old style, and no man had the courage or ability to attempt a reformation. For years past the Budget had shown a deficit, and each year the National Debt had been growing till, in a time of profound peace, seven millions had been added to the sum total. The Budget of 1841 was, perhaps, the most discouraging that ever the Whigs had presented. It showed a deficit of not much short of two millions-and-a-half, though, for certain reasons assigned, the Chancellor of the Exchequer hoped it might not be more than one million seven hundred thousand. There was, however, an announcement which pleased the Liberal party and gave hope to the Free Traders and poor people that a Bill would be brought in fixing the duty on corn at 8s. a quarter, and certain modifications of the duty on sugar and timber. But the whole scheme proved disastrous to the Ministry, the fixed duty on corn alarmed the landowners and farmers, and the alteration of the sugar duties, which favoured the trade in slave-made sugar, raised the ire of the anti-slave party; and when a division was taken on the sugar duties the Government measure was thrown out by a

majority of 36. Not, however, till a vote of want of confidence, proposed by Sir Robert Peel, was carried, did the Ministry wake up to the fact that their term of office had expired. Parliament was then dissolved, and the appeal to the country resulted, after a severe struggle, in the return of such a majority for the Conservatives as carried Sir Robert Peel into place and power in the most triumphant manner.

In the year 1841 the census was taken, and the population was found to number 15,906,829, or an increase of over two millions for the decade. Railways had been laid down connecting London with Liverpool, Birmingham, and Manchester, and the trains could travel at a speed of twenty miles an hour. Steam ships had been built that crossed the Atlantic in fifteen days. The telegraph system had been so perfected that messages could be dispatched to almost any part of the kingdom. But the greatest improvement, and doubtless the most useful and popular, was the establishment of the Penny Post in 1839, as the result of the energy and skill of Mr. Rowland Hill in spite of the opposition and sneers of great men and small in office and out.

Education had made some advancement before the fall of the Whig Ministry. The grant for that purpose was raised from £20,000 to £30,000; and after much angry discussion, school inspection was established, and the Educational Department, now working so well, was brought into existence.

The Church of England was roused by the Tractarian movement at Oxford, under the leadership of Dr. J. H. Newman, Keble, the poet, Richard H. Froude, the historian's brother, and Dr. Pusey—men of deep piety and blameless life. The doctrines propounded in the *Tracts for the Times* were such that ordinary minds could hardly distinguish the difference between them and those held by Roman Catholics. In time the movement led many to quit the communion of the English Church for that of Rome, and among them Dr. Newman himself. Such an influence did it exert upon the church at large, that it was feared at one time Popery would become rampant; and when, in 1850, the Pope re-established the hierarchy in England, there was such an outburst of popular indignation, that, to appease the anger of the people, the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill was passed, which forbade the assumption of territorial titles under heavy penalties. The Bill was harmless enough, was never put into force, and was ultimately repealed. But it served at the time as a protest against Popery and Ritualism and a declaration for Protestantism.

1841 witnessed the agitation in the Church of Scotland over the vexed question of lay patronage. Under the leadership of Dr. Chalmers and Dr. Welsh 474 Ministers renounced their connection with the Established Church, and, with a great body of elders and members, formed the Free Church of Scotland in May, 1843.

In the early days of Sir Robert Peel's Ministry there came news from the East that a disaster had occurred, which, for a time, shook the stability of our power in India. When Captain Burnes visited the Court of Dost Mahomed, the ruler of Afghanistan, in 1837, to establish commercial relations with that country, he found it at peace under that popular prince. Dost Mahomed was not the lawful heir to the throne, but an usurper. One of the dethroned family ruled the principality of Herat, and the rightful heir to the throne of Afghanistan was a refugee in India, living under British protection. The Shah of Persia had picked a quarrel with the Prince of Herat, and our Government, both at home and in India, chose to view the Shah as a tool of Russia. It is undoubtedly true that Russian officials were making frantic efforts to secure an alliance with Dost Mahomed; but Captain Burnes believed he had gained that alliance on behalf of England. Our Government, however, chose to believe Dost Mahomed a traitor, and proceeded to enter into a treaty to dethrone him and restore the exiled prince. It did not take very long to do this. Dost Mahomed made a splendid defence and then surrendered. The exiled prince was placed on the throne amid the sullen silence of a proud and fierce people, who felt themselves disgraced. Then began our troubles, and Captain Burnes was the first victim of a policy he had opposed and condemned. An insurrection broke out, which spread rapidly among the tribes, and was soon organised by Akbar Khan, the favourite son of Dost Mahomed. The British forces were defeated in every battle, and at last lay helplessly at the mercy of Akbar Khan. The shameful surrender and the infamous treaty were but the prelude of the crowning disaster which reduced our army in its retreat from Cabul to one man, who arrived at the gates of Jellalabad more dead than alive. Fortunately for our reputation and the safety of India, there was stationed at Jellalabad a band of resolute men, under the command of General Sale, who held it against an earthquake, which shattered the walls, and Akbar Khan, who besieged it; and before General Pollock could come to his relief, General Sale had defeated and dispersed the enemy. Then, wishing to retrieve the military honour we had lost, Generals Nott, Sale, and Pollock sought, and fought, and scattered the army under Akbar Khan in all parts of the country; but, in the end,

we had to withdraw, having proved, as Lord Ellenborough, the new Viceroy of India, pointed out, how hard it is to force a ruler upon an unwilling people.

In Ireland troubles were every day becoming more serious. Daniel O'Connell was using his unrivalled powers as a popular orator and leader to procure the separation of Ireland from England, and in the year 1843 the agitation reached a crisis. In O'Connell centred the most contradictory elements. While he professed the most perfect loyalty to the Queen and personal affection for her, he was carrying on a movement which was likely at one time to cause a rebellion against her authority; while he was a friend of the English in England, he stirred up the Irish hatred and bigotry against the hated Saxon; and while he carried the agitation to the point of insurrection, he declared he only sought the end aimed at by Constitutional means. Such was his power in Ireland, that he could command an audience of a quarter of a million, could talk them into a fever of passion, could cool them down again and send them home in peace. Grievances in Church and State, in Land Laws, and social conditions wanted redressing, and O'Connell thought they could only be redressed by an Irish Parliament. At one time he thought he could see success just ahead, and assured the people that this year, 1843, should then and for ever be called the Repeal Year. The demonstration at Clontarf, to be held on Sunday, October 8, was to complete the work. The numbers present were to be greater than at any other previous gathering, and the excitement was intense. The gravity of the occasion dawned upon the officials at Dublin Castle; but nothing was done till the day before October 8, when a proclamation was issued prohibiting the demonstration as a dangerous and seditious gathering. On the same day O'Connell issued another proclamation declaring the Lord Lieutenant must be obeyed, and thus showed to all parties he did not intend to take the sword and fight for repeal. But, for all that, he was apprehended and put upon his trial, and by a jury, not one of whom was a Roman Catholic, was found guilty and sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment and a fine of £2,000. He appealed to the House of Lords, and was kept in prison till the conviction was quashed, in September, 1844. Out of prison he came, the lion of the hour; but he was getting an old man, and his strength was fast failing. His young and passionate followers who wanted to fight fell from him, and formed the Young Ireland party. O'Connell lived on for three years longer, loved by many; but, shorn of his power, and wishing to die under the shadow of St. Peter's, at Rome, he took his journey thither, but he expired on the road, May 15, 1847.

If there was agitation for repeal of the union in Ireland, there was an agitation equally severe, but thoroughly Constitutional, for the repeal of the Corn Laws in England. Immediately after the close of the French war, in 1815, a prohibitive tax was put upon foreign corn until the price of home grain wheat had reached 80s. per quarter. This law was made by a Parliament representing almost exclusively the landed interest, in order to secure the farmer and landlord against the inundation of cheap corn, which was expected from the Continent as soon as peace was restored. In 1828 this law was altered, and a sliding scale was adopted, so that when the price of corn was under 37s. a quarter, the duty should be 50s. 8d., and when it rose to 73s. a quarter, the duty should be 1s. on foreign wheat. Any one can see the effect of these laws on the great manufacturing towns when work was scarce. In good harvests the pinch was felt severely enough, but in bad harvests famine stared in the face of vast numbers of people. The harvest of 1836 was wofully bad, and was matched by the scarcity of work. At Bolton-le-Moors, Lancashire, above 3,000 workmen were out of employment. This woke up thoughtful men, who were not farmers or landowners, to the cause of the wretchedness about them, and efforts began to be made for the total repeal of the laws which made bread dear, but did not increase wages. In 1839 the scattered energies of individuals and local associations were consolidated into the Anti-Corn Law League, which widened its base and became the channel through which to spread enlightened views on Free Trade generally. Richard Cobden gave himself up to the work, and sacrificed business and fortune to carry it to a successful issue; and before long he enlisted John Bright in the same cause. They laboured together each in his own way, the one by his patient, practical, persuasive addresses, the other by his splendid, stirring oratory, which took the people by storm. Nobly were they seconded by such men as Mr. Villiers, the titular head of the league, by Mr. W. J. Fox, by Mr. Milner Gibson, and by Mr. E. Elliot, the Corn Law rhymmer. Against them were the Chartists, the farmers, the Central Agricultural Society, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons. But such was the effect produced in 1840, that Lord J. Russell proposed a fixed duty of 8s. a quarter, and though it fell through with all the Whig financial scheme, yet this proposal was a point gained, and it had its effect upon Sir Robert Peel when he came into power. In fact, the coming in of the Tory Administration gave new life and vigour to the movement, for there was a distinct impression on the minds of the Leaguers that Sir Robert was at heart a

Free Trader. Not long had Sir Robert been in office when he fully admitted the principle except in the case of corn. His second budget was directly on the line of Free Trade, for while it put on the Property and Income Tax, even these imposts were made acceptable, if not popular, when it became clear that duties upon 750 out of 1,200 articles were either repealed altogether or modified, and that a new and improved sliding scale would take the place of the old one for corn. But still there went on agitation for total repeal, until the *Times* newspaper was bound to admit that the League was a 'great fact,' that subscriptions then thought fabulous had been given to aid its work, that a new power had risen in the State, and that it was vain to ignore or deride the movement. It is still doubtful, however, whether the question would have been finally settled when it was had not the rains of 1845 destroyed the wheat crops of England and the potatoe crops of Ireland. In years of plenty the ardour of the people sensibly cooled, but when the famine joined the League, as Mr. Bright put it, the Corn Laws were doomed. Sir Robert Peel had a heart, and it was so stirred with compassion for the people who lacked bread, that he would have thrown open the ports, but he could not bring over the Cabinet to the same mind. He resigned office, but no one could form a Ministry without him, and he had to return and deal with the great question of the day in spite of the opposition on his own side of the House. In January, 1846, Parliament was opened by the Queen in person, and there was an intense excitement to know what the Prime Minister would say about Free Trade; and when he made it clear that he was a convert to the Free Trade principles of the Manchester School, and that Protection must be abandoned, alarm filled the breasts of the old Tories, but joy the breasts of all who loved the country. All was passing off quietly when Mr. Disraeli rose in his place and made his famous speech, in which he heaped abuse without stint upon Sir Robert Peel, and called down the cheers of the 'Young England' party, whose spokesmen he now became. Mr. Disraeli had at length found his opportunity, and with the quickness of genius he seized it and made the most of it. He was laughed to scorn in 1838, now he is cheered to the echo; he was put down then, but now he compels even his enemies to listen. From this time Mr. Disraeli must be reckoned the Conservative leader, though we must admire the tact, the courage, and self-denial he displayed in so carefully using the power he had in the name of Lord G. Bentinck and Lord Derby while they lived.

The Corn Bill passed, which was really a new sliding scale with a maximum duty of 10s. a quarter, but containing a provision that in

three years even this should cease. It was upon the Irish Coercion Bill that Sir Robert Peel sustained the defeat which led to his resignation. In opposing this Bill the Young England could count on the support of Irish members with Radicals and Whigs. In three days Sir Robert announced his resignation in dignified and touching terms; he paid a just compliment to Mr. Cobden, and expressed a belief that, in future, as the poor man ate his cheap loaf, his own name might be remembered with some pleasure and good-will.

It was soon felt that Sir Robert did not contemplate taking office again for some time, if ever, but would give an independent support to Lord John Russell's Government. He lived but four years after his resignation, and, when at the early age of sixty-two, a fall from his horse resulted in his death, it was felt that England had lost a friend as well as a Statesman. He was, however, the founder of a school of Statesmen called Peelites, who, as years went on, carried forward the great work their chief had so well begun. Among them all Mr. Gladstone is the best known to this generation.

The first thing Lord John Russell's Ministry did was at once to throw open the ports to the free admission of foreign corn, hoping that this would mitigate, if it did not remove, the distress prevailing in England and Ireland. In the latter country, so disastrous and general had the famine been, that the population was reduced from eight millions to six. It taught the people that the land system was a failure, and that their only hope was in emigration. Then began that constant tide which has continued ceaselessly to flow to the United States and the Colonies. But among those who remained at home deep and dangerous tendencies were observed. The Young Ireland party went in for resisting English rule by armed rebellion. Smith O'Brian, an elderly gentleman of Royal Irish family and ample means, was the recognised leader, and with him were John Mitchell, Charles G. Duffy, and Thomas F. Meager. At an early period of the agitation Mitchell was transported, and the most dangerous spirit was removed from the country. There was a skirmish between some of the 'Confederates,' as they were called, and the police in a cabbage garden; the police were victorious. O'Brian and Meager were sent to Australia, and the rebellion of 1848 came to an end. This year also witnessed the last real scare of the Chartist movement. For some time a petition had been lying for signature in every part of the Kingdom, and it was said that five millions seven hundred thousand persons had signed it. A meeting of Chartists was arranged to be held on Kennington Common, where it was intended to form a

monster procession, which should march with the petition and present it to Parliament. This demonstration filled the people of London with alarm, the wildest stories were invented and believed, the Government took every precaution to prevent a popular rising, and the Duke of Wellington had soldiers stationed so as to be available on the shortest notice. When the day of the demonstration arrived, on April 10, the assembly was not greater than might be gathered at a first rate temperance meeting; no procession was formed, and Mr. O'Connor presented the petition, which was received by the House as an ordinary piece of business. When closely examined, it was found that not more than two millions of signatures were attached, and of these many were manifestly jokes and forgeries. The report on the petition so amused the House, that it burst into laughter, in the midst of which the petition was carried out. The Chartist movement collapsed, but many of the demands it contained have been conceded, and this age will not pass away without seeing some others become law.

The foreign policy of the Government was in the hands of Lord Palmerston, who for years had been in training in the Foreign Office. His name is associated with the independence of Belgium, and with Constitutional government in Spain and Portugal. He had to guide affairs while civil war raged in Switzerland and revolutions were convulsing Europe. But all these things had been done so quietly that the country had very little idea of the hand that was so well doing its work until the quarrel with Greece over the Don Pacifico affair led to a vote of censure upon the Government in the House of Lords, condemning its foreign policy. In the House of Commons, however, Lord Palmerston made his defence in a speech five hours long—a defence so powerful and convincing, that the Government came off victorious. Lord Palmerston was then recognised as a Statesman who understood the moods and desires of the English people, who would support British interests all over the world, and protect a British citizen wherever he might be, just as a Roman citizen was protected in the days of the great Empire. Hardly, however, had he gained this signal victory than he experienced a reverse of fortune he little expected, and that from the Queen. It was the result of the peculiar temperament of his lordship, who loved, as he expressed it, to make ‘a stroke off his own bat.’ He often, while Foreign Secretary, wrote dispatches without consultation with his colleagues, and many steps were taken which never would have been taken had any one had a hand in the business save himself. Many times the Queen was not aware that the country was committed to a line of policy till she

heard of it from abroad. This so annoyed the Queen and Prince Albert and the Government, that it was necessary to lay down, in decided terms, the course Lord Palmerston must follow in the conduct of business. But he was soon at his old practices again, and the crisis came in 1851, when it was known that, without consultation with anyone, he had approved the *coup d'état* of Louis Napoleon, the Prince President of the French Republic. True, he had not approved it in his official capacity; but it was enough for Napoleon to know that he would have no opposition from Lord Palmerston. Lord Palmerston was dismissed from office, and not a few thought he was gone for ever.

While Prince Albert was busy carefully considering the tendency of the Foreign Secretary's policy and chafing under the slights put upon the Queen by that self-willed Minister, he found more congenial employment in the great Exhibition of 1851. The first idea of it belonged to the Prince, and by his influence and energy mainly was it carried out successfully. He first suggested it to the Society of Arts in June, 1849. Then a scheme was laid before a meeting of bankers and merchants, and then was formed the Commission to manage the whole. By the majority of people the project was looked upon with great pleasure, while many expected it would usher in the reign of universal peace; but not a few looked upon it with suspicion, and were afraid of the foreigners it would bring into the country. The Palace of Glass began to rise in Hyde Park, and when completed was itself one of the chief attractions of the Exhibition. Articles of all kinds and from all nations came in and filled every court and foot of space, and on May 1 it was opened by the Queen in the presence of a company almost as distinguished as that which assembled at her coronation. All passed off in peace, and the enthusiasm was genuine and general. The opening was a success, and during the five months it was open success never deserted it. But it neither ushered in the reign of universal peace, as some expected, nor did it lead to disaster and ruin, as others feared.

'The Empire is Peace,' said Louis Napoleon, now that he had attained the object of his ambition and was proclaimed Emperor. But such words could not obliterate the painful impression which had been made a year before, when the *coup d'état* became known in this country. A profound and unpleasant conviction remained that he could not be trusted; that, following out the traditions of his family, he would seek to make a name by some grand and warlike policy, and probably attempt to avenge Waterloo. Anyhow, it was well to be prepared. The army and navy must be looked to, and the militia

must be reorganised. To effect the latter purpose, Lord John Russell introduced his Militia Bill, the principal point of which was to substitute a local militia for the regular force. But it was opposed, not only by the Conservatives, but by Lord Palmerston, and on it the Ministry was defeated by ten votes. And now Lord Palmerston had, as he expressed it, his 'tit for tat with John Russell,' and the Government resigned.

Lord Derby then formed his Ministry, composed of himself and Mr. Disraeli, for the other members were men of small note and ability. Lord Derby had some notion of returning to Protection, but Mr. Disraeli's political sagacity told him that there was no chance of doing so successfully. As Chancellor of the Exchequer, he made a fairly good impression, and raised hopes that, another Session and in happier circumstances, he might be able to do great things for the nation. The business of the expiring Parliament was wound up as quickly as possible and it was dissolved.

While the elections were going on the Duke of Wellington died at Walmer Castle on September 14, 1852, at the ripe age of eighty-four. Though he was the most successful general of his day, he had no love for war, and as soon as possible laid by the sword and gave himself to the good of his country by the cultivation of the arts of peace. His patriotism, his loyalty to duty, his singular affection for his Sovereign, made a far deeper impression on the hearts of the people than did his wonderfully-successful career as a soldier. Honours were showered upon him, he was looked up to and consulted as an oracle, and to the end enjoyed the love of his countrymen. When he died a public funeral was decreed, and his body was borne to St. Paul's Cathedral through silent crowds that lined the streets and thronged the windows and balconies on the route.

On November 4 the newly-elected Parliament assembled. The Conservatives were in a minority when the dissolution took place, but hoped their position would be improved by the election. That hope had not been realised to any important extent—it was still a Ministry on sufferance and liable to be turned out at any time. Much depended upon Mr. Disraeli's Budget, which could hardly fail to offend either the farmers, the Free Traders, or the Peelites; and in the end he succeeded in offending all together. His speech was remarkably clever, and showed that he could produce a Budget if the party to which he belonged would permit it. In order to conciliate his party, he proposed the reduction of the malt tax; but, to cover the deficit, he

proposed to double the house duty. It was soon evident that he had to fight a battle for existence, and he fought fiercely, and, apparently, successfully, making a most violent attack upon Sir C. Wood, his predecessor in office, until Mr. Gladstone sprang to his feet, and, in a most memorable speech, demolished the Budget and overthrew the Government. From that time till Mr. Disraeli took refuge in the House of Lords as Lord Beaconsfield, a period of twenty-four years, these two great men continued rivals in power and in Parliamentary debate.

The remainder of our review of the Victorian Age must be reserved for the April Number.

JOHN GAIR.

IX.—CURIOSITIES OF PURITAN NOMENCLATURE.*

THE author of this book has been exceptionally well placed to write a good work on the subject which he has selected. Himself a clergyman of no mean standing, and bearing a name known throughout the length and breadth of the land, there would open out to him many opportunities of acquiring from the register kept at the parish churches the information he required. His position, first as incumbent of St. Ann's, Manchester, and then as vicar of Ulverston, would bring to him the practical sympathy and help of those who had possession of the registers throughout the country. In addition to this, Mr. Bardsley's personal qualities would win for him the kindly regard of all those with whom he came in contact during the time he was engaged searching mouldy records nearly three hundred years old. But these things would go for little or nothing unless they were accompanied by earnest application and deep enthusiasm. The work done by Mr. Bardsley must have been immense, and surely at times dry and wearisome. Whatever labour he may have bestowed on the subject, he is well repaid by having produced such a pleasing and instructive work. Under the title of *Prologue* Mr. Bardsley adverts to the *pet-name period in England*, and informs us that no Bible names were to be found in this country at the time of the Conquest, and proceeds to intimate that the Norman not merely conquered the Englishman on the battle-field, but that the Norman names also overthrew the English names. The Normans could boast only a small list of names; and these names, being used not merely to designate the conquerors, but the conquered also, and spreading over the whole of England, caused great confusion, owing to many persons being called by the same name. Various attempts were made to remove the difficulty. One method was by the adoption of surnames. This was not sufficient for each man to preserve his individuality, especially in common conversation, and Mr. Bardsley says, 'The difficulty was naturally solved by, *firstly*, the adoption of *nick* forms; *secondly*, the addition of *pet* desinences. Thus Emma became by the one practice simple *Emm*, by the other *Emmott*.' The necessity of these nick and pet forms is amply demonstrated, as Mr. Bardsley shows, by the fact that about

* *Curiosities of Puritan Nomenclature*, by CHARLES W. BARDSLEY. Chatto and Windus, Piccadilly, London, 1880.

the year 1,300 nearly one-third of Englishmen were named either William or John.

The pet names assumed various forms of termination. *Kin*, expressing relationship, was to be found frequently attached to the baptismal names of children of both sexes. *Cock*, which Mr. Bardsley defines as 'pertness,' especially the pertness of lusty, swaggering youth, and which, perhaps, is to be discovered in *the cock of the school* of our boyhood, became as common a desinence as the one already mentioned. In addition to these two, Mr. Bardsley mentions two pairs of terminations *on* or *in*, *ot* or *et*, besides double terminatives to be found in such names as *Colinet*, *Robinet*, and *Dobinet*.

Scattered amongst the other names before the Reformation there were to be found a few Scriptural names. These names were not derived, as we might at first have expected, directly from the Bible. It is to be remembered that before this period the Bible, to the population generally, was a sealed book. Written in a strange tongue, of which the majority of priests had only a smattering, the Bible was doled out in small pittances to the people, and, therefore, their knowledge of the Bible could not be very extensive. The names with which they did become acquainted were such as came to them through the medium of the Romish Church. Mr. Bardsley regards them as coming from the Mystery Plays, the Crusades, the Saints' Calendar, and from the festivals of the Church.

Our author gives us some very interesting passages about the method in which some pre-Reformation names were chased out of the English name-list. Let one instance, which shall be that of *Malkin*, suffice. This name, which comes originally from *Mary*, was fashionable enough at one time. Afterwards it was made use of to designate a person in low condition of life; then, 'from a drab,' says our author, 'Malkin became a scare-crow. Hence, Chaucer talks of malkin-trash. As if this were not enough, malkin became the baker's clout to clean ovens with. Thus, as Jack took the name of the implements Jack used, as in boot-jack, so, by easy transitions, Malkin. The last hit was when Grimalkin, that is, grey-malkin, came to be the cant term for an old worn-out queen-cat. Hence, the witch's name in 'Macbeth.'

The book, in addition to the *Prologue* and the *Epilogue*, has only two chapters. To the first chapter is given the very appropriate title of *The Hebrew Invasion*. This title is a real index or key to the whole chapter, and, had the best of a thousand titles been adopted, it could not have better expressed the contents of this chapter. The first division of the chapter is equally happy, for if the series of events.

described in the chapter is like an invasion, the commencement of that series is like an army's march, and therefore Mr. Bardsley styles it *The March of the Army*.

The army began its march when the German Bible of 1560 made its appearance, being the Scriptures translated into the English tongue. In this book the common people could read in their own language those mysteries which, to some extent, had been hidden from them before. As they read it their attention would be drawn to the interesting events which it contained, and those personages whose doings it records would become known and admired; and it was, therefore, quite natural that they should wish to name their children by the names of those men whose lives and acts had imparted so much grandeur and glory to the inspired record. Another reason from the Bible helped the army in its earlier victories, and probably in its later ones too, and that was the Hebrew fashion of giving names to children expressive of the circumstances of the child's birth, or having some reference to the parents' hopes and aspirations in regard to the child.

In the earlier periods of the Reformation the old English names were used along with the new ones introduced from the Bible. At this time the Popish names only were rejected, but as Puritanism arose in numbers and influence, the old English names were as ruthlessly driven forth as savouring too much of Paganism. Thus, a new need was created for new names, and the Puritan, in his necessity, was driven to the Bible for names by which to call his children. In his selection of names the Puritan was assisted by the clergymen having Presbyterian sympathies, who displayed the utmost anxiety that the old names, with all the names introduced through the Romish church, should be obliterated as far as possible. The Northern counties were the last to give way to the invasion of the Hebrew army.

At last the army invaded Yorkshire, and our author says, in language beautifully picturesque:

The Genevan Bible crept into the dales and farmsteads, and their own primitive life seemed to be but reflected in its pages. The patriarchs lived as graziers, and so did they. There was a good deal about sheep and kine in its chapters, and their own lives were spent among the milk-pails and wool-shears. The women of the Old Testament baked cakes, and knew what good butter was. So did the dales' folk. By slow degrees Cecilia, Isabella, and Emma lapsed from their pedestals, and the little babes were turned into Sarahs, Rebeccas, and Deborahs. As the seventeenth century progressed the state of things became still more changed. There had been villages in Sussex and Kent previous to Elizabeth's death where the Presbyterian rector, by his personal influence at the time of baptism, had turned the new generation into a Hebrew colony. The same thing occurred

in Yorkshire only half a century later. As Nonconformity gained ground, Guy, and Miles, and Peter became forgotten. The lads were no sooner ushered into existence than they were transformed into duplicates of Goel, and Amos, and Obediah. The measles still ran through the family, but it was Phineas and Caleb, not Robert and Roger, that underwent the infliction. Chosen leaders of Israel passed through the critical stages of teething. As for the twelve sons of Jacob, they could all have answered to their names in the dames' schools, through their little apple-cheeked representatives, who lined the rude benches. On the village green every prophet from Isaiah to Malachi might be seen of an evening playing leap-frog, unless, indeed, Zephaniah was stealing apples in the garth.

Soon these names crossed into Lancashire, and took a firm hold there. The Puritans must have searched the obscurest name-lists of the Bible for some of their names. So obscure and uncommon were some of the names given, that Mr. Bardsley, with great frankness, confesses that in his researches he has lighted upon name after name that he did not know existed in the Bible at all until he found them in the Yorkshire and Lancashire directories.

At the present day the nomenclature of the North of England is drawn chiefly from the Bible. Our author records the following amusing stories:

A clerical friend of mine christened twins Cain and Abel, only the other day, much against his own wishes. Another parson on the Derbyshire border was gravely informed at the proper moment that the name of baptism was Ramoth-Gilead. 'Boy or girl, eh?' he asked in a somewhat agitated voice. The parents had opened the Bible haphazard, according to the village tradition, and selected the first name the eye fell on. It was but a year ago a little child was christened Tellno in a town within six miles of Manchester, at the suggestion of a cotton-spinner, the father, a workman of the name of Lees, having asked his advice. 'I suppose it must be a Scripture name,' said his master. 'Oh yes! that's of course.' 'Suppose you choose *Tellno*,' said the employer. 'That'll do,' replied the other, who never heard it before, and liked it better on that account. The child is now Tell-no Lees, the father, too late, finding that he had been hoaxed.*

One thing that ought to have made the Puritans limit their selection of names was euphony. Of that in their name-choosing they seemed to be altogether ignorant, or tried their utmost to offend correct taste. How barbarous and ugly look and sound such names as Kerenhappuch, Habakkuk, Mahaliel, Eli-lama-Sabacethani, Talitha-Cumi, Mabershalahasbaz, and Zaphnaphpaneah in the English language. Yet names of this class outraged good English and sound sense in the days of the Puritans. We believe the practice is not quite extinct yet, and it would be well if ministers of all denominations

* Lie is *lee* in Lancashire dialect.

would do their utmost to stamp it out. In his second division Mr. Bardsley discusses the 'popularity of the Old Testament,' as a source from which the Puritans drew names. This division is especially interesting, but we cannot give more than a summary of it. There are several instances given to show how interesting as a name-source the Old Testament was. Then he tries to account for the fondness of Puritans for gloomy names. This is a remarkable feature in the nomenclature of their age. We find such names as Lamentations, Aphrah, Benoni, and Ichabod. Was not this a serious reflection on the kind of treatment that the Puritans received? As soon as they appeared attempts were made to crush them out of being. Elizabeth hated them as much as she did Romanists, and perhaps a little more. We know also that James, at the beginning of his reign, mocked them with the Hampton Court Conference, and drove them therefrom with words of ominous meaning, 'I will make them conform, or I will harry them out of the land.' It seems to us that there was enough in such treatment to make them sad and gloomy. Undoubtedly their melancholy nomenclature was a protest against the cruel tyranny under which they groaned. This is further supported by the fact that, as the freedom brought by the Commonwealth appeared, the gloomy names disappeared, and parents began to name their children in a more pleasing way.

In the third division, under the head of 'objectionable Scripture names,' our author enters a very sensible protest against such names as Tamar, Bathsheba, Ananias, Antipas, Drusilla. Equally objectionable, though for a different reason, are such names as Emanuel and others which belong to celestial beings.

The introduction of the Biblical nomenclature could not take place without very seriously affecting the old names which were in use previous to the Reformation, and there must have taken place a great loss of old English names. It is to this great loss that the fourth division of this chapter is devoted. We have before shown how the names introduced through the medium of the Romish church were abolished, as a result of the Reformation, and how the old English names were served in the same fashion by the Puritans, because they imagined that these names came from a Pagan source. It makes us wonder that the Puritans did not cut their own throats, and thus blot themselves out of existence, seeing that they themselves had come from Papal and Pagan sources.

We deeply regret the loss of many of the old English names, though we do not much care about the loss of many of those names that came

through the Romish church, because most of them were foreign to the English language, and therefore appeared barbarous. The Hebrew invasion drove out the pet forms which had at one time been so extensively used throughout the whole country. Mr. Bardsley, in accounting for this disappearance, gives some very good reasons indeed. In answer to the question, 'Why should this be?' he says:

An important reason strikes us at once. The ecclesiastical names on which the enclitics had grown had become unpopular throughout England. It was an English, not a Puritan, prejudice. With the suppression of the names proper went the desinenes attached to them. The tree being felled, the parasite decayed. Another reason was this, the names introduced from the Scriptures did not seem to compound well with these terminatives. The Hebrew name would first have to be turned into a nick form before the diminutive was appended. The English peasantry had added 'in,' 'ot,' 'kin,' and 'cock' only to the nickname, never to the baptismal form. It was Wat-kin, not Walterkin; Bat-kin, not Bartholomewkin; Wil-cock, not Williamcock; Colin, not Nicholas-in; Phil-pot, not Phillipot. But the popular feeling for a century was against turning the new Scripture names into curt or nick forms. As it would have been an absurdity to have appended diminutives to sesquipedalian names, national wit, rather than deliberate plan, prevented it. If it was irreverent, too, to curtail Scripture names, it was equally irreverent to give them the diminutive dress. To prove the absolute truth of my statement, I have only to remind the reader that, saving 'Nat-kin,' not one single Bible name introduced by the Reformation and the English Bible has become conjoined with a diminutive.

This extract will show that with the pet forms the nicknames took their departure also, and whatever name was given to a Puritan child, that name, however short or long, clung to him throughout life in all its fulness, as the abolition of nick forms did not allow of any alteration or contraction of the word whatever.

The remaining division of this chapter is entitled, 'The General Confusion,' and though there is much that is interesting in it, we will pass it by with just this mention of it.

In Chapter II. Mr. Bardsley deals with names which he regards as evidences of *Puritan eccentricities*. In his introduction to this chapter he adverts to the scepticism of many persons in regard to eccentricities in the matter of Puritan name-giving. Some of these he rightly regards as 'Nonconformists, who do not like the slights thus cast upon their spiritual ancestry, unaware that, while this curious phase was at its climax, Puritanism was yet within the pale of the Church of England.' We thank Mr. Bardsley for these words. It seems to us that, as Puritanism developed more fully into a protest against Episcopalianism, and thus drew nearer to what really is Non-conformity, it abandoned the practice of giving absurd Scripture

names and phrases to the children. If there is any honour or dishonour in the matter at all, it undoubtedly belongs to the Church of England, as Puritanism remained in the Church until after the decay of the objectionable practice, and would probably have remained until this time had it not been for the fatal day of St. Bartholomew, when 'nearly two thousand rectors and vicars, or about a fifth of the English clergy, were driven from their parishes as Nonconformists.'*

It is an easy matter to understand why the Puritans selected their names from the Bible; but it is hard to say why, in so many instances, they selected some of the strangest and absurdest names which can be found in the obscurest places of the Bible. It might be, as our author says, that 'it was a practice instituted of deliberate purpose, as conducive to vital religion, and as intending to separate the truly godly and renewed portion of the community from the world at large.' This undoubtedly is correct to some extent. But it is difficult to conceive that the Puritans would believe that the *curious* names would aid this separation, or intensify the zeal of the rising generation. These names would tend to cause the children to swear rather than to pray. We should think that the Puritan possessed too much religious intelligence to be led astray by such ideas. It has been said that bodies of men, and even whole nations, have been led astray so far in the pursuit of a chimera as to make their conduct resemble madness, and it is possible that a passion for eccentric names had taken possession of the Puritans similar to that mania we have now-a-days for a legion of baptismal names.

In the second division of the second chapter Mr. Bardsley discusses the question of the origin of the eccentricities. He considers that the practice was begun and greatly encouraged by the Presbyterian clergy, and he instances two—Hopkinson, of Salehurst, and Hely, of Warbleton—as giving these names to their own children. It is to be presumed that the villagers would follow the example of their clergymen, who would make use of all the pressure they well could—to prevail on parents and god-parents to name their children in the same way.

Our author states that the commencement of the system of Biblical nomenclature was about the year 1580, and while the purely Biblical names swept over the whole country, those names 'that savour of eccentricity and fanaticism combined scarcely reached England north of the Trent, and, for lack of volume, have left but the faintest traces.'

* Green's *Short History of the English People*.

We will pass over the third division, which is devoted to curious names not Puritan, and proceed to the fourth, in which are given instances of the eccentricities with which Puritans are charged. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries there was a pedantic practice among learned men of assuming Latin names. Before the Reformation was completed this practice had been introduced at the font, and we find English children receiving in baptism Latin names. This practice was tolerated somewhat by the Puritan clergy, especially when the names given had been borne by the fathers of the church. Mr. Bardsley states that, quite early, the names *Renovata*, *Donatus*, and others had become quite common.

It might be anticipated that, among a class of men so intensely religious as the Puritans, 'grace-names' would early become favourites. Such was the case. Our author states that these names were probably suggested by the moralities or interludes which were a mixture of the mystery play and the regular drama. The three Graces themselves soon became favourites. 'Love, as the synonym of Charity, was also a favourite.' Other instances are to be found in Humanity, Clemency, Mercy, Constance, Patience, Prudence, and Truth. These by no means exhaust the list. Honour, Temperance, and Silence may be added. The last, like some other names, was applied indiscriminately to boys and girls. It might do well enough for men, but there were many men, especially in Puritan times, who would regard it as a misnomer when applied to the opposite sex. It would sound comical, indeed, to hear a Puritan mother saying to a mischievous two-year-old, 'Now, Experience, do be a good boy.' Yet this was a grace name. The Puritans, still progressing, left grace names behind, and next made use of 'exhortatory names.' In regard to these names Mr. Bardsley says, 'I am bound to confess, however, that the prevailing tone of these names is rather contradictory of the picture of gloomy sourness drawn by the facile pens of Macaulay and Walter Scott.'

At the head of this class is placed 'Praise-God' Barebone, as being the most celebrated. This head of the Rump Parliament is said to have had two brothers, with the inordinately long names of 'Jesus-came-into-the-world-to-save,' and 'If-Jesus-had-not-died-for-thee-thou-hadst-been-damned.' Mr. Bardsley seems hardly to credit this statement, and the names are too long for any one to accept, unless they be supported by better testimony than that which has been adduced up to the present. The names which our author gives as instances do not at all confirm the long names of the brothers Barebone. On the

contrary, they seem to consist of one, two, and three words. Illustrations of this assertion are to be found in the names Help-on-high, Be-thankful, Magnify, Be-strong, Give-thanks, Repent, Obey, Live-well, Do-good, and Fare-well. In fact, in all the instances introduced we cannot find one well authenticated case of the paragraph-length class attributed to the brothers of the unfortunate Praise-God Barebone. After mentioning the eccentricities which arose from the 'accidents of birth,' the work proceeds, after referring also to eccentricities that were general, to observe what has been said by a scoffing world.

Everyone knows how everything that is Puritan has been lampooned, skitted, and raved at by wits, and poets, and writers great and small. Of course, these men were persons of extraordinary holiness and chastity, and not what many of them are said to have been, so immoral that it would be a matter of heavy fine or imprisonment to quote even the titles of some of their works. While these men have not failed to attack what may be regarded as the strong points of Puritanism, and tried to hold them up to ridicule, it is to be expected that they would unmercifully gibbet the weaknesses of Puritanism, and in this nothing could have afforded them a better opportunity than the Puritans did in giving such outrageous Christian names. The wits embraced the opportunity given them, and Mr. Bardsley, in several extracts, shows with what skill they did their work. As this paper has already extended beyond its intended limit, we will only say that Mr. Bardsley, after noticing under this head, in addition to the playwrights, the 'Sussex jury,' and the 'Royalists with Puritan names,' he closes the chapter with dissertations on 'Bunyan's debt to the Puritans,' and 'the influence of Puritanism on American nomenclature.'

At the end of the work follows an *Epilogue*, in which our author treats on 'Double Christian names, their rise and progress.' These double Christian names are becoming very common, and it is not often that you will find a family of children now without nearly all of them having more than one name. And we suppose this practice will continue until it becomes more absurd than the Puritan Nomenclature, and then the fashion will change.

Of Mr. Bardsley's work we have little to say in the way of criticism except praise. One thing in the book is very disagreeable, and that is the constant application of the words *zealot* or *fanatic* to the Puritans. We know that, in the use of these terms, our author does

not wish to offend, as he is free from everything approaching to narrow-mindedness or bigotry. Still, the words are offensive.

The book is written in a graceful, easy style, and those who know and have heard the writer will recognise it as perfectly natural. We trust that the work may become as widely known as it deserves to be, as it is calculated to give both instruction and pleasure to all classes of readers, except those who are at once captious and bigoted; and it may be relied upon as a faithful account of the subject Mr. Bardsley has taken in hand.

T. HINDLEY.

X.—POETS AND THEIR WIVES.

Marriage is such a rabble rout,
That those that are out would fain get in,
And those that are in would fain get out.

THIS sentiment of the father of English poetry, looking at it as we do four centuries after its utterance, is prophetic of the conjugal life of his literary sons and daughters. So much of infelicity, disappointment, and discord has entered into their lives, that, were we fatalists or believers in chance, we should feel that the fates had been unkind to them. Discarding these agencies, we are brought face to face with the natural law of cause and effect, nothing more. One of the number has said, 'We are not poets without suffering for it.' The peculiar sensitiveness that is seldom wanting in a poet, coming in contact with commonplace thought and action, produces a discord proportionate to the delicacy of feeling. This sensitiveness enables him to see more of the beautiful than his neighbour sees, while it compels him to look farther into the darkness and gloom that surrounds him. The ordinary man sees nothing more in the rain-storm than the formation of mud, or, at most, the increased facilities of his mill and a greater growth of his grain.

These, and far more than these,
The poet sees.
He can behold
Things manifold,
That have not yet been fully told.
For his thought that never stops
Follows the water-drops
Down to the graves of the dead,
Down through chasms and gulfs profound
To the dreary fountain-head
Of lakes and rivers underground.

To the poet the realities of life, as such, are either trifling or vexing. It is only when the poet gives place to the man that he is of the earth. One cannot, at the same time, walk upon the earth and ramble among the stars. To make the attempt is to occupy an unenviable place between man and angels. Above the one, not reaching the other, he finds humanity uncongenial; humanity finds him uncompanionable. The muses are so exacting in their demands, so powerful in their influence, that he who would receive their patronage must give them his heart. Devoted thus to the conceptions of his brain, his wife must be content to occupy a second place. Goethe became so much in love with one of his imaginary characters that he was compelled to change the plan of his drama. The wife of Dryden once told her husband that

she wished she were a book, that she might receive more attention from him. More than once during his married life poor Dryden wished the same. Unless a poet's wife possesses a soul appreciative of poetry she cannot comprehend and humour her husband's moods. Her love and admiration for the poet must overcome her distaste for the asceticism of the man, or an estrangement follows, which, disclosed, might reveal the sad condition that existed between Etherege's shoemaker and wife, 'We speak to one another civilly, and hate one another heartily.'

The world expects a poet's wife to be more than an ordinary woman. Doubtless, the poet expects it, and in the disappointment that follows loses his own strength while brooding over her weakness. To exaggerate her faults and underrate her virtues is a self-imposed task of the people, who forget that marrying a poet does not make her a poetess. The wings of the muses that hover over her husband and touch his soul, fanning its melody into song, come no nearer her because she lives with him with whom they live and loves him whom they love. Possibly posey has separated more hearts than it has united. The muse of Elizabeth Barrett Browning was her own, and would have been no less her's had she not married Robert Browning. It was not marrying the poet which made her the sweet singer that she was; yet the harmony of their souls is beautifully expressed in the harmony of their lives. What if her songs are sweeter than his and carry us farther heavenward? They exalted him also by their sweet influence. Benedictions rested on one English poet, if on no more.

The change from the overflowing tenderness of a poetical lover to the unpoetical severity of an exacting husband, if it must occur, should be a slow one. Too sudden bending breaks the steel. Chaucer, in his 'Court of Love,' admonishes all lovers that obedience to the slightest caprice of their mistresses is one of the first of duties. If he wrote from experience, which he must have done if Taine's saying is true, that extreme situations are never painted otherwise than by experience, he had a long time in which to perform that duty. His 'eight years' sickness' was his anxious waiting for the hand and heart of Philippa Rouet. It almost seemed that his hopes were built on air, and likely to end in a dream; but when he had reached his forty-second year his patient waiting was rewarded, and she became his wife. Of their domestic life we know very little, but draw our conclusions of her submission to his will and his somewhat despotic demands from his own description of a good wife:

She saith not once nay when he saith yea.
'Do this,' saith he; 'All ready, sir,' saith she.

Comparing this sentiment of the husband with the advice to the lover, and we reach cause and effect, modified in this instance by Chancer's patience before marriage, and Philippa's affection and submission after marriage.

Shakespeare, whose creations of Juliet and Cornelia, of Ophelia and Portia, have helped to make him 'the immortal,' has given the world a personal experience that reveals the mortal. His boyish love found expression in verse, and among other eulogies he says:

But were it in my fancy given
To rate her charms, I'd call them heaven;
For, though a mortal made of clay,
Angels must love Anne Hathaway.

These charms, which Shakespeare, the poetic lover, sang, Shakespeare, the husband, easily deserted. A partial explanation of his conduct, although not an excuse for it, is seen in his 'Twelfth Night,' in which he, doubtless, speaks from experience:

Our fancies are more giddy and infirm,
More longing, wavering, sooner lost and won
Than woman's are.
Then let thy love be younger than thyself,
Or thy affections cannot hold the bent.

Suppose Anne Hathaway had been eight years younger and William Shakespeare eight years older, what then? Concerning such natures as his we cannot venture far upon probabilities, yet eight years brings much wisdom to so receptive a mind. Beyond the incompatibility of years the actual exists. To the poet, and to such a poet as Shakespeare, whose knowledge of petty things was not slight, and whose penetration was not superficial, familiarity is not inspiring. Their dreams of love have often been more beautiful than the loves of their dreams. If they would lose none of the beauty, they must remain in dreams, or dwell in a remote world which ordinary existence does not reach. We see no tender attachment to the wife, even when public life is laid aside for the quiet delights of home. 'The second best bed and its hangings,' which his will gave her, shows his want of regard and love in an unmistakable manner. It is easy for us to throw the mantle of charity over a Shakespeare. We gladly seek to cover his faults, and conceal them from our own and from the public gaze. Above the private vices and virtues of his life genius arises, and before genius we stand speechless.

Susceptibility, which poets possess in a great degree, often takes the place of good judgment. We have learned to look upon the man of genius with expectancy, yet we are no less surprised at startling results. The studious, puritanical Milton, who, from the age of twelve years,

had taken such delight in his books that he seldom retired to rest until after midnight, who had travelled until he must have been familiar with all phases of society, who had acquired a name that Grotius and Galileo delighted to honour, was captivated by the beautiful face of Mary Powell, and married her after a four weeks' acquaintance. Before another month had waned he was a deserted husband. Their disappointment was mutual. The gay daughter of a cavalier had no taste for Milton's 'spare diet and hard study,' while he, congratulating himself on having 'an intimate and speaking help,' found only a 'mute and spiritless mate.' Their habits, tastes, and education did not harmonise. A miner, who spends his life in the depths of earth, finds his pleasure there; his gloomy mine is better than the world of light. We do not know how much Milton's domestic life gave character to 'Paradise Lost,' but we catch glimpses of his sentiments in the 'meek surrender' of Eve, and in Adam's 'smile of superior love.' His 'Treatise of Divorce' was an outgrowth of his conjugal infelicity. Much, doubtless, might have been spared him had his nature been less stern, and had he made an effort to be companionable. We are glad that at last a reconciliation was made, and that this great poet lived in comparative peace not only with Mary Powell, but also with the two wives that succeeded her. We wish only peace to the memory of the author of 'Paradise Lost.'

The life of one of the poets has been called one of 'expectations and rebuffs, many sorrows and many dreams, some few joys, a sudden and frightful calamity, a small fortune, and premature end.' To but few does this sad picture better apply than Lord Byron. His history has scarcely a parallel for sadness, and to solve the problem of his misery, he takes us back to his boyhood:

And thus untaught in youth my heart to tame,
My springs of life were poisoned. 'Tis too late!
Yet am I changed; though still enough the same
To feed on bitter fruits without accusing fate.

A mystery will, doubtless, always envelop Byron's unhappy marriage, but he gives us a clue to the origin of much of his trouble. The evil temper of his mother drove him to desperation when he was a mere child, and her 'little lame brat' retained too much of her nature. His wild passion developed itself in various ways—in falling in love when eight years old, in premeditating suicide, and in his statement that the day before he proposed to Lady Byron he had no idea of doing so. He has been accused of marrying Miss Millbank for money, while others have thought him influenced by spite; but there is good reason for believing that he was influenced by neither of these motives.

Before his first proposal, Byron said, 'She interested me exceedingly, and I became daily more attached to her.' A presentiment of the unhappy future that was before them caused him to feel at his wedding that he was signing his own death-warrant. After the marriage there was a year of splendid dinner-parties and fashionable life, followed by a final separation. One of Byron's biographers says that his domestic misfortunes called for our pity as surely as his genius called for our admiration. Sad, indeed, must have been the heart of him who could say at twenty-eight :

I have outlived myself by many a day,
Having survived so many things that were.
My years have been no slumber, but the prey
Of ceaseless vigils; for I had the share
Of life which might have filled a century
Before its fourth in time had passed me by.

Shelley sings songs equally sad. When nineteen years of age he eloped with Harriet Westbrook, and their married life, commenced under such unfavourable circumstances, ended still more sadly. A gradual estrangement was followed by a mutual agreement to separate. Three years after their separation the heart-broken wife committed suicide by drowning; six years later Shelley met death by accident in the same way.

The unhappiness that poets generally have suffered in their loves has not always been due to uncongeniality. A strange fatality has often followed when hearts have been united. One quiet Sabbath day Robert Burns and Mary Campbell pledged their vows of love over an open Bible. They then went forth their different ways, with Burns singing,

She has my heart, she has my hand,
By sacred truth and honour's band!
Till the mortal stroke shall lay me low
I'm thine, my Highland lassie, O!

Before they could meet again his 'Highland Mary' was dead.

When a mere lad Burns had loved Jean Armour, and later he married her; but her father compelled her to renounce her husband and burn the marriage certificate, which, according to the customs of Scotland, annulled the marriage. Years after, when fame had wreathed the poet, the rites were again performed, and he lived in comparative happiness until his death. There were times, however, when his intellectual life seemed not to have proper nourishment, and, self-conscious, he says, 'I sit by the fire and listen to the hum of the spinning-wheel. I have no converse but with the ignorance that incloses me; my life is dwindled down to mere existence.'

Were these conjugal disappointments and sorrows confined to the English poets, we might think them produced by local influences, by the gloominess and rigour of England's fogs and climate, or by the stern elements that enter into the character of the Anglo-Saxon. If we leave this country of mists and cross into Germany, we find the greatest poets of that nation have had similar experiences. Schiller acknowledged the resignation of his Laura as the great sacrifice of his youth. When the bitterness of that had somewhat abated, he saw and loved a beautiful girl, only to find that a poor poet need not aspire to titled nobility. Again he bestowed the earnest, yet somewhat solemn, love of his heart upon a bookseller's daughter, but her father refused consent to the marriage. The friends of Schiller sought to dissipate his many disappointments by bringing him to Dresden, where he met Charlotte Von Lengefeld, who was also suffering under the melancholy of disappointed love. These two became attached to each other; so great was the similarity of their tastes, that one biographer says, 'Their souls began to love before their hearts were moved in harmony.' How pleasing Schiller's life must have been during the remainder of it we catch from a sentence of his. 'Life is quite a different thing by the side of a beloved wife.'

Goethe passed through the various phases of love, engagement, and broken pledges. Beautiful in person and mighty in intellect, winning the love of the pretty peasant girl and the stately court lady, flattered by the attentions which he received from houses of rank and circles of beauty, he married at last an uneducated woman who had been his domestic.

'Tis melancholy, and a fearful sign
Of human frailty, folly, also crime,
That love and marriage scarcely can combine.

Dante, mourning his lost Beatrice, was persuaded by his friends to marry Gemma, hoping thus to lessen his grief. As might be expected, the marriage was not a happy one. After his long exile, Italy's great poet did not return to his wife.

Whether it be due to the peculiarities of the language or to other causes, France has never produced a great poet. Racine was married to a woman who exerted all her influence to prevent his writing, and she succeeded in checking whatever might have been the outgrowth of his efforts. She made her boast that she had never read a word of his writings. Racine was a kind and faithful husband, yet he is quoted as the one poet who was never really in love.

It is pleasing to turn from the follies and sorrows that once entered so largely into the conjugal life of the poets to the more harmonious present. Without intruding into the sacredness of the private life of our modern poets, we cannot fail to see happy homes and united hearts. Has the poet's nature changed? We see quite as convincing proofs of the delicate sensibility in Tennyson or Longfellow as in Milton or Byron—not changed, but controlled. If we seek the cause, possibly we shall find it in the influence of the age upon individual life—ennobling womanhood, and thus fitting her for her position. Certain it is that a poet is largely governed by the demands of the people in his literary life, and it is a pleasing age in which to live when the tastes of the people ask not for the portrayal of tragic scenes and war, but rather choose the quiet delights of home and the songs of love and peace. Whatever be the cause of the change, we see the sincerity of the poet, and feel that heart-felt emotion in the music that inspires the melody.

My low-roofed cottage is this hour a heaven.
Music is in it, and the song she sings,
That sweet-voiced wife of mine, arrests the ear
Of my young child awake upon her knee.

One of our American poets dedicates 'the work of his hand to the wife of his heart.' A more beautiful homage than this could not be paid to a poet's wife, honoured as were never the kings and queens and titled nobility, who sold their names, only too willing to exchange money for honour. Better even than the days of Shakespeare or Goethe is our own time, when from the heart of most of our poets can come the works written by the translator of Goethe's 'Faust,'

I have ceased to question time.
I only know that once there pealed a chime
Of joyous bells, and then I held you fast,
And all stood back, and none my right denied,
And forth we walked; the world was free and wife
Before us. Since that day
I count my life—the past is washed away.

This glad era that has dawned upon poets and their wives will have reached its brightness when, in the fulness of years, all can heartily repeat what one of them wrote on his wedding day:

I think this wedded wife of mine
The best of all that's not divine.

AMERICAN NATIONAL REPOSITORY.

PRACTICAL HOMILETICS.

FAITH SUBDUING KINGDOMS.

‘Who, through faith, subdued kingdoms.’—Heb. xi. 33.

THE eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews reads like a grand triumphal march. It is full of an all-conquering energy, of an all-powerful vitality, which steadily forces its way onward, and is more than a match for every difficulty it meets. It sounds like the tramp of a vast army, which, with bugles sounding and banners flying, with great heroes who have performed exploits at which the world grows pale, with men who have risen up to the grandest deeds recorded on the whole historic page, moves onward in stately progression, under the leadership of its captain, in order to conquer and enjoy every realm of the habitable globe. It is the triumphal march of the host of God's elect. It is the filing past as of the great army of light. It is the deathless array of those men and women who have believed in God, who have been recipient of His energy, and, in the might of that energy, have conquered self and sin and many of the kingdoms of this world. It gives the names of those who, through faith, have been transfigured into nobleness, grandeur, strength, who, through faith, left weakness behind them, and took much of God's power instead. It brings before us those men who, being men, knew that they were also spirits, who drew upon the resources of the spiritual nature, and found that that nature could come into connection with God, and could receive from His fulness enough to meet all need. Thus, as it is a record of past exploits, it is also a prophecy of future victories. It is full of hope and confidence, full of exultation and vigour. The army still moves onward flushed with victory. All its past conquests point to greater deeds, and, fresh from one triumph, it advances to the next work of the hour. It is led by One who will neither fail nor be discouraged till He have set judgment in the earth. It is His purpose that all earthly kingdoms and institutions shall be either destroyed or changed until human society has been modelled anew after His ideal, and men of faith attack these kingdoms by His ordination. They are inspired and directed by Him, and hence they can no more be withstood than the Christ Himself.

I.—*Let us note, then, that men of faith have the prophetic*

vision and aim to realise the Divine ideal. The kingdoms of this world, the institutions, organisations, societies which are opposed to Christ form a solid and compact mass, a formidable phalanx firmly knit together, which may well overawe anyone who is not possessed by faith in God. Any human society is a great growth which has slowly attained its present dimensions, which has its roots far away deep down in the past, which is protected by an almost impenetrable fence of conventionalisms, in which right and wrong are strangely blended, and which has many massive fortresses of solid right that frown terribly on every assailant. If we only think of the mode in which any manufacturing town, for example, has attained its celebrity, how it has grown, perhaps, from a small village to be one of the strongholds of the nation, and how various customs and usages have advanced with it; how riches have increased, and education, and culture; and how, along with these good things, evil has contrived to entwine itself, then we may see how solid, and deep, and powerful is the kingdom to be assailed. For it is the will of Christ that all that is evil shall be cast out, and that society shall be purified and re-organised on truer and holier principles. But the evil is mixed up with the good, and is, much of it, in good men. Hence, it is very hard to get at it. It does not come out and show itself in the light. Its upholders often have no sense of the harm they are doing. But that kingdom of evil knows well it is a terrible unity, its movements are guided with wondrous subtlety and skill, and anyone who thinks of attacking it, and is likely to do execution, may expect its most unrelenting hatred.

But men of faith, seeing the greatness of their task, can also see beneath the surface, and can tell how much there is there that is wholly working for God. They can see that substantial right must be the founder of every enduring edifice, and that, in proportion as society or organisation has moved off the lines of right, in that same proportion must it oscillate and become unstable. Nothing that is wrong can endure, any more than a system of machinery can last when the centre of gravity is not supported. The only possible centre of gravity for any society that is to endure is eternal and indefeasible right, and in so far as anything is morally wrong, it has departed from this centre. Hence, that great law of rectitude is fighting against it, is causing it to break up, and must ere long bring it to ruin. Evil of every kind and shape is practically committing suicide, it is using up its powers, it is burning out its fires, and it must perish. Forces, subtle, impalpable, unceasing, are acting against it. These forces have been set in motion by the God of the universe, they are held by this

hand and directed by this wisdom, and so surely as this power is supreme, must that evil pass away. Now, men of faith have this prophetic vision, they can see natural laws working for God, and they know that all evil has but a short lease of power.

Moreover, they can generally take a large and extended view. As a rule, they are not little, narrow men, of the parochial vestry type. They do not live within the limits of the age or the century. They remember that any portion of man's existence is but a very small arc of the great curve of human progress. They remember that any part of the earth we can see seems to be flat, whereas a truer and larger estimate shows earth to be a sphere, and that, in the same way, any little piece of man's history can never be rightly seen until it is fitted into the whole, and made a part of the grand totality of the purpose of God. And it is that purpose upon which men of faith mainly fix. 'God wills it' is the inscription which most constantly meets their eye, as it is also the inspiration which most completely sustains their confidence. And, as they take the larger and more complete view, they can see in all human history one continuous forward march. They can see that will of God expressing itself in the great movements of men as distinctly as the Divine idea has expressed itself in the geologic strata. Behind all the human actors the men of faith can see the Divine Worker, and all the thinkers and warriors. The kings and statesmen who move along the pages of history, and seem to make that history, are only a flotilla carried along by the gulf stream which the Divine hand hath directed. The men of faith, taking this larger view, can see that evil is as powerless to overcome the forces that are advancing to destroy it as men who can only affect a little plot of earth are to cause a change in the motions of the heavenly bodies. High above all human causation, raised into a region of serene and imperturbable calm, that heavenly purpose stretches. Men of faith see this grand determination of God, and they know that the counsel of the Lord shall stand; and they know, too, by the silent, onward movement of this massive force, every kingdom of evil shall be ground into powder.

Moreover, men of faith are inspired by God, and hence they move along His lines and aim to realise His ideal. They do not go to work in a hasty, blundering fashion, assailing, in their eagerness to reach the evil, many things that are good. They do not go in the teeth of great natural laws, which God hath set up to guide men. They aim only at introducing some subtle, yet powerful force, which, like a strong acid, shall eat away the dross of sin and leave the pure gold of that

which is natural and human more beautiful and splendid than ever. They seek to set up nothing which is narrow, nothing which is antiquated, nothing that cramps the human mind, nothing that is intellectually weak, nothing that will not allow full and free play for all the energies of man's glorious being. They aim simply to bring in God's order and establish God's ideal; to sweep away all limiting human conceptions, and to build up man and man's handiwork according to the scale and having the majesty which God designed. God's ideal of men and of life must of necessity be the best; it must include all really good things which any man could suggest; it must embody all the noblest conceptions of the greatest of all time, and, as such, it must be best worth striving after. All the Utopias of all reformers can only be faint glimpses and shadows of the kingdom which Christ intends to set up. Often they are prophecies of that kingdom, but the reality will far exceed them. God's ideal must also be the most natural. It must proceed upon the most complete and comprehensive estimate of men's powers, and it must be best adapted to those powers. It must be, not some impossible and far-off attainment, but rather the normal and unconstrained working of man's energies. As such, that ideal must be the wisest, the plan of its construction must be the most solid and logical, and the forces, indeed, to realise it must be the most powerful and constant. Moreover, God's way of realising it, the way which the man of faith follows, must be the most practical and that which involves the least disturbance. For this is always the characteristic of the Divine working, that it has no unseemly breaks, it does not go by starts, it is like that silent movement which brings about the changes of the seasons. Spring glides into summer we scarcely can tell how, we only know that the pressure of God's hand in ordaining law brings it about. So God accomplishes all His purposes. He is not aiming at revolution, but at reformation; not at a destructive anarchy, but at gradual growth; not to tare away institutions with violence, as is the dream of the fanatic, but rather to mould them softly and silently until they shall answer the Divine ideal. God's thought is to purify, to greaten, to ennoble men. When man has grown like God, all man's buildings will have a corresponding elevation.

Thus we may see that broad and powerful forces are fighting against those kingdoms which men of faith seek to subdue. There are oscillations and disintegrations going on, which of themselves tend to destroy those kingdoms. They have against them the pressure of God's mighty hand and all the stream and tendency which He directs. They have against them grand energies of man's nature, which they distort,

imprison, mutilate, or destroy. The instinct of self-preservation compels men to rebel against them. Hence, although those kingdoms seem compact and formidable, it is only in seeming; they are honey-combed through and through; they are waxing old; their adherents are only half-hearted; they cannot put forth their strength, for they know that God is against them. For this reason, men of faith are not fanatics, visionaries, dreamers. They have that side to their nature, but the vision which they see is the vision of God; it is produced by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost; it is the thought of Christ living in their minds and operative in their wills. Hence, because it is a *Divine idea* which they seek to embody, and because they are led by God, they have the cool, practical caution which is associated with the highest wisdom. However lofty their conception, they know that it can only become a real fact in the world by solid, earnest work. They must plant their feet firmly on the earth, they must build up on present foundations from men and institutions as they now are to men and institutions as God wants them to be. It is this Divine caution which keeps them safe, and goes far to prove their inspiration has come from God. They venture sometimes to make daring statements, but they arrive at these by solid logic. Men of faith can see more than others can. They have the prophet's vision, they can pierce behind the veil to the solemn realities of heaven. As they confront the dusky adherents of evil they are themselves looking on the glory of the Lord; they can see the overwhelming force of the army of light; they can see its vast hosts advancing in steady ranks to crush their foe; and hence they neither faint nor fail. With calm front they face the evil system, and they know that in a little while the power of the Lord shall descend upon it and grind it to dust.

II.—*Men of faith are in such vital connection with God that His energy can enter into them and possess them.* We seem here to enter upon the main line of thought in this chapter. It appears to show that a subtle force enters into the spirit of a man by means of faith, and through that force he can rise to any needed height and do any needed work. It brings to him a greater measure of vitality, gives him more of the staff of life, wakes him up anew on a far longer and grander scale. This seems to be a deep law of nature—that faith in God should increase natural energy; and very many of the wonders ascribed to faith in this chapter can be explained on the hypothesis that such a law exists. We can see many reasons why it should be so. Faith produces joy and exultation, or steady, serious buoyancy; and this, of itself, tends to a noble vigour. Faith produces mental enlarge-

ment, and so gives loftier views of life, which again makes a man greater and stronger. Faith rouses to strenuous endeavour, calls up the grand energies of will, draws upon the spirit in man, and the dimensions and forces of this spirit none have yet ascertained.

Chiefly by faith a man becomes possessed with God. As the human mind rests on God's mind, and the human spirit comes into converse with God's spirit, God enters into and fills the man. All his powers dilate, and are stretched far above their natural dimensions as the Divine fulness enters. As God thus occupies the soul, He moves along the ordained lines of man's nature, his intellect, his emotions, his will; but He moves along them to a far greater distance than the man unaided can go. God, living and working in him, bears him along easily and naturally, as a father carries a little child, or as a broad stream of inspiration bears along a gifted mind. So he becomes a man in whom God specially dwells—a God-filled, Divineised man. As the tides of the mighty life within him come in vast volume, they bear him out towards the infinite in all his powers—towards the infinite of intellect, of emotion, of will; and hence they make his nature great and capacious. Within limits they come and go to keep him humble; but when God sends him to assail some evil kingdom He takes care to keep the supply of His energy unwasting, He rouses the man to his grandest height, He sustains him all through his task; and hence, by faith, that kingdom is subdued. The energy of God suffices, the evil thing is swept away.

Now, it is clear that a man who has God in him must be equal to any work. The arm of flesh will fail; but the Divine arm cannot be taxed. If God be in a man's intellect it is clear that that intellect can grow broad, powerful, capacious, of magnificent strength and grasp, able to do any work that man has done. Men of faith are conscious of this. They know that at times the Spirit of God comes upon them and bears them up to a height and out to a largeness, so that they seem as on a mountain top, whence they can see most of the great minds of the world, its Platos, and Kants, and Shaksperes, and they know that then they can see right over these, can take their dimensions, and can even look down upon them. It is not *they* who do this; it is the Spirit of God in them. It is by His inspiration. They are but children. God looks through their eyes and makes them see. But when they have once been carried to such an elevation and granted such a vision, they know they can be taken there again; and though they descend and live amongst men, they are not able to feel abashed before any intellectual greatness. Hence they combine

the humility and simplicity of a child with the strength of a giant ; the courage of a hero, with the reverence of a saint ; and God, living in them, subdues the strongholds of evil.

Moreover, as God lives in their heart, He tones down this strength and makes it sweet and gentle. It is not pure intellect, cold, keen, severe ; for that only supplies the framework, wherein there lives a rich and tender love. The man is made great in every respect, and his emotional nature becomes deep and capacious. He has a larger compass of being, he grows many-chorded and many-sided, he can sympathise with men on every aspect of their being, and can be in deepest harmony with all the fulness of their life.

As God also is living in such a man's will, it follows that he can never want for energy, for courage, for resolution, and generally for all masculine qualities. He will be able to equal the kingliest of men in this particular ; there will be an indomitable strength within him which can sustain his resolve in the teeth of overwhelming odds, and bear him up above depression and defeat until the hour of victory comes. He will have a lion-like courage and nerve, a quiet, immovable firmness, a steady persistency, which can hold on its way during long years of preparation, and can be wearied and overcome by no spirit of a mortal cast. God, living in his will, will bear it up to any degree of heroism, and endow it with any amount of power.

Not unfrequently this steady strength of will is the one means we have for conquering our spiritual foes. For they are so shameless that often the very cleanest proof of their falsehood does not suffice, and they still brazen out their lies. And then it is best for a man to put forth the strength of his manhood, to gather up the concentrated energy of a God-given will, and, with a tremendous spiritual force, bear down upon the foe. The human will may be strong as adamant and sharp as steel ; it may cut sheer down into the heart of evil and leave it all exposed. A soldier of light may grip his good sword with a desperate tenacity worthy of an immortal spirit, ready to clutch the prince of evil by the throat and hurl him to his doom ; and men of faith, when they have to conquer kingdoms, find not unfrequently the need of such a stubborn resolve.

With God within him a man must have all needed power. And he receives his commission direct from his King. It is not necessary for him to have the credentials of the church on earth. The men around him may be living in a much lower region, may see far less of God than he does, and so may not be adequate judges. God gives him the range and freedom of the ancient prophets, who could revise ordinance

and alter precedent in virtue of a higher law—the law of the spirit of life. William Carey, the man of faith, cannot submit to the arbitrament of the churches; he will accept no nonsense about the heathen being non-elect; he sees the plain command, ‘Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature.’ He prepares to obey it, and the churches slowly follow in his path. That is the battle cry of the man of faith: ‘God wills it,’ and he knows that where God calls there He will uphold. Not unfrequently time must elapse before the full results of his work are seen by men; but when the man of faith has set in motion the needed forces, he knows the kingdom must fall. When Adam Smith has written ‘The Wealth of Nations,’ he rests content. Men’s opinion does not trouble him. There is the truth, and it shall prevail. So, less than a century later, that book alters the whole fiscal polity of England. So the man of faith becomes strong in God, girds up his energies, deals one tremendous stroke; that kingdom has received its death blow. When the dust of battle clears away, it will fall to ruin. The flank of the enemy is turned, the route of the whole army is simply a question of time.

III.—*The Church of God is needing in our age such an all-conquering faith.* Its members are listless, nerveless, drooping, and hence, to a large extent, useless. The energies of the *men* within it are unemployed; their manhood is never taxed, they are never set to do work worthy of their powers and great enough to rouse their enthusiasm; hence, their faith is half dying out. Men like grand contests, and these they feel rouse their finest and deepest powers into play. The religion which is generally presented to the churches is not great enough for this generation; it wants something more worthy, something more lofty. It is a generation conscious of great powers. Men are coming to their majority, and there are stirring in them the unwasting forces which can bring new life to the world. Our exploits in material things, our studies in science, our conquests over nature are giving us a sense of strength. This is not wrong. God means us to have it. The primal charter gave man dominion over all things, and he advances until he has made all nature his slave and helper. But, unchecked and unused, this sense of strength wantons out into pride. It is no use rebuking it. The wiser way is to use it, set it to work. Show men the kingdoms of evil, and set them in good earnest to conquer them, then they will use their strength; then, too, they will learn their weakness. Their material progress will be consecrated to high and holy aims.

What, then, is needed to tax the Church’s energies and quicken her

sleeping faith? There is needed this: Let her set before her, as a distinct practical purpose, some great aim, such as the conquest of the world unto Christ. That must be the next great movement. Hitherto she has attempted only guerilla warfare, sending out one here and there. She needs now a clear and comprehensive plan of conquest, a parcelling out of the world into parishes, and a setting up of suited parochial machinery.

Some would say this is visionary and unreal. We would fain ask such, are they of the order of those men who, when Christ was accounted a Jewish malefactor, and when the whole might of Sanhedrim, priests and people, Greek philosophers and Roman Emperors was in direct antagonism to Him, still went forth resolute and fearless, with this grand dream of setting up a world-wide kingdom; and there were not many generations before the dream became a reality? You think this visionary? Are you a Christian? Do you not know that Christ's Gospel here, from the first, contended against overwhelming odds; that, judged by the eye of sense, it has always been a forlorn hope; that it has conquered in a thousand fights; that, after desperate encounters, it has emerged triumphant; that it has already done greater things than are now proposed? Can you forget that its historic march has been one steady series of subjugations? And can you question that in the work already done there lies the germ from whence far greater victories can follow? A kingdom which began with a hundred and twenty, and now numbers tens of millions has surely an abundant right to set about the conquest of the whole earth. At the very first Christ gave this commission, the disciples understood and acted upon it, and it is nothing but a poor unbelief in Christian man or woman which makes it seem strange and daring now. It is the logical outcome of the whole of Christianity, the centre where all her doctrines and precepts converge.

But how are we to subdue the world to our Lord? That is a large question, involving many elements. It must be a practical, business-like undertaking, entered upon with the same calculation of resources, the same well-considered plan, and the same fixed resolve as would be needed for any conquest of an earthly kingdom. What is first wanted is to leaven the Church with the idea, drive it down into men's faith, make them think about it, grasp it, be fixed by it. Their opposition must be overcome, their unbelief driven out, their arguments shattered. They must see that men of faith have the most common-sense on their side, that it is *they* who live in the realm of realities, and not the worldly Christian, who can see little grandeur in the

immortal hope. The *Church of God* must be converted to the notion ; it must become a living fire, glowing within her ; she must feel the call to the old heroic life, when godliness was a real power, when faith was the most commanding of all motives, when the sacred realities of the soul arrayed men with a supreme domination. And when once this idea is lodged in the Church's heart, when once it glows and burns there, it will make her incandescent ; she will be raised to a glorious fervour, she will glow with a sustained intensity, she will be inspired by a mighty confidence, she will be upborne by a triumphant enthusiasm. And then the end will not be far off. A revived and holy Church, a Church with all its members full of God, will soon conquer the world. It may be nearer than we think ; the tides of the Spirit of God may begin to flow in fuller volume, they may fill the Church universal, they may fit her for the last great struggle. One more world-wide stride like that which took place at the Reformation, and we may hear the shout of triumph. One more resolute and noble effort, and there may go up the cry, ' Hallelujah, hallelujah, the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth ! '

THE AUTHOR OF ' ECCE CHRISTIANUS. '



THE PRINCIPLE OF SACRIFICE IN THE SERVICE OF GOD.

' Neither will I offer burnt offerings unto the Lord my God of that which doth cost me nothing. '—2 Samuel xxiv. 24.

WHATEVER may have been the faults of King David—and they were not small ones—however he may have occasionally swerved from the path of duty under the influence of ill-advice, the exigencies of national policy, or the fierce irruption of overmastering passion, there seems to have always lain at the basis of his character a sound spiritual instinct, which, in all the great crises of his life, ever and anon came to the surface and re-asserted its power. The radical moral difference between men like David and such men as Rehoboam or Ahab was that, in the former, loyalty to God was a primary and permanent principle of character, whereas, in the latter, it was not. There was in each a strong sensuous element, and a tendency to yield to the pressure of passion, pride, or interest ; but in the case of David, when once the passional tempest had subsided and he was brought face to face with his sin, it was always found that his religious loyalty—like the chain-anchor of a vessel in a storm—had held its grip and brought him round again to the right attitude of penitence and

obedience ; whilst the others, for want of such a principle, were driven upon the rocks and suffered moral shipwreck. David often sinned, and sinned so grievously that, for the time, there was no visible difference between his sin and that of the worst of sinners ; but, explain it as we will, there was at the same time something in him which always brought him to repentance. We have called it a religious instinct, a principle of loyalty to God. We may call it a principle of grace, or by what name we will ; but there it was—a light in his soul, the rectifying power of his life, a re-creative moral energy, shaping him to the Divine will, and which ultimately placed him in the front rank of the prophets of the spiritual life who have led mankind in the way to God. With the temperament of a poet and much of the fierce passion of the Oriental character, he was at the same time gifted with true religious genius and a soul quickly responsive to the monitions of moral law. The light that was in him was liable to moments' eclipse ; but when once the obscuring penumbra had passed, the great law of righteousness lay clear again in his soul. He at once recognised its supremacy, and deeply felt the appropriate emotion.

These remarks find illustration in the circumstances which gave rise to the words of our text. David had sinned in numbering the people. We need not now enquire into the nature of that sin. He had sinned ; that is enough for our present purpose. The first thing we are told is, that 'his heart smote him,' and he said to the Lord, 'I have sinned greatly in that I have done.' Here we have his moral instinct re-asserting its power. And when the prophet Gad bade him choose as a punishment either famine, sword, or pestilence, we find him saying, 'Let us fall into the hand of the Lord . . . and not into the hand of man.' Here we see his recognition of the rectitude, and his trust in the mercy of God. Then, again, when the pestilence fell upon his kingdom, we read that 'David spake unto the Lord when he saw the angel that smote the people, and said, Lo, I have sinned, and I have done wickedly ; but these sheep, what have they done ? Let Thine hand, I pray Thee, be against me, and against my father's house.' Here there comes out not only David's penitence, but his pity for his people and his willingness to sacrifice himself for their good. And then, later, when the prophet commands him to go and rear an altar to the Lord on the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite, he obeys with a ready alacrity, which shows his anxiety to atone for his offence and propitiate the favour of God. He proceeds at once to the place, and on the way is met by Araunah, who, on being informed that

he was come to buy the threshing floor as a site for an altar of sacrifice, offers it to him as a free gift. He offers him also oxen for sacrifice, and threshing instruments for firewood. 'All these things did Araunah, as a King, give unto the King.' This Jebusite is evidently both a man of piety and generosity, as is manifest from the liberal and devout spirit in which he enters into the King's project. But this very generosity on the part of Araunah becomes an unexpected and a searching test of the genuineness of David's piety. Here is a man with the most praiseworthy motives offering to provide the King gratuitously with all the requisites for his sacrifice. Will David accept his offer? Ought he to accept it? He can do so, and yet obey the prophet's command to the very letter. He had not been told to buy the threshing floor, but simply to rear an altar upon it to the Lord. This has been laid upon him as a religious duty; but now he has the opportunity of performing it without the least difficulty or cost to himself. Is not the circumstance quite providential? To many men it appears as such when they have an opportunity of at once serving God and saving their money.

It is at this point that the genuineness of David's spiritual insight and the soundness of his religious feeling are made manifest. He is not now to be blinded by appearances, or seduced by self-interest. His moral nature is fully awake, and his decision shows how he is able to cut himself clear of all plausible sophistries, and to strike right down upon a permanent principle which lies at the root of all true religious service. He sees that, to offer a sacrifice at the cost of another would vitiate his offering and render his service a hollow mockery. He rightly feels that, if he is to sacrifice to God, the sacrifice must be his own. To take out of it the personal element would be to destroy its essence and make it unreal. It is the perception of this fact which underlies David's decision, and which finds expression in his words, 'Nay, but I will surely buy it of thee at a price; neither will I offer burnt offerings unto the Lord my God of that which doth cost me nothing.'

Here, then, we have a general principle, which will be found to apply throughout the entire domain of religion: that all genuine religious service must contain an element of personal sacrifice. In applying this principle we may first point out certain forms of service which violate it, and then show why such service should not be offered.

1. In considering *certain forms of service that cost nothing*, we may remark, at the outset, that we fear the great evangelical doctrine of salvation by free grace is often so apprehended as to be turned into

a shelter for human selfishness. The common teaching—that Christ has paid our debts, that He has done all that is necessary to salvation, and that we have nothing to do but to accept His free gift, is doctrine that may be perverted to a very sad purpose. It seems to be assumed by many that the sacrifice of Christ has abolished the necessity for all other sacrifice. But this is a fatal mistake. It has abolished expiatory sacrifices; but the principle of sacrifice it has not abolished. It has rather established it, and shown it to be a radical and permanent element in all true religion. Christ's death was expiatory, it is true, but it was, at the same time, only the culminating point of a whole life of sacrifice—of sacrifice required of Him by the eternal law of righteousness. And the same great law of righteousness requires that His disciples shall follow him in the path of sacrificial obedience. 'If any man will come after me,' said Jesus, 'let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me.' In Christ's life and death His sacrifice stands revealed; but where is ours? Destroyed, in many cases, we fear, by the notion that we have nothing to do but simply to accept the purchase of our Lord's blood. What a terrible perversity there is in human selfishness, that can wrest even the blessed Gospel into an instrument of spiritual death! for spiritual death it is in the case of every soul from which self-sacrifice is excluded. That is no true religion that costs a man nothing. How is it possible for a man whose life, or whose religion, is mere self-indulgence to be a follower of Him whose whole career is the grandest example of self-sacrifice the world has ever seen? If, then, either from the cause indicated or from any other, a man shall fail to embody in his religious service the sacrificial principle, the character of his service is utterly vitiated.

Consider the principle in relation to public *worship*. This is a form of service which religious men generally recognise as a duty, but many do their best to exclude from it the element of cost. When it requires time which they can otherwise employ for their own interests, when it requires a sacrifice of personal convenience, of comfort, of preference, of taste, or of money, it becomes distasteful to them, and is frequently neglected. If they are to attend Divine worship, it must be made a means of pleasurable indulgence to them. If they can attend to it amid pleasant surroundings, if the building is architecturally elegant, if the pews are cushioned, if respectable people attend, if the music is fine, the minister nice, and the preaching to their mind—then they will attend worship, but not otherwise. There must be nothing to offend the eye or the ear, nothing to jar on their æsthetic sensibilities; in short, they must be bribed to worship by

making all its accessories ministrant to a sensuous enjoyment. Now, in the case of such worshippers, we ask, where is the element of cost? Where is the principle of sacrifice in the service they offer to God? It is entirely absent. To suit their case, the text would need to be altered, and to read, 'I will not offer to the Lord that which doth cost me anything.'

Then, again, there are those who, while they engage pretty regularly in public worship, take care to make the service cost them as little as possible—as little reverent thought, as little spiritual effort, as little penitential emotion, as if the worship of God were a matter of the most trivial concern, instead of what it really is, the very highest act of the human soul. To engage in the worship of God is to tread the holiest ground, to approach the ineffably Perfect, the source of all our good, the centre of our highest hopes, the spring of our deepest joy, to whom we owe our all. If we were as pure as the angels of heaven, the only befitting spirit in which to approach the Eternal would be that of the profoundest homage and the most absolute self-surrender. True worship is the outflow of all the highest emotions of the soul. And yet how often do men put into their worship of God the very smallest modicum of appropriate feeling; and for the simple reason that, to do otherwise, would be too great a tax on their selfishness or their pride. They must not be called upon to worship even God if the cost is to be too great.

It is not to be inferred from the foregoing remarks that it is improper to attend to the externals of worship. What we insist on as essential to worship is the existence of a spirit of sacrifice. Where such a spirit exists it will naturally show itself, as in the case of David and Araunah, not in a disregard of the outward requisites of worship, but in a common readiness to provide them. We do not, it is true, as in their case, need to erect an altar for burnt offerings, but we need to erect and maintain buildings for worship; and it is certainly desirable that places of worship should be as comfortable, as convenient, and in every way as suitable for purposes of Divine service as they can possibly be made. The man who possesses the true spirit of worship will do his best, not only to provide the necessary accommodation for such service, but also to realise his ideal with respect to its appropriate external accompaniments. It is quite possible, we are aware, that a man may give attention to matters of this kind without possessing the true spirit of worship. He may do this from other than religious motives; but if he refuse to contribute his quota for such purposes, his refusal is proof that the spirit of worship is wanting in him. The

man who has the right spirit will endeavour to perfect the accessories of worship so as to be able to say, even with respect to them, 'I will not offer unto the Lord my God that which doth cost me nothing.' He will neither be content to make his worship a thing of mere sensuous enjoyment, of soul-less formalism, nor to offer it at the cost of other people.

2. The principle in our text applies also throughout the entire field of *Christian work*. Christian work is, or ought to be, a form of service offered to God; and, as such, it ought to contain an element of cost to the worker. As a service offered to the highest of all Beings, and in behalf of the most sacred of all causes, it ought to contain the very best a man has to give. And yet we fear men often engage in what is called Christian work without putting into it any genuine quality of sacrifice. This is the case when it is engaged in from unworthy motives, for the sake of publicity, from a love of display, or from a desire to gain influence and social consideration. Amid the complex operations of social and commercial life a man will often see that to engage prominently in some form of religious work will be a likely method of gratifying his ambition, or promoting his private aims. It is no doubt difficult to exclude the influence of such considerations, and equally so sometimes even to detect the extent of their influence on a man's own mind, the movements of the human heart being so subtle and deceitful. But there can be no question that where such motives determine a man's religious work, they destroy its true character as a service. Such a man is not serving God, but serving himself. Then, again, the principle of the text is violated where a man does not put into his work that which is really his own, and which he could otherwise use for his own purposes. When a religious teacher, for example, does not put into his work his own thought, and character, and soul, he may be said to offer a service that cost *him* nothing—nothing that is properly his own. Or, where a man simply devotes to religious work those odds and ends of time, or energy, or money, for which he has no other use, what kind of a service is that to offer to God? To use up all his best things for himself, and fling his leavings to the Lord! We should be willing to cut into the solid substance of our possessions for an offering to God, and should not refuse any work in his cause on account of its involving trouble or inconvenience, or obloquy, or financial loss. How can we call any work a Christian service in which there is no element of personal cost?

II.—We shall now proceed to advance some *reasons why a costless service should not be offered to God*. Such a service should not be offered.

1. Because it is contrary to the *true nature* of religion. The principle of sacrifice is fundamental in all religion, both in the Jewish and Christian dispensations. No man could be a good Jew who did not offer sacrifice. It was the central and essential thing in all that elaborate system of Divine Service prescribed by the Mosaic law. The Jew had to offer his bullocks, his rams, or the firstlings of his flock. When he came to worship he had to bring his gift to the altar. It is not difficult to see that, apart from any typical or prefigurative meaning there might be in all this, it had in it a distinctly educative design. It taught the Jew that he could not offer to God acceptable service without a personal sacrifice of what was valuable to him. He was a farmer, and his sheep and his oxen were his wealth; and out of this he must offer to God, and it was to be of the very best he had. He was even required to give a tenth of all his substance to the service of religion. Now, we repeat, that whatever typical reference there may have been in these sacrifices, they must have been intended to work into the fibre of Jewish life the idea that sacrifice was essential in religious service.

Nor is it otherwise under Christianity. True, it has abolished the Jewish system of sacrifices, but it has established on a broader basis the principle of sacrifice itself. In Judaism sacrifice is required by a system of legal enactments; in Christianity it is enforced by the example of the Divine Man. In the one case it is commanded in a divine law, in the other it is revealed in a Divine Life. In the Incarnation, in the life, in the death of Jesus Christ, the principle of sacrifice is seen working as an essential element in the highest righteousness—in Him ‘who was rich, yet, for our sakes, became poor,’ who ‘emptied himself, and made himself of no reputation,’ who ‘gave himself for us’—aye, even in God, who ‘gave His only begotten Son’ for our salvation, is this principle of sacrifice seen; and on our grateful and believing acceptance of the great Sacrificial offering, the inspiration received becomes the constraining moral power of our life. If it was the function of Judaism to show sacrifice to be a duty, it is that of Christ to establish it as a habit of the soul. If Moses imposes it as a schoolmaster, Christ inspires it as the regenerator of our life. If Moses made it essential to the outer obedience of the Jew, Christ has made it essential to the inner life of a Christian.

2. We remark, in the next place, that to offer a costless service is not appropriate to the *relation* in which we stand to God. He is ‘the Lord our God;’ the absolute owner of our life, our highest ideal of all good, and upon whom we are daily and entirely dependent for life,

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mercy, and every blessing. When we remember that we are the Lord's property, that we cannot subsist for a moment but by Him, and that the highest possibility of our life is to render Him a perfect service, then we see that to offer Him a service in which there is no self-sacrifice is to violate the primary obligation under which we are laid as His creatures and his servants; and to withhold such service is, moreover, to violate the further obligation under which we are laid by the fact that we are the subjects of His fatherly care and of His redeeming mercy through Jesus Christ.

3. Again, we remark that, to offer to the Lord what costs us nothing is not the way to promote our *own spiritual good*. Two things are necessary to growth in the Spiritual life—the suppression of the selfish and the cultivation of a Christly generosity. These are but the two sides of that ‘law of life in Christ Jesus’ by which alone we can be delivered from the ‘law of sin and death.’ The reign of selfishness in the soul is the reign of Spiritual death in the soul. There is no way of deliverance but by taking Christ into the heart. But to take in Christ is to take in His spirit, his moral temper; and the temper of Christ is that of self-sacrifice. We can only have spiritual life by following Him; but to ‘follow Him in the regeneration’ is to follow Him in the path of self-crucifixion and loving devotion to the supreme God. But this can never be done by the man who will only give that which costs him nothing. Such a man damns himself by his own selfishness. ‘He that will save his life shall lose it.’

4. We observe, in the fourth place, that to offer a costless service is not the right way to promote the *good of mankind*. Selfishness tends to breed selfishness. No man, however great, whose spirit and aims were manifestly selfish has ever exerted a healthy moral influence in the world. All the true Prophets, and Apostles, and moral heroes of the earth have been men of self-sacrifice. The world may have opposed and persecuted and killed them, but they were, nevertheless, the men who have conferred upon it the highest benefits. These were not men who withheld what they had, but who gave of their best, not only in material substance, but in ideas, in mental and moral energy, in soul and sympathy, and continuous endeavour. The effect of all this has been to hold up before the eye of the world a practical exhibition of the nobler principles of life, and to keep working in history that subtle and mighty moral influence which ever attends self-sacrifice.

From among the numerous examples of this influence the history of Methodism may be taken as an illustration. Whatever else Wesley did, or failed to do, he revived and systematised the principle of self-

sacrifice. Without regular giving and unpaid work—in other words, without self-sacrificing devotion, Methodism could never have been created, and cannot now be sustained. It was the devout men who gave up their homes and the pursuit of wealth to devote themselves to a career of evangelization; the hard-wrought miners and ploughmen who relinquished their Sabbath's rest, and travelled miles to preach the gospel in the villages, without hope of earthly reward; and that host of earnest workers, women as well as men, who gave up the pleasures of the world and devoted themselves to prayer and reading the Scriptures from house to house, and who regularly contributed of their substance to support the efforts of their brethren—it was such people as these, and the sacrifice they put into their religious life, that made Methodism. And not only was the self-sacrificing effort put into Methodism, the secret of its growth as an organization, but it was also the secret of its power over the sympathies and conscience of the people. And we are quite sure that, if Methodism is to live and thrive as a great moral power in modern society, it must be by keeping alive in it the spirit of self-sacrifice. If selfishness is allowed to grow, it will stifle its life and its power. Neither God nor the moral sense of the world will accept a service that costs us nothing.

We shall conclude by offering two general remarks:—

1. To put ourselves in unison with the *good* men of all ages, we must offer service that costs us something. In this particular, the spirit of Abraham and of David, of Christ and St. Paul is one and the same.

2. To put ourselves in harmony with the *Divine law of righteousness*, we must offer a service that costs us something. It is thus the sinner must find salvation by throwing *himself* at the foot of the Cross. It is thus the Christian must make progress in the Divine life, for it is the only way to give right exercise and true guidance to the highest energies of his spiritual nature.

WM. GRAHAM.

THE RULE OF THE CHRISTIAN LIFE.

‘And whatsoever ye do in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus.’—Colossians iii. 17.

WE have in these words a simple, comprehensive rule laid down for the guidance of the Christian life,—‘Whatsoever ye do.’ This embraces the totality of our activities; the sum of life. But it also particularises, bringing under the rule each separate act of conduct and con-

versation,—‘Whatsoever ye do in *word or deed.*’ All that we do and each individual act should be done in the name of the Lord Jesus. Now, this rule is certainly minute enough, descending to every particular of life; and comprehensive enough, covering the whole. People fail to find in the New Testament Scriptures a directory of life because there are only a few duties mentioned, and the counsel given concerning them was intended for people differently circumstanced altogether to what we are at the present time; and, therefore, they complain that the Scriptures are not an exact guide of life. The New Testament is not a directory; it teaches general principles, which fit into all the varied experiences and circumstances of life, and which will never fail to lead us aright if we follow them. We have one of these great principles here, and we must endeavour to understand it.

What is meant by doing all things *in the name* of the Lord Jesus? I presume I need not say that it does not consist in merely naming the name of the Lord Jesus. I may say here, in passing, that there are people who have a habit, which I cannot but consider reprehensible, of introducing the name of the Lord Jesus into common conversation. They use the name that is above every name, and that ought to be to us sacred, and which we ought to use with reverence, with the utmost freedom. And I can scarcely help thinking that they have no realisation of the place, and power, and glory of Him whose name they use. The name is to them a name, and it is little more. I hold that we ought to be sparing of the use of this blessed name, and that we ought never to employ it lightly or familiarly. I am far enough removed from the Roman Catholics and Ritualists; but I confess to something like sympathy with their habit of bowing the head when the name of Jesus is mentioned.

There may be difference of judgment on this point which I have mentioned; but there can be none on what I now say, that merely naming the name of the Lord Jesus is not what is meant here. Let no one think that, by larding his conversation with pious phrases he is following this rule. Men may name the name of the Lord Jesus and work the works of the devil. I confess that, on the whole, there is rather too free a use of pious phrases, and a prejudice is, in consequence, excited. A man who has so constantly to tell us that he fears the Lord must either suffer from a defective religious education, or be conscious that his conduct gives grounds for suspicion. No doubt some use pious phrases in all sincerity; but even then there is sometimes an unfitness and even grotesqueness in the expression, which shocks the religious sensibility. The best expression of religiousness

is not in the use of phrases, but in the exercise of a loving, manly, sympathetic spirit.

And that leads me to say what I understand to be meant by naming the name of the Lord Jesus. We are to do all that we do *instead of, on behalf of, in the temper of* the Lord Jesus. We are to act as the servants, followers, representatives of the Lord Jesus, to act as Christ would have acted if He had been here and circumstanced as we are. We are to occupy His place, to do His work, and to be His representatives. To put it in a briefer and commoner form, we are to act always and everywhere as Christians, as those who have taken upon themselves the name of the Lord Jesus, who have taken Him as their Master, their ideal, their model, who act upon His principles, who are imbued with His Spirit, and who live for the grand end He seeks.

Now, to do this fully and constantly, to behave always in all circumstances and places as a Christian, as Christ would have done, we must become thoroughly possessed of His Spirit. We must gain supreme mastery of ourselves, and such complete and thorough identification with Christ, that, like the Apostle, we can say 'We no longer live, but Christ liveth in us.' We must drink in the spirit of Christ until it suffuses our whole being and becomes the unconscious determining element which colours and gives character to all our activities. I do not assume that this is attained at once, for this would be contrary to nature and experience. In the first stage of the religious life we are conscious of conflict. The old spirit, the self-assertive spirit of the world is not at once overcome. Theorists who dwell in a world of words and have a limited experience of human nature talk in this direction; but they are themselves an illustration of the truth of this position. The old temper asserts itself, the force of habit helps it, the currents playing upon us from without strengthen it, and if we would save our souls, we must watch and pray and exercise constant self-denial. We must ever and anon fall back upon ourselves, call to remembrance our vows, and look to the Lord for help and deliverance. Thought, will, and conscience have all to be employed while we are learning to put off the old man with his works. Of course, there is marked difference in the experience of Christian people, arising from difference of nature, circumstances, education, &c. There are some who, at the time of their awakening, realise such a spiritual revolution, and in whom there is kindled such a powerful enthusiasm, that they realise from the first a very blessed identification with Christ; but even these must pass through the conflict before they reach the stage of unconscious obedience. Much more those who, through slowly-formed conviction,

yield themselves to the Christian life; and these, we judge, are the majority of Christian people.

In the first stages of identification there is conscious endeavour and conflict, and, consequently, imperfection of service; but there ought to be a constant approximation toward the unconscious condition in which we become so absolutely possessed of the Spirit of Christ that we can do none other than Christ would have done; or, at any rate, in which it will cost us an effort to do other. This is what we should be constantly aiming at, and short of which we should never rest satisfied. Is this attainable? Yes, it is attainable. It is possible to be absolutely possessed of Christ, to breathe the Christian spirit, and live the Christian life almost of necessity. But I do not claim that this can be attained by other than great conflict and self-conquest. You must live for it, labour for it, and constantly endeavour towards it.

Suppose a person has contracted a habit of walking with his head down, suppose that he has a constitutional tendency to stoop, and that, by habit, this tendency has become strengthened and fixed until it seems natural. Now, this person awakens up to the fact that this style of walking is not only a very ungraceful mode of locomotion, but that it is also positively hurtful. He awakens up to the fact that he is injuring his health and may shorten his days, and he determines to correct himself. He goes to some person who gives him a support for his chest, and who undertakes to teach him to walk uprightly. At first he is frightfully conscious of the effort, and he walks in a stiff and awkward manner. While he keeps watchful, however, he maintains his upright position; but the moment he becomes unconscious, he falls into the old habit, his head goes down, his body stoops, and he lounges along until he bethinks himself and corrects himself. If he is to conquer and overcome, he must never be off his guard. Daily, hourly he must watch, check, and correct himself. But, if he will keep at it, that which at first cost him a painful effort will become by and by the spontaneous, unconscious, and, I may say, the necessary habit of his life. He will walk firmly and uprightly without thought or conscious effort.

Now, this familiar illustration will help us to understand the truth I am here stating. We have all gone astray. We begin life by walking in the crooked way of sin and folly. We are under the domination of the evil, selfish temper of the world; but, by the mercy of God and the enlightening influence of the Holy Ghost, we are brought to see that this way, though pleasant and easy for the time, is the way of death and hell, and we go to learn of Jesus. But this

matter of learning is not sometimes as it is represented. It requires painful endeavour, constant watchfulness and prayer; but, if we are genuinely in earnest, we may grow to such a state that that which at first costs us tears and prayers will become the habit and pleasure of our life. We will unconsciously mirror Christ. We will run in the way of His commandments, and spontaneously fulfil them. The highest stage of the Christian life is when the rule ceases to be a rule and becomes an instinct of life; when we are not under the constraint of outward law, but inward spontaneity.

Now, I have said enough upon this point. I have insisted that doing all in the name of the Lord Jesus is acting always in the Spirit of the Lord Jesus, and that, in order to do that, we must be possessed of this Spirit, and that, in order to attain this, conflict, self-denial, prayer, and watchfulness are necessary. It is now proper that we determine what we mean by the Spirit of the Lord Jesus. When we speak of the Spirit of the Lord Jesus we immediately think of the Holy Ghost, the third person in the adorable Trinity; but that is not what is always meant by this phrase. It is sometimes employed to express the temper, the disposition, the habit of thought and feeling peculiar to the Lord Jesus. Of course, this state of mind cannot be excited and sustained without the gracious presence and influence of the Holy Ghost. But we should recognise a difference between the disposition and the agent through whom it is excited. And it is the disposition rather than the agent I here mean. To act always and everywhere as a Christian, we must be fully possessed of the disposition of Christ.

Now, what is the peculiarity in the disposition of the Lord Jesus which separates Him from all the world, which makes Him the new Adam, the beginner of a new race? Can we find any one principle or general feature peculiar to Himself which he embodies, and which gives power to his personality, raising Him to be the exemplar of mankind? In reviewing the life and doctrine of our Lord, the one idea that is most prominent is the Fatherhood of God, and the consequent sonship and brotherhood of humanity. This is the great truth which Jesus came to reveal, and which he embodied. It is the sum of His doctrine, and the explanation of His life and conduct. This peculiarity must be noted, that Christ was *the truth*. He did not simply teach what the truth was. He was the truth, the incarnation of the truth. He lived the truth, and in His life we find the truth. I do not think it necessary to quote illustration that this was the germinal principle in the life of Christ, that it underlay and determined all his conduct and conversation. Though his experiences were sad

and sorrowful, though the mysteries of providence were dark and constant, yet God was ever to Him the Father. And, though men were ignorant and sunken, though they were low and degraded, yet they were ever to Him the sons of God and brethren—bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh; and He always treated them as brethren and as the sons of God. This is the great secret of Jesus which affords the only adequate explanation of his conduct. To Him every human being was a brother, who was to be loved and treated as such. Members of one common family, and children of one great Father, and as such to be honoured, loved, and served.

Now, if I am correct in this exposition, the possession of the Spirit of Christ will mean the absolute love of God as our Father, and of men as our brethren. And this must be with us not a theory, not a thing of words, not even a truth grasped by the logical intellect, but a truth assimilated. It must enter into us and possess us, it must become a power in the soul, gaining such complete and entire domination as unconsciously to mould our conduct and conversation.

Now, when we begin the religious life this truth has not such absolute possession of us, and we only keep it before our minds by constant and conscious effort. It takes us a long time before we apprehend all its consequences and all the duties which it necessarily imposes. It will not be difficult to find illustration of the truth of this. Look, for instance, at the existence of slavery and war in Christian nations. Look at the riches hoarded by professing Christians in the face of the starvation, misery, and wretchedness of many surrounding them. Look at the selfish struggles for place and power even in the Church. Look at the cruel injustice and wrong perpetrated in the face of Heaven. Look at the mode of transacting business adopted by professing Christians. Do Christian men treat their fellows as brothers? We are yet far enough from a full realisation of the Christian spirit. I thank God for the hopeful signs we see. I can never forget the argument for justice towards the poor put forward by England's greatest Statesman, based on the plea that they are 'our own flesh and blood.' And, despite many discouragements, I rejoice to see that the Spirit of Christ is prevailing, and that man to man the world over is becoming more brotherly; but there is room for much improvement.

I commend you to the latter part of this chapter to see the application of this principle to various relations of life. It is for you to make application of it in the circumstances in which you are placed. Grasp the idea firmly; let it enter into your hearts and possess you; fight down the old self-assertive temper. Watch and

pray and be ever on your guard. Let the brotherhood of humanity become a passion with you. Look upon every man, good and bad, in every relation in the Church and in the world, as a brother. See in him the son of your Father, and out of that will grow, of necessity, the gentleness, self-abnegation, humanness, and sympathy of the Lord Jesus. Seek not for rules and regulations—how you may act in the changing circumstances of life. Gain this—the mind that was in Christ—and you will be a rule unto yourself. Struggle bravely to subdue yourself and to live for others. And whatever you do in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus. W. S.

SELF-SUBJECTION.

'But I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection, lest that by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a castaway.'—1 Cor. ix. 27.

It is of great service to us to have a record of the religious experiences of a good man like Paul. The glimpses which we gain of his inner life—of what he hoped and feared, and how he fought against and overcame evil—are both admonitory and encouraging. His outward career was so bright and upward, he seemed to bear down evil so triumphantly and pursue with such unfaltering energy the objects of his high calling, that we are apt to suppose he was somehow differently constituted from ourselves. Yet his own words show that he was a man of like passions with us, that his path lay through a hostile country, and that he had to fight, and watch, and pray, even as we have to do. He lets these Corinthians know, for their encouragement, that he was engaged in the same moral conflict as they were, in a real warfare. 'I, therefore, run, not as uncertainly,' &c. Observe:—

I.—THE DANGER AGAINST WHICH PAUL GUARDED HIMSELF. 'Lest by any means,' &c. He declares in these words:—

1. *That he was exposed to the calamity of being adjudged unfit for a place in heaven, and of being cast out from the presence of God.* 'A castaway' is one who is disapproved and rejected by the supreme arbiter of human destiny. On trial and examination he is found wanting in those elements of character which fit men for the life of heaven. Or, in keeping with the metaphor running through this section, he is like a gymnast, who is adjudged by the umpire of the games unworthy of the prize, since he has not observed the rules of the contest (2 Tim. ii. 5). This term denotes, further, the utter moral uselessness of him whom the Lord rejects. Men do not cast away that which can be put to any use. Nor will God 'cast as

rubbish to the void' the man who has any measure of fitness for service and work in the world to come. But, without love to God and sympathy with His will and work, he would be out of his place in the spiritual world of the future; nay, he would be a curse to its society, a blight on the new creation of God. Hence, he will be cast out as savourless salt, or as the dross of the furnace. 'Reprobate silver, shall men call thee, for the Lord hath rejected thee.'

2. *That this calamity might happen to him after he had done the highest work for Christ.* Paul occupied the highest offices in the Church; he was endowed for his work with the highest natural and supernatural gifts; he had turned thousands to God; had founded flourishing churches. And yet, notwithstanding his endowments, his labours and successes, he might be an outcast from the presence of Christ. His Master had said, 'Many shall say unto Me in that day,' &c. (Matt. vii. 22, 23). And might not he be one of those great preachers and great workers to whom these solemn words would be said? Long service does not secure men against this danger. Past faithfulness and prayer will not do instead of present attention to duty (Ezek. xxxiii. 13). Lofty position in the Church is no security. It exposes a man the rather to more and fiercer temptations. The lofty tree is swept by many a tempest which scarcely ruffles the lowly plant which grows beneath its shadow. Many great men in Israel have fallen. Let us be not high-minded, but fear.

3. *That this calamity would only happen through his own unfaithfulness and sin.* Christ would not, in the exercise of arbitrary power, cast him off. None who hear His voice and follow Him shall perish. It is the will of His Father that of all which He has given Him He should lose nothing, and there will be no lack of loving care on His part that that will may be fulfilled. Nor could his adversaries, whether Satanic or human, compass his overthrow (Rom. viii. 35-39). It was from an enemy nearer home that his destruction would be compassed, if compassed at all. It was himself that he feared; the seat of danger was in his own animal nature, 'I keep under my body,' &c.

II.—HOW PAUL GUARDED HIMSELF AGAINST THIS DANGER.

1. *By bodily mortification and self-denial.* By the 'body' is not meant the mere animal frame, the outer covering and instrument of the soul. It denotes those desires and passions which are incited through the bodily senses, and which are indulged by means of the body. He calls this elsewhere 'the flesh,' 'the body of sin,' and 'this body of death.' Scholars say that the word rendered '*I keep under*' is derived from a root, signifying that part of the face which is under

the eye, afterwards used for what we call a black eye. It signified to strike an antagonist under the eye, as the Grecian boxers did. Hence, it came to mean, figuratively, to buffet and mortify the body, to beat down and subdue its evil desires. It is such a stubborn foe that it needs to be struck down again and again by acts of mortification. 'Mortify, therefore, your members which are upon the earth,' &c. (Col. iii. 5.) A Christian must be an ascetic in the true sense of the word, for the ascetic principle is right in itself. He must exercise (*askeō*) himself to keep a blameless conscience. But this has run into extravagances. No difference has been made between pleasures which are lawful and healthy and those which are illicit and destructive. Instead of seeking to develop the whole nature fully and symmetrically, the ascetic has striven to destroy certain elements of that nature. Christ was no ascetic in this conventional sense of the term. 'The Son of man came eating and drinking.' But He, and also Paul, have taught us to deny ourselves of all that is sinful, to cut off a right arm or pluck out a right eye if it offends us. If the flesh craves for unlawful indulgence, we must resist it; if it shrinks from painful duty, we must urge it forward. If we do not master the flesh, it will master us. The struggle may be severe, but every act of resistance will increase our moral power; gradually a habit of holy, virtuous action will be acquired, which will form a safe-guard against sin.

2. *By the subjection of the bodily nature to the victorious spirit.* Having conquered the body, it must be made to serve the spirit, and obey its behests. *And bring it into subjection.* 'I make it a slave, I reduce it to a condition of servitude.' There is an allusion to the practice of the victorious gladiator dragging off his conquered antagonist in order to make him a slave. The body becomes the servant of the spirit when it is yielded to God, when its members become instruments of righteousness to God, when its passions and desires are limited and directed in their exercise by reason, conscience, and the law of God. We keep ourselves from evil by consecrating our powers to what is good. Let the whole nature be laid upon the altar, let it be a flame with the sacrificial fire of love, and sin will be consumed by the flame. 'I beseech you, therefore, brethren,' &c. (Rom. xii. 1.)

But let us not forget whence our power to gain and keep this victory comes. 'If ye, through the spirit, do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live.'

JOHN WATSON.

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND POLITICS.

LITERATURE.

THOSE who desire to form a comprehensive and accurate acquaintance with materialistic philosophy cannot do better than possess themselves of the *History of Materialism and Criticism of its Present Importance*, by F. A. LANGE, which Trübner and Co. have placed within the reach of English readers. In philosophical acumen and breadth this work of Professor Lange's is all that can be desired, and it can hardly fail to give its author a lasting reputation. The book, as the full title indicates, is both a history and a criticism, and is of equal value under either aspect. The historical portion of the work is complete. The reader is taken back to the theories of the ancient Atomists, of whom Democritus may be regarded as the representative, and from that period of far-past speculative thought the varied movement of Materialistic philosophising is surveyed down to the disquisitions of modern physicists upon the nature of force and matter. The historical part of the work furnishes a succinct but full account of the early Atomists, the Sophists, the attitude of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle in relation to the Materialists of their age and preceding generations, Epicurus, Lucretius, Monotheism, and Materialism, the Renaissance, the Materialism of the seventeenth century, the eighteenth century before Kant, and modern natural science. This enumeration will make it apparent that Professor Lange, in dealing with Materialism, treats at considerable length the whole subject of philosophy. It is evident, from this work, that Materialism has made very little progress from the earlier centuries to the present time. Those who care to compare the Materialism of the nineteenth century with that of Democritus and Lucretius will be surprised to find how remarkably the postulates and arguments of the latter are like those of the former. There is certainly more scientific knowledge possessed now than the ancients could boast of; but the Materialistic philosophy of this age is substantially the same as that which prevailed in Greece before the times of Socrates and Plato, and which found in Rome an exponent in the poet and philosopher, Lucretius. Anyone reading the propositions which embody the essential foundations of Democritan Meta-

physics might easily imagine he had fallen upon some modern Materialistic author who was ignorant of Kant. Of all the principles underlying the Materialism of the present day there is, perhaps, only one wanting in the theorising of Democritus, and that is the abolition of all theology by the principle of the development of the purposeful from the unpurposeful. And this principle is found in Empedocles, whose language on this point bears a striking resemblance to that used by Mr. Darwin and Herbert Spencer. Empedocles maintained that adaptations preponderate in nature just because it is their nature to perpetuate themselves, while what fails of adaptation has long since perished. There is here much that has been considered the discovery of this age in relation to the doctrine of Evolution, by which some are vain enough to imagine they can explain all that is without having recourse to any such superstition as a personal God. Democritus got his world by the movement of atoms, modern Materialists obtain theirs by the mutual action of environment and organism; but the ancient and modern Materialistic philosopher fails alike in giving any account of the atoms or the environment and organism with which he begins, or how this movement produces a result that was not first embraced in it as idea or design. Professor Lange pays Kant the high compliment of having most successfully pierced the armour of Materialism and exposed its unphilosophical character. The Metaphysician of Königsberg never treated this form of speculation with contempt. He, indeed, highly eulogised some of the ancient thinkers who propounded Materialistic views; but he made clear that the mind itself furnishes an important element in the material of every sensation, and thus established the relativity of human knowledge and exposed the fallacy of Materialism, which is the product of and attempt to exceed the limits of human knowledge. Anyone forming an acquaintance with this work of Professor Lange will be fully abreast of the Materialistic speculations so rife in this age, and, under his able guidance, will not be at a loss to critically appraise their value.

THE antiquity of man and the early state of mankind are far from being settled questions, and much wild speculation has been indulged in respecting them; but moderate and reasonable views are gradually asserting themselves and pushing into obscurity the vain imaginings which, under the name of scientific investigations and results, have been paraded on these subjects. Those who desire to see what can be said by an able, scientific man against the anti-Biblical theories which modern 'science so-called' has propounded upon these questions,

cannot do better than obtain *Fossil Men and their Modern Representatives*, by J. W. DAWSON, LL.D. (Hodder and Stoughton.) Dr. Dawson is Principal of McGill College and University, Montreal, and is well known as one of the first of living geologists and archæologists. In this volume questions relating to the earlier periods of man's existence on earth and the conditions under which he lived anterior to the dawn of history are discussed in a pleasant and popular style, and with a wealth of information, a fulness of detail, and appositeness of illustration which not many men either in Europe or America are capable of bringing into use. The modern representatives of pre-historic man, introduced in the second title of Dr. Dawson's work, are the Indians of America, whose habits and antiquity he has long and carefully studied under exceptionally favourable conditions; and he is able, by the results of his search and study, to throw not a little light upon the probable condition of pre-historic man in Europe, as well as upon the nature of many of the relics of pre-historic times. The chapters on 'Glimpses of Pre-historic Times' and 'Remains of Cities of the Stone Age' furnish a comprehensive and popularised digest of the result of research in the province of Anthropological Archæology. The pages devoted to a consideration of the 'Implements and Weapons of the Stone Age' and the 'Lost Arts of Primitive Races' supply remarkable illustration of the illusiveness of much of the reasoning advanced in support of many of the theories that have been framed respecting the condition of pre-historic races and their progress in the arts from the remains they have left in the soil. The chapter on the 'Physical Characteristics of the Pre-historic Man'—a discussion based largely upon a consideration and comparison of skull forms—shows what little reason there is to attach importance to much of modern speculation concerning the early state and progress of humankind. Ancient skulls point to no radical difference of race, neither do they afford any evidence that men have descended from brutes. The chapters that will, perhaps, be read with greatest interest are those on the 'Antiquity of Man,' 'The Primitive Idea of God,' 'The Instinct of Immortality,' and 'The Unity and Continuity of the Human Race.' Dr. Dawson refuses to accept the high estimate of man's antiquity which some modern scientists are disposed to maintain, and he supports his positions by evidence and argument which, if they do not convince, will, at any rate, command for his views a respectful consideration. He is of opinion that man has not resided in Europe longer than about six thousand years, and for this opinion he has much to say upon purely scientific grounds. In the results of his investigations respect-

ing the religion of primitive men and their idea of God, Dr. Dawson shows that the old and new world in these respects are closely related, and that the early faiths of men embraced the common elements of a Supreme Creator, subordinate spirits—good and evil, a fallen human race, a first mother, who is the mother of a Saviour, and a division of human history into two periods by a diluvial catastrophe. And these elements, he maintains, cannot be traced back to mere worship of the elements and Fetichism—a favourite method of accounting for them among evolutionists. They are remnants of a higher and purer faith. Dr. Dawson has no sympathy with the theory that man has advanced from a state of savagery through barbarism to civilisation, and he adduces a wide range of facts hostile to this theory, the force of which the supporters of it will have some difficulty in evading. In the chapter on the ‘Unity and Continuity of the Human Race’ Dr. Dawson essays to overthrow the theory that mankind have descended from several pairs and proceeded from different centres; and, so far as we may venture to give an opinion, we think his argument establishes the position he lays down that the races of men have had a common origin and are historically affiliated. The volume shows that much can be said, and said with good ground of support, in favour of views that have not always been treated respectfully by those who have claimed to speak in the name of science.

THOSE who love scholarly and careful exegesis of Scripture, however much it may conflict with views they have entertained, will appreciate *A Commentary on the Book of Job, with a Translation*, by SAMUEL COX. (C. Kegan Paul, and Co.) This work appeared in the pages of the *Expositor*, a monthly, edited by Mr. Cox; but it is none the less, but rather the more, welcome in its present form on that account. To ordinary English readers not a few passages in the translation of Job in the authorised version are obscure and difficult to understand; and into other passages more is apt to be read than is really warranted. Both these causes prevent not a few apprehending the drift and purpose of the ancient writer, and the first-named leads in too many instances to the neglect of one of the sublimest compositions that it has pleased God to preserve and hand on for the instruction of humankind in the deep things that belong to His government of the world. The translation supplied by Mr. Cox removes not a little of this obscurity and makes clear passages out of which readers having no acquaintance with the original Hebrew have not been able to extract an intelligible meaning. It may be that Mr. Cox has gone further from the authorised version, in some instances, than

was really necessary; but this blemish—if blemish it be—does not detract from the value of the translation as a whole. A very decided protest is entered against making the Book of Job a vehicle of ideas that belong to a later date and to a stage of thought subsequent to the age in which the dramatic scene is laid. Mr. Cox insists strongly upon the artistic unity of this remarkable section of Old Testament Scripture against the views of several eminent Biblical scholars who have maintained that the speech of Elihu is not at all necessary to the purpose of the writer, and interferes with the continuity of the thought it was his aim to express. This point is argued exhaustively and convincingly, and it is shown that Elihu furnishes views that are really necessary to unity of effect. The general view taken in this Commentary of the Book of Job is, that it is an attempt to state in poetical form some of the deep and perplexing problems of life exercising the mind of the writer. It is not to be regarded as a statement of historical fact in connection with the life of any one man, though it has, of course, an historical basis in the life and experience of human kind. The difficulty that presses for solution, as stated, is twofold. Can God's dealings with man, whom He permits to be the subject of so much suffering and misery, be justified? Can man, who is permitted to be the subject of so much suffering, maintain his faith in God and retain his integrity? This is the problem to be solved, and it is solved by the struggle of Job from the narrowing influences of a popular theology, as represented by the three friends, into the purer light of a truer knowledge of God granted to him who deserves and seeks it. Though the position taken up by Mr. Cox in relation to the Book of Job may not be accepted by all in its entirety, as it is hardly to be expected it will, yet few will be disposed to question the value of the contribution he has made in this volume towards the better understanding of one of the most difficult of the Old Testament books; and everyone must admire the profoundly reverential spirit in which the exegesis is pursued from beginning to end.

The Supernatural in Nature: a Verification by the free use of Science, by the Rev. J. W. REYNOLDS, President of Sion College (C. Kegan Paul and Co.) is, on the whole, an excellent contribution to Christian apologetics. The fact that the first edition has been sold out is in itself no mean testimony to the merits and value of a work necessarily of an abstruse character and covering more than five hundred pages. In the introductory part of this volume Mr. Reynolds shows how modern science, in its somewhat speedy growth, has gradually become so absorbed in the observation of sensible phenomena as to be

first regardless, then sceptical, and eventually negatory of all that lies beyond this sphere of research. The supernatural is denied. Mr. Reynolds joins issue with those who narrow the sphere of human knowledge within the limits of what may be called strictly observational science, and who would tie down human thought to sensible phenomena. The volume contains twenty-two chapters, devoted to an examination of various aspects of the general subject. It is first inquired whether there is any necessity for divorcing intellect and piety, and an attempt is made to show that an unbelieving state of mind is one-sided and imperfect, and does not give to social influence that high moral tone it ought to possess. The argument in favour of a supernatural realm and a person who rules it is succinctly but ably sketched, and the testimony of Scripture in relation to it is adduced and examined. In the third chapter, or 'Study,' the question of creation is brought under consideration, and it is shown that the problems which confront the thinker who applies himself to the investigation of this mystery are relieved—so far as this is possible—of the darkness that encompasses them by the recognition, and not by the denial, of the supernatural. Then follows a consideration of some of the special questions embraced in creative work, such as molecular energy and the formation and relations of the planetary system. This discussion leads up to a 'study' on the origin of life and cognate subjects, and so the author approaches the Mosaic Cosmogony, the consideration of which extends through twelve chapters. The 'days' of the first chapter of Genesis Mr. Reynolds interprets as eras throwing the record back from the appearance of man into the far past, for whose advent the earlier epochs were a preparation. The nature and condition of the first human pair and the various aspects of human life are the subjects of an interesting dissertation, and here come under consideration whole classes of facts, that Mr. Reynolds thinks point in the direction of a sphere beyond that which is commonly included under the term natural. In this connection miracles, illusions, clairvoyance, spiritualism, and phenomena of a kindred character are discussed, with a view to elicit their bearing upon the general question of the supernatural. In the concluding part of the volume Mr. Reynolds maintains that the deniers of the supernatural are more open to the charge of inattention to the claims of the intellect than those who believe in the supernatural, and against whom this charge is so frequently alleged, and he closes with a careful summary of the argument in favour of Divine revelation as against the various allegations examined in the course of his pages. In some parts this volume

is diffuse, and it would be none the worse if several of the arguments obviously weak were omitted; but it is unmistakably the result of wide research and prolonged study, and those who familiarise themselves with it, and accept the reasoning and conclusions of the author with discriminative judgment, will not be in much danger of being led astray by the materialistic speculations and vain philosophy by which not a few are in these days captivated.

AMONG the many services rendered to the Christian Church by the lectureship founded by Canon Brampton at Oxford many years ago now, and these services all along have been neither few nor small, the lectures for 1879 will be found not the least valuable. The lecturer for that year was Henry Wace, M.A., Professor of Ecclesiastical History, King's College, London, and the subject of the lectures *The Foundations of Faith*. The volume is published by Pickering and Co. The purpose of the lectures Professor Wace states to be the offering of a contribution towards strengthening the foundations and elucidating the elements of faith, and so illustrating the character and the just limits of that authority on which, notwithstanding the silence of science and the hesitation of reason, we build our expectations of things hoped for, our conviction of things not seen. Pursuing this purpose, Professor Wace proceeds to show that faith is founded in the deep convictions of the conscience, and he traces the development of its lofty structure under the guidance of revelation, finally considering the particular ground upon which it rests in the English Church and in the present time. The foundations of faith as Professor Wace describes them are wholly moral, the conscience of man, the presentiment of retribution, and the conviction of a supreme and fatherly power ruling the world, the express revelation of which power is given in Scripture and in Christ. The faculty of faith in these days of scientific research, when all the outcry is for verification, and verification by what are called plain and practical tests, and when the positive results of scientific method are loudly and persistently demanded, is in danger of being ignored, and its distinct and independent claims forgotten. Capacity to believe is as truly an endowment of man as capacity to think, and feel, and will, and this principle of human nature exercises large influence in and over every province of human life, but more especially in and over religious development. In the course of these lectures Professor Wace illustrates the necessity and supremacy of this principle of our nature, and brings into prominence the chief realities of spiritual experience to which the creeds of Protestantism appeal, expressing his conviction

that, in proportion as these great facts of life and of history are apprehended and kept in view, will the authority of our faith be established. In his definition of faith Professor Wace follows Bishop Pearson, and lays down that it is an assent unto that which is credible as credible. And it follows, of course, that this assent neither rests on immediate knowledge, nor is derived from any process of reasoning, but is based upon testimony; and here there is opened up at once a perplexing and endless controversy concerning the nature of testimony and the competency and truthfulness of witnesses. Faith is regarded in the light of such a definition mainly as part of the problem of knowledge, and the trustfulness which marks the relation it establishes between persons is permitted to fall into the background. Professor Wace does not indeed overlook the reliance on a person under the influence of which men fashion their lives; but he is disposed to treat this trust in a person as merely a means by which knowledge is reached and truth ascertained. Trustfulness plays a subordinate part in his account of faith, and the intellectual element is made supreme. The relation of belief to knowledge and of the mind to truth are subjects upon which much remains yet to be said; but to us the element of trust in faith deserves more recognition than is accorded to it, at least in the definition which Professor Wace accepts. In the lecture on the 'Office of Faith' Professor Wace shows that faith in the unseen God was the animating principle that sustained the fathers and leaders of the Jewish people, and gave vigour to their spiritual life and that of their nation; and that the same is true of the Christian Church; and not only this, but that the life of all nations and of all religions that have any right to the name are closely connected with this faculty of faith. The lecture on 'The Faith of the Conscience,' in which the character and validity of the primary acts of faith upon which the Jewish and Christian religion has been founded is inquired into, will be found well worth a careful and exhaustive study. In the human conscience faith in God finds a home. The historical cast of much in these lectures adds to their value, and in this connection the copious notes appended will be found of great advantage. A fine and healthy tone of spiritual feeling pervades the volume, so that those who give themselves to the study of it, and we hope they may be many, will gain the two-fold good of intellectual stimulus and spiritual quickening.

ECCLESIASTICAL history has received a contribution of some merit in *The Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years as seen in its Literature*. By H. M. DEXTER (Hodder and Stoughton). Mr. Dexter is an American minister, with an enthusiastic admiration of

Congregationalism. The fundamental idea of the volume is to afford an opportunity for studying the history of Congregationalism in its own literature, and especially in the controversial publications which its earlier activity provoked. For some years Mr. Dexter devoted himself to an inquiry into all that related to the origin and early history of Congregationalism. For this purpose he visited Europe, and pursued his researches in England and Holland; and when he was appointed Southwood lecturer upon Congregationalism for the Theological Seminary at Andover, he entered upon the duties with ample stores of information. The volume now published contains the result of his researches and study, given in the first instance to the students at Andover in the form of lectures, and repeated in various parts of the United States. The form of lecture is preserved in the volume, and, as we think, without any special advantage. The rise and early fortunes of Independency are described with a fulness that the reader will not find elsewhere; and not a few mistakes into which previous writers have fallen are corrected. Mr. Dexter forms a very charitable estimate of Robert Browne, whom many, even among Nonconformists, have been disposed to judge a little harshly. In this kindly estimate we are, in the main, disposed to agree, though we think he falls into extravagance when he writes of Browne as occupying a natural primacy among the great thinkers of Liberalism and modern Congregationalism. Browne, despite his eccentricities, did good service, and we are glad to meet with a juster estimate of him than is commonly made. The Martin Mar-Prelate controversy, too, has found in Mr. Dexter a fair and impartial critic. He attributes a higher literary merit to the tracts known under this name than is generally admitted. The tracts are satirical, and the satire is keen enough; but they were admirably fitted for the purpose for which they were issued, and are remarkably free from all baseness in thought or indecency in expression; and there can be no question but they exercised a powerful influence on the England of that day. Mr. Dexter attributes the authorship of these tracts not to Penry or Job Thockmorton, but to Barrow, and he has good reasons to give for the opinion he advances. The struggles and sufferings of early Congregationalists are sketched succinctly, but with sufficient fulness, as are also the fortunes and misfortunes which followed the exodus to Amsterdam. John Robinson and his doings at Leyden, the early and later Congregationalism in New England, and later Congregationalism in Great Britain are all passed under review, and not a little information given in relation to each. Mr. Dexter commends the ecclesiastical councils which form an important

feature in American Congregationalism ; but since these councils interfere with ministerial appointments, they seem a departure from pure Independency and an approximation to modified Presbyterianism. Still, they may be of service for all that, and there is an evident groping after something like them among English Congregationalists. Mr. Dexter is very sanguine about the future of Congregationalism. All other ecclesiastical polities he thinks will pass away ; but so far as the Millennium embraces any ecclesiastical polity at all, Mr. Dexter thinks that polity will be Congregational. In this, we don't agree with him, though we are not disposed to attach any great significance to this question of polity in relation to the Church of the future—nothing like what Mr. Dexter does. Ecclesiastical polities are among the things that change greatly and will pass away, and we scarcely think that any one of the systems of Church government now existing has in it perpetual vitality. The volume is enriched with an appendix of 286 pages, containing a tolerably complete list of the publications of Congregationalism, constituting, in fact, a Bibliography of the subject to which the lectures are devoted. This appendix must have cost Mr. Dexter immense labour. To those who wish to form an acquaintance with the rise and progress of Congregationalism this volume is indispensable and despite its heavy style and lack of philosophic breadth, it will be more frequently referred to for many years to come than any recent work on the subject.

To all who are interested in philosophic studies *Spinoza: his Life and Philosophy*, by FREDERICK POLLOCK (C. Kegan Paul and Co.), will be a welcome volume. It clears up much concerning this great Jewish thinker that has been obscure to English readers, and will remove considerable misunderstanding. Students conversant with the German tongue have had more than one excellent guide in forming an acquaintance with Spinoza ; but English readers have had to be content with brief essays, that, by their limited scope, conveyed but an imperfect knowledge of this philosopher and his teaching. These disadvantages have, however, been removed by Mr. Pollock's volume, and he has furnished in an English dress an account of Spinoza and his views, which, for clearness of insight and breadth of treatment, leave nothing to be desired except with reference to the relations in which he stood to theology. This subject is not treated with the same sympathy and adequacy observable in other parts of the volume. The theologico-political treatise is considered more in its political aspects than in its relations to theology. Apart from this drawback, and we admit it is a serious one, no better exposition of the Spinozistic philosophy need be expected than this which Mr. Pollock's pen has

supplied. The two first chapters are devoted to Spinoza's life and character; and instead, as has been too generally the case, of emphasising the solitary and isolated aspects of his life, Mr. Pollock calls attention to a sociality that has been too much overlooked. He was not the egoistic and self-contained thinker that has been represented. The letters contained in this part of the volume afford an insight into opinions which Spinoza entertained upon subjects which had no immediate connection with his own theories. The sources of Spinoza's philosophy receive at the hands of Mr. Pollock a thorough and exhaustive examination; and though it would, perhaps, be too much to say that he has finally settled this question, yet it is not too much to say that he has approached nearer a settlement of it than any who before him have discussed the subject. There are three theories advanced in relation to the sources of Spinozism. One attributes it to a Cartesian origin, another to the Jewish philosophers of the Middle Ages, and a third to Giordano Bruno, the Neapolitan monk, who, for the views he propounded—not philosophic merely—was burned alive in Rome about the year 1600. Mr. Pollock maintains that Spinoza was never a disciple of Descartes, however much he might be influenced by Cartesian method and physics, and influenced by both he certainly was; and he favours the views of those who connect Spinozism with mediæval Jewish philosophy and the speculations of Bruno. The 'Ethics' are discussed through six chapters, and a more readable and comprehensive summary of the moral teaching of Spinoza no one can well desire. The analysis does not consist in a presentation of Spinoza's views in the antique terms in which he himself expressed them; but Mr. Pollock, apprehending the spirit and meaning of Spinozism, reduces its moral teaching to the language of modern science, and so enables his readers to apply it to the questions that are taxing human thought in our own age. The remaining chapters are devoted to a consideration of Spinoza's political views, and to the relations of his speculations to theology, and the history of his influence. The inadequacy with which the bearing of Spinozism upon theology is treated lessens, to some extent, the value of the chapter in which its influence is historically traced. Prefixed to the volume is a list of all the works on Spinoza that are worthy of special mention, and appended to it is an excellent index which the reader will find very serviceable. It is no mean feat to have produced a volume in which one of the master-minds of the past is made intelligible to the men of the present, and this Mr. Pollock has accomplished.

LITERARY JOTTINGS.—*The Diary of an Early Methodist* (Strahan

and Co.) will be found an interesting work of its kind. It is an attempt—and, on the whole a successful attempt—to revive the style and manner of thought of the early Methodists. The adventures of Nathaniel Pidgeon were not at all remarkable in themselves; but it is the effect they had upon his own mind and the way this effect is described that give charm to the book. The author, though evidently an enthusiastic admirer of Methodists and Methodism, does not make his hero faultless. Nathaniel is a real man, touched with the credulities of his class and age, and not at all above the level of the religious life of his times in the charity of his judgments respecting others. He believed in witches, and, with him, Satanic possession was a verity; and the shocking deaths of unbelievers he regarded as providentially designed to give effect to certain aspects of theological teaching. In February next the first edition of the revised translation of the New Testament will be published, and there will be issued along with it two recensions of the Greek text, the one proceeding from the Clarendon Press (Oxford), and the other from the Pitt Press (Cambridge). The Oxford text will be that which the revisionists have found it necessary to frame for themselves after carefully considering all the available evidence for and against the readings adopted. All passages in which this recension departs from the received text will be indicated in foot-notes. The Cambridge text, on the contrary, will be just a reprint of the received text, with foot-notes giving the reading adopted by the revisionists where the received text is departed from. A series of volumes is in course of publication by Hodder and Stoughton under the general title of *Men Worth Remembering*. Two volumes are already published, containing biographies of William Wilberforce and Henry Martyn. The men who are intended to have a place in this series will be men who, whatever their other qualities or achievements, have been mainly distinguished for their Christian philanthropy and for their high spiritual excellence. Blackwood and Sons are publishing a series of volumes, under the common designation of *Philosophical Classics for English Readers*, that promises to be of great value in familiarising ordinary readers with the men who have taken the lead in philosophic investigation. The first volume—‘Descartes’—by Professor Mahaffy, of Dublin, is now issued, and when we say that to this series Professor Croom Robertson will contribute a monograph on ‘Hobbes,’ Professor Fraser on ‘Berkeley,’ Professor Veitch on ‘Hamilton,’ and that others equally eminent have engaged to take part in this work, nothing more need be said in favour of the high character and permanent value that will belong to this series. A *Popular Handbook of Christian Evidences* from the pen of Dr. Kennedy has

been published by the Sunday-school Union. This volume, which, though complete in itself, is but a part of what it is intended to publish on the subject, treats on 'Theism and related subjects,' and every chapter shows that the author is perfectly conversant with the controversies of the age, and is able to contend successfully with the opponents of Christianity on both metaphysical and scientific grounds. In private study or in classes for young men and women this little volume will be found of great service. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners have conferred a boon upon some of the parishes in Southern London. They have decided to permit the lending of books from the Lambeth library to the clergy and laity of the diocese, and to others resident in the parishes of Lambeth, Southwark, and Westminster, who can furnish satisfactory recommendations. The library is open every day except Sunday, and contains numerous rare books as well as many volumes of considerable literary and artistic merit. A library edition of the works of Wordsworth, extending to ten volumes, is likely to be published shortly by Mr. Paterson, of Edinburgh, under the editorial supervision of Professor Knight. In this edition the poems will be arranged in the chronological order of publication, the variations in the successive editions published in Wordsworth's lifetime and with his sanction will be given in foot notes. Many new readings founded on MS notes made by Wordsworth and not hitherto published will be given in a separate list, the Fenwick notes dictated by Wordsworth will be prefixed to each poem, topographical illustrations of the poems will be appended, and some unpublished memorials of Wordsworth will be added to this edition, as well as a new life of the poet and a critical essay on the work he did, and the whole will be enriched with illustrative engravings. Dr. Andrew Wilson, of the Edinburgh Medical School, is preparing a work that will probably be published shortly under the title of 'Chapters on Evolution.' The purpose of Dr. Wilson is to give a popular exposition of the Darwinian and allied theories, and present in popular dress the evidence in favour of Evolution, and furnish a history of the progress of the theory. Mr. Joseph Gillow, a member of the Manchester School Board, is devoting his attention to the preparation of an historical treatise on the Roman Catholic Colleges and schools of England from the reign of Elizabeth to 1850, the year in which the Romish hierarchy parcelled out the country again into bishoprics. Mr. Gillow, it is said, has had access to the libraries of Ushaw and other Roman Catholic seminaries, and the work will contain a large amount of interesting and valuable information not previously published.

SCIENCE.

PLANS are already devised by the Astronomer Royal for observing the transit of Venus that will take place on December 6, 1882. The method to be used is that known as Delisle's, and consists in observing the exact time of the ingress or egress of the planet from points on the surface of the earth where the ingress or egress is much retarded or accelerated; as places where the ingress of the planet on the sun will be much accelerated it is proposed to occupy stations in the Cape Colony from the observatory at Cape Town to D'Urban. For stations where the ingress of the planet will be much retarded the West Indian Islands will be used, and especially Barbadoes, Trinidad, and Jamaica. As places of observation where the egress of the planet from the sun will be much accelerated the same stations will be used as for retarded ingress. For stations where the egress of the planet from the sun will be much retarded it is proposed to use places on the eastern coast of Australia, including Melbourne and Sydney, and, if possible, New Zealand. It is not proposed to make any use of photography in connection with these observations in 1882. Prior to the transit of Venus in 1874 considerable reliance was placed on photography for securing impressions of the progress of the planet across the sun's disc, and of its ingress and egress; but the results of the experiments in that year were unsatisfactory, so much so, that it appears all thought of using photography again has been abandoned. The beginning of the transit will be visible in England, and will commence just before sunset.

THE *Times*, a short time ago, gave information of an interesting geological discovery that has been made in the neighbourhood of Solothurn, not far from Geneva. A mass of superincumbent matter was removed in preparing for some quarrying operations. When the surface layers had been dislodged the rock beneath was found to be quite smooth and intersected with old water channels. The excavation being continued, a number of very large holes filled with great stones were laid bare. These holes, like those in the famous Gletcher Garten at Lucerne, are evidently due to the action of water, which, flowing through refts in the glacier that ages ago covered the rock, set in movement the stones beneath, and by this means hollowed out the cavities in which the stones have found a quiet bed for many and many a century. At Lucerne, where similar effects of aqueous action in the glacier period have been discovered, the rock is sandstone, but at Solothurn it is hard limestone and quartz.

THE Ordnance Survey work in relation to this country is not proceeding with anything like desirable rapidity. Eighteen years, it

seems, are to elapse before the map of England is likely to be completed. The excuse for this delay is the difficulty in securing skilled labour sufficient to complete the work at an earlier date. There is no doubt but the maps produced by the authorities at Southampton are of the best workmanship; but this excellence is obtained at a heavy cost of time and practical inconvenience. Less elaborate and highly-finished maps might answer all practical purposes, and there would not be much difficulty in securing the labour requisite to produce them. If the labour were divided and the work localised—the Ordnance office just having to produce a general map—there might, perhaps, be greater expedition. The relation of this Ordnance Survey work to the question of land law reform is of some considerable importance to the public. It is not likely that any workable system of transfer or registration will be introduced in the place of the present cumbrous and expensive method of conveyancing until this Ordnance Survey work is completed and parish plans are kept corrected up to date by the surveyors employed by local authorities. It is a tax upon patience that another twenty years or nearly so must pass before the people of England can have the advantage of a work that has been years in progress, and that might really have been completed before now.

A FRENCH scientist, M. Lortet, reports to the French Academy the results of explorations he has been making among the mountains east of Tyre, near a little village called Hanaoueh, not far from what is known as 'Hiram's tomb.' A short distance to the north of this 'tomb,' upon the summit of a hill, are the ruins of a Phœnician citadel, and at the base of the declivity there runs a wild and barren valley deeply cut into the thick deposits of a cretaceous limestone formation. Following the left side of this ravine to the eastward, M. Lortet discovered some rock escarpments, extending a considerable distance and having carved upon them in high relief a number of small figures, exhibiting the characteristics of a very remote antiquity. Near by these figures were found large blocks of a reddish-looking rock, which, when examined closely, were discovered to be conglomerates, containing what M. Lortet describes as myriads of worked flints, along with fragments of bones and teeth. All round where the blocks were lying the ground was strewn with roughly-worked flints, yellow and black, and of very fine grain. This discovery is considered to reveal three stages of civilisation as having passed over this district. The flints are supposed to have connection with the ancient stone period, when man found his shelter in caves; and the conglomerates, in which flints and bone fragments are combined, are supposed to have been formed in a cavern,

the roof and sides of which were afterwards removed by Proto-Phœnicians, by whom M. Lortet thinks the rude figures on the rocks have been carved. The flint makers and the carvers of the statues are supposed to have been different peoples in different stages of human progress, and alongside these traces of ancient peoples are the remains of historic times, in which the locality abounds. There is in this account, as will be at once seen, some statement of facts, but a good deal more of inference, and it is needful to discriminate between the two.

Mr. J. L. E. DREYER, M.A., of the observatory of Trinity College, Dublin, has prepared an account of the principal astronomical events of the year 1879. This record of work and discovery has been published as a memoir in the *Scientific Proceedings* of the Royal Dublin Society, and reprinted from that publication in an octavo pamphlet of about fifty pages. Mr. Dreyer's purpose has been to sketch the principal astronomical events of the period to which his record relates, and to give some account of the more important or interesting investigations reported by astronomers during the same time. A record of a similar kind was published in America for 1878, but, for some reason or other, was not continued. This lack Mr. Dreyer has attempted to supply; and if this work of his can be made an annual publication, it will render an important service to all who take an interest in astronomy. Scientific men everywhere feel the need of such a record as this—a record that gives a compact account of the principal work achieved during any one year, and that contains not only a brief digest of important papers and memoirs that have appeared, but also the name of the publication in which they are to be found. We hope that what Mr. Dreyer has done for 1879 he may continue to do for succeeding years.

THE General Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund have finally decided to undertake the survey of the Holy Land east of the Jordan, and do for that district, of which at present so little is known, what they have done for the country lying between the Jordan and the Mediterranean. An expedition will be organised and sent out as soon as the necessary arrangements can be made.

PROFESSOR BOYD DAWKINS, in his 'Early Man in Britain,' points out that, although the Neolithic men—or men of the later stone period—were far above the more ancient cave men in general culture, they were a long way inferior to them in the arts of design. The cave-man seems to have possessed a singular talent for representing the animals he hunted; and such sketches of his as are found among the relics of the age in which he lived reveal a capacity for perceiving the

beauty and grace of natural form little inferior to that seen among highly-civilised races, and far in advance of the men who immediately succeeded him in Europe. This result receives a striking confirmation in the researches of Dr. Holub in Central South Africa as published recently in the *Journal* of the Anthropological Institute. The Bushmen are admittedly the lowest types of the South African man. Every other tribe possesses a civilisation higher than theirs. And yet, in artistic designing, the Bushmen excel every other South African tribe. Dr. Holub has collected 200 sketches on wood, stone, and shells among African tribes living between the south coast and ten degrees south latitude, and of these sketches those obtained from the Bushmen are superior to any of the others. The artistic faculty in man is not dependent upon advanced or advancing civilisation, that is evident. The bearing of facts like these upon some current theories of Evolution is interesting.

POLITICS.

THE Parliamentary recess has not afforded much leisure to Cabinet Ministers. Their meetings in Council have been frequent and their deliberations unquestionably anxious and prolonged. Numerous rumours have been circulated of division and dissension in the Cabinet; but the desire in this matter has been father of the thought. That there have been differences of opinion among the members of the Government upon questions that have been under consideration is only what might have been expected; but difference of opinion does not mean dissension and division, and need not—and in the case of the Cabinet will not—prevent unity of action. Parliament is summoned for January 6, and the early part of the Session, and probably the greater part of it, will be taken up with Irish affairs. The state of Ireland is disturbed, and the agitation promoted by the Land League is spreading. No one can find fault with Irishmen for seeking to enlarge their liberties and promote the prosperity of their country; but the most ardent sympathiser with Irishmen will have some difficulty in approving of the demands and methods of action of the Land League. They denounce all landlord rights, and proclaim rent to be an iniquity. Reduction of rent was first talked of; but the agitation has gone beyond this point, and the abolition of rent is now the thing demanded. The tiller of the soil must own it—this seems to be the position of the Land League. To this there can be no objection providing the tiller buys it, but honest purchase does not form part of the Land League programme. Men who pay rents are

threatened, ill-treated; tradesmen and others are forbidden to have any dealings with them, or to supply them with the necessaries of life even; and an organised system of terrorism prevails in many parts of Ireland. Several leaders of the League have been indicted by the Government, and at the time these lines are read their trial will be in progress, for the Government is resolved to try if the law as it is is not sufficiently strong to cope with such conspiracies to intimidate and coerce men as are fostered and favoured by the Land League. It is expected that the Land Law the Government will submit to Parliament for Ireland will provide for a fair rent, to be settled by an impartial tribunal, and will secure the tenant in his holding so that he cannot be dealt with capriciously either by advance of rent or notice to quit, and will further give the tenant the right of freely selling his interest in the farm he may hold. It is possible, too, that some provision may be made for the easier sale and transfer of land, so as to create a peasant proprietary. If contentment can be created in the country, and this is what the Government are aiming at, manufactures may be tempted to Ireland, and so render the people less dependent upon agricultural pursuits; and until this takes place, we fear the Irish people will not be in a much better social condition than at present. There is too much competition among them for land—a competition that manufactures would relieve if they could only be set a-going in the country. The franchise, too, in Ireland will probably be enlarged and equalised, and other measures introduced with a view to promote the prosperity and contentment of the sister isle. The Conservatives have clamoured for coercion; but the Government have wisely taken a different course. It is likely that, along with the remedial proposals that may be submitted to Parliament, some steps will be taken to permanently strengthen the law relative to such agitation and methods of action as the Land League have promoted. The coming Session is likely to be mainly an Irish Session, and if Ireland can only be made more contented and prosperous, no one will grudge the time that may be spent over the consideration of its interests and affairs.

THE foreign policy of the Government has so far been successful. The Concert of Europe has been maintained, notwithstanding the frequent declarations of Conservative prophets that it was on the point of falling to pieces. It has been effective in settling the Montenegrin question, and the men of the Black Mountain have now the access to the sea they desired. The Sultan shuffled and delayed, but when he found Great Britain firm, and saw that material guarantee would be taken for the fulfilment of his engagements, he yielded and ceded

Dulcigno to Prince Nicola. The threatened sequestration of the revenue of the port of Smyrna was more than he was prepared to stand, and so he gave in, as Mr. Gladstone has ever said he would when pressure was brought to bear upon him. The Conservatives, of course, are very angry at all this, and talk as if the enforcement of the Treaty of Berlin or of the engagements that have risen out of it was a sin. For two years it lay, so far as the minor nationalities in the East were concerned, a dead letter while Lord Beaconsfield was in power, and it seems as if there had never been any serious intention on the part of the Tory Chiefs to give effect to its provisions. It was obtained for show, that was all. The men in power now regard it differently, and, with prudent forbearance, will make it effective by means of united action on the part of the Powers. The Concert of Europe has not been maintained without some difficulty—there is so much clashing of national interests; but it has been maintained in relation to the claims of Montenegro, and there is reason to hope, notwithstanding the present attitude of France, that it will be a sufficient instrument to secure justice for Greece and Armenia. Shere Ali, the puppet prince whom Lord Beaconsfield set up in Candahar, has betaken himself to India, thus removing one great difficulty which lay in the way of the retirement of our soldiers. There is really no reason why the occupation of Candahar should be prolonged, and the sooner we return within our own frontier and leave the Afghans to themselves the better, though the effects of this miserable Conservative meddling will be felt for many a year. Lord Ripon, in Durbar at Lahore, has announced to the princes and chiefs of India the resolve of the Government to return to the old lines of policy as laid down by Lord Lawrence. If this is done, and attention given to internal government, India will have a brighter future. The state of affairs in South Africa is serious, the native rising is spreading, and the colonists have evidently more work on their hands than they can manage. Small successes have been gained here and there by the colonial troops, but they have been as yet barely able to hold their own. There can be no severer condemnation of the policy permitted by the late Government in South Africa than the present state of affairs there. Thousands of natives, who have been loyal for a generation or more, have been provoked to become hostile, and the youth and strength of the Colony have been called from their peaceful occupations to the battle-field, and for what? Absolutely nothing, except the gratification of the earth-greed and ambition of a few. The present Government seem disposed to allow the Colony to feel the full results of the policy pursued. To

some extent this may be right ; but if a wrong has been done, we cannot see why steps ought not to be taken to rectify it ; and that the natives have been provoked into rebellion and hostility few will dispute. The present Government have received a sad legacy of trouble from their predecessors both in India and South Africa. A madman can do mischief in a few minutes that it will take sane men months to repair—that, indeed, cannot be fully remedied at all ; and reckless, showy statesmen, governed by foolish ambitions, are as much to be dreaded as madmen.

THE French Government have been carrying out their policy against unauthorised Monastic Orders sharply, though they have not yet ventured to meddle with the Nuns. They have not only expelled the Jesuits, but Capuchins, Marists, Dominicans, Bernardins, and Barnabites. In many cases the expulsion has been forcible, the monks taking care to make as much of it as possible ; and though this action is approved by the extreme party in the Republic, it is awakening in the religious section of French society an intensely bitter feeling. The policy pursued is rather high-handed for a Republic, and cannot be regarded as anything else than a serious violation of religious liberty. The Orders may, in some sense, be dangerous to the State ; but the suppression of them will not remove the danger. Forcible repression is no remedy, and in adopting it in this case the French Republic is committing a serious blunder. The Ferry Ministry, which has succeeded that of M. Freycinet, is endeavouring to pass a measure suspending, for a time, the irremovability of the Judges, with a view, as it seems, to clear the Bench of all but Republicans. This can hardly be considered a good measure, and the Senate will probably reject it. A wiser course would be to remove the few who are in the habit of insulting the Government, and between whom and the Republic there is not that harmony that ought ever to exist between judges and the supreme legal authority. This tendency to exercise a despotic power is a tendency in the Republican Government of France that cannot be admired, and that seems to indicate a consciousness of weakness, or, at any rate, a nervous irritation and suspiciousness from which a strong Government is ever free.

THERE have been rumours that Prince Bismark intended to introduce some Bills into the German Parliament to conciliate the artisan classes, and organise them, in some way, in reference to trade management. If the Prince does entertain such intentions, he delays executing them. In the meanwhile, however, he has obtained from the Prussian Parliament a Bill by means of which he can come to an

understanding with the Pope, if he so please, and replace the Romish Bishops who have been dispossessed of their sees. He has declared Hamburgh and some neighbouring towns in a state of minor siege; and, as a result of this step, the Socialist presses have been seized, and one hundred and twenty Socialist 'agitators,' including two members of Parliament, have been summarily exiled. The Berlin police, a short time ago, warned the booksellers that they had received orders to seize all copies of Heine's '*Schloss Legende*,' a poem forty years old. The reason assigned was that it contained an attack on the Prussian Kings. This is an act that would be paralleled in this country if the Government here were to seize all old Jacobite songs. The nerves of the German rulers must be strangely shaken when they are afraid of literature a century old. Prince Bismarck may have some conciliatory measures in intention by which to bring over to his side the strength of German Socialism, but as yet he only shows the iron hand.

GREECE is arming to the teeth, and evidently means serious work in relation to the clauses of the Berlin Treaty affecting the frontier next to the territory over which the Sultan has been ruling in his peculiar way. When the Chamber met, some weeks ago, the King told the representatives of the people that the decisions of the Powers imposed action upon Greece, and the regulation of this action was the question of the hour to which the members of the Chamber would have to devote themselves. The army has been mobilised, and at the time we write Greece has about 70,000 men under arms. Volunteers are flocking in from the Greek provinces of Turkey and from Roumania, and the aspect of affairs is serious enough. There has been talk of compromise, promoted by the influence of Germany, and if anything like a satisfactory settlement can be reached this way and the horrors of war avoided, it will be well for Greece and the rest of Europe. But, as King George admitted when he met the Chamber, the army cannot be disbanded unless something that will meet the claims of Greece is done and, as he pointed out, it will also be impossible to keep the army for any long time in inactivity. There is a little better prospect now than when the King opened the Chamber, towards the close of October last, that an amicable settlement will be reached. Greece will need to exercise some self-restraint, and the Powers will need to put pressure on Turkey, though France has recently taken up an equivocal attitude in relation to the Greek Question; but we are not without hope that, as in the case of Montenegro, the Greek claims will be settled without the horrors and miseries of a war.

THE
PRIMITIVE METHODIST
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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L—DR. CHALMERS AND THE DISRUPTION.*

THE publication of this small but interesting volume in connection with the centenary of Dr. Chalmers's birth revives the memory and rekindles the interest of the ever memorable struggle which culminated in the disruption of the Scottish Church in 1843. This battle for liberty may be said to have commenced in 1833, when Chalmers took up the patronage question in the General Assembly. For many years previous to that time complaints and overtures had been sent to the Assembly, all of which were simply unheeded by the Moderate party, who for long had ruled the supreme court of the church. In 1833 the matter was taken up by a man whose energy and intellectual resources were only equalled by the lofty attributes of his character and the intense ardour of his spirituality. We may have occasion to speak of Chalmers's colleagues and comrades in the fight, but sober truth compels us to say that the battle was his—his to initiate, to direct, and to inspire, and his in victory to wear the well-deserved laurel as first Moderator of the Free Church of Scotland. It is not too much to say that, humanly speaking, he created that church. No wonder, then, that his name and work bulk largely in any faithful record of the 'ten years' conflict.'

The history of the Church of Scotland is a series of heroic struggles and conquests, which are not surpassed in the history of any church in the world. In the early years of the sixteenth century Scotland was

* *Thomas Chalmers : his History and its Lessons.* By Rev. NORMAN WALKER, London : T. Nelson and Son, Paternoster-row, 1880.

agitated by the new life of the Reformation which was pulsating through Europe. The times of James V. and Regent Moray were Scotland's morning after a long and dreary night. The ancient Scotland ends, and a new Scotland begins. The feudal framework of society was breaking up. The husbandman began to pay rent instead of rendering military service. Towns were shaking off the yoke of subjection to the nobility and becoming free communities, exercising powers of self-government. The burgher wanted no man's protection, and would submit to no man's oppression. That huge confederation against human freedom and well-being—the Church of Rome—was being found out. Ambitious and worldly prelates, as well as rapacious and immoral priests, were pushed aside, and their mummeries laughed at. In no other country had the tyranny of Rome reached a greater height. Fully one-half of the property of the kingdom belonged to the church, and, in addition to many other institutions, there were two hundred and fifty conventual establishments giving sanctuary to the vilest criminals. To crown all, the clergy had declared themselves independent of the civil law. All this was past now: it was doomed, and the men who dealt its death-blow were men who feared not, nor turned at danger or death. Nowhere was the Reformation more thorough than in Scotland. After a severe and protracted struggle, the incubus of Popery was cast off utterly and for ever. In many countries the Reformation was only partial. Enough of Popery was retained to make the Christian ministry into a Priesthood; but here the Augean stable was purged wholly of its foulness. It may be a matter of regret that many fine specimens of ecclesiastical architecture were destroyed or injured, that gem of Gothic, the shrine of St. Mungo, being only saved by the prompt action of the authorities. Rather than concession to and compromise with Rome, let them all go. So said the people of Scotland.

The books and teaching of Luther came to Scotland and were like good seed in prepared ground; the fruit was immediate and abundant. One of the earliest of Scotland's martyrs was the young noble, Patrick Hamilton. His martyrdom was a political mistake as well as a crime, for the wanton destruction of this innocent youth gave an impulse to the Reformation, and did much towards the waking up of the national mind. The truth was stated in the saying of a noble to the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, 'My lord, if ye must burn any more, let them be burned in a cellar, for the reek of Patrick Hamilton has infected as many as it blew upon.' An important factor in the reforming work was the wide dissemination of Tyndal's Bible. But the chief agent

in the accomplishment of the Scottish Reformation was that king among men, John Knox. It was in that day a common saying, that 'while others hewed at the branches of Papistry, John Knox struck at the roots.' As early as 1560 Popery was abolished, and Presbyterianism was established. In the winter of that year the first General Assembly was held in Edinburgh, composed of forty persons, only six of whom were ministers. Here were laid the broad and deep foundations of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland. Many changes have been made in the methods of its working, but these have been details and simple modifications. The structure itself stands to-day as when it was reared more than three hundred years ago. It stands, to change our figure, the fairest flower and best blessing of 'Auld Scotland.' One thing has been changed, and, we are bound to say, changed for the worse, the formal creed of the church. In the year above referred to a creed was formed upon the Swiss model, but still original enough to be an independent instrument, and was established as the formal creed of the church. This confession of faith consisted of twenty-three chapters. We have repeatedly examined this venerable document, and can only find one chapter to which we take objection, that is, a persecuting fulmination against 'Mass, sayers and hearers of Mass.' This grand old confession was replaced by a much longer, more metaphysical and speculative document—a confession wholly Calvinistic and of English composition. From the harsh and baneful speculation of the Westminster Confession of Faith the best thought of the world is hopelessly drifting. That many good men who sign it believe it, or persuade themselves that they believe it, is true enough; but that large numbers of persons sign it with reservations is admitted, and in not a few cases frankly avowed. On the decadence of Calvinism, Mr. Dale says, 'People used to believe in Calvinism; good, kindly, noble-hearted men used to believe in it, and Calvinism taught that God does not love all men alike. When Calvinism was a living faith it had a great deal of beauty in it, and it had the strength of the granite rocks. But Calvinism is dead, and dead things soon become unlovely, hideous, and disgusting.' Despite its harsh, narrow creed, the Kirk in Scotland spread the noblest truth and the purest morality through the country, educating the nation in the highest and best sense, and fitting its sons to fill most important positions in many parts of the world. In its best days it was not the church of the few, the great and the wealthy; it was, in truth, the church of the people. It had no lordly ecclesiastics to rule over God's heritage. It was a spiritual democracy. The ministers were only elders, preach-

ing elders. It existed for the people. It was for centuries identified with the cause of national freedom. As the church rose or fell, so rose or fell the best liberties of Scotland. This was so conspicuously the case that patriot and Presbyterian were convertible terms.

It was an ancient law of Scotland that no minister should be thrust upon any church against its will. This righteous law King James set aside, and burdened and cursed the church with the law of patronage, which law remained in force down to the Revolution settlement of 1688. From this date till the days of Queen Ann the church enjoyed its ancient birthright. In 1711 the Tories precipitately and fraudulently, and certainly against the wish of the church, and as certainly with hostile intentions to it, reimposed patronage, which was finally removed in 1874. It was this iniquitous law of patronage which was both the cause and occasion of the greatest ecclesiastical upheaval of modern times—the Disruption of 1843. The evil sprang from the church's connection with and dependence upon the State. Clear-headed and far-seeing as the old Reformers were, they never grasped the idea of a Free Church in a Free State. The disastrous doctrine of State Churchism entered into the teachings of all the Scottish Reformers and fathers from John Knox down to Dr. Phin and Dr. Begg. Nor did the true conception of spiritual independence ever dawn upon the minds of the Disruption leaders. There could be no stouter defender of State Churchism than Dr. Chalmers himself, and in this he was followed by Cunningham, Candlish, Dunlop, and even so liberal a Whig as Hugh Miller. The doctrine of the State's duty to teach and uphold religion appears not only in their ordinary writings, but also in their formal documents, in their claim of right, and their final protest. Voluntaryism in religious institutions seems to have been the horror of those good and noble men. The history of all the secessions from the church is a striking illustration of the traditional opinions on this subject, for only one of them took place on voluntary grounds. The first secession was in 1733, when the Erskines went out from the church and formed the Associate Presbytery. This body was split in 1747 into the Burgher and Anti-Burgher divisions. This latter party refused to take the oath of allegiance, to serve in the army, or to exercise political rights. In 1752 Thomas Gillespie was deposed for resistance to patronage, whereupon he and others formed the Relief Presbytery. The only voluntaries were the 'New Lights,' who left the Burghers. Next came a split in the Anti-Burghers, from which came the Constitutional Associate Presbytery, or the 'Old Light Anti-Burghers.' These broken and scattered fragments were not only weak

in themselves, but were a source of weakness to each other. Happily, a gravitating movement set in towards union and amalgamation. In 1820 the two Burgher sections came together as the 'United Secession.' In 1839 the 'Old Lights' went back to the Established Church. The largest, best, and most prosperous of the divisions, the Original Secession of 1733 and the Relief of 1761, combined as the United Presbyterian Church, and is now one of the most influential churches in the United Kingdom. The last junction took place in 1876, when the Reformed Presbyterians joined the Free Church. With the exception of a small portion of the last-named body, Scotland has now three great churches, alike in worship, government, and creed—the Established Church, the United Presbyterian Church, and the Free Church of Scotland.

As we have seen, the Moderate party had long held the reins of government in the Assembly of the Established Church. This domination had, however, been often and long disputed; but it was not thrown off until the third decade of this century, when the popular or evangelical party obtained ascendancy in the Assembly. This change was synchronous with Dr. Chalmers's appearance in the supreme court of the church; but it was chiefly the result of increased spiritual power diffused through the churches in Glasgow and other places. With increased spirituality came increased repugnance to the yoke of patronage. In many parts of the country the feeling of the people was so strong that reverend Presbyters had to be escorted by dragoons in the performance of their sacred functions. Many times had the different Presbyteries overtured the Assembly to relieve the church of the incubus of patronage; but their prayers had been in vain till, in 1833, Dr. Chalmers took the question up and delivered one of the greatest speeches ever heard in the Assembly against the crying evil. This set the ball rolling, and the movement went on with accelerated momentum till the church was disrupted. The veto law and the famous Aucterarder case gave force to the agitation and fully committed the parties on each side of the conflict. The veto law was proposed by Lord Moncreiff, one of the Judges of the Court of Session in the Assembly of 1834. This law was a compromise, and signally failed in its purpose, as compromises are apt to do. As carried in the Assembly, it enacted that when a patron presented a candidate for a vacant church, and he proved unacceptable to the congregation, the heads of families, members of the congregation, should have power to veto the nomination, their dissent being taken as a legal rejection of the nominee. This well-meant measure, while it only

partly negatived the power of patrons, gave the people no rights of choice. Its weakness was finely bit off by the witty and epigrammatic sentence of Dr. McCrie: 'They who say that the veto law has muzzled the monster make a mistake; they have only muffled it, and they have muzzled the people.' The Aucterarder case soon turned up, and both tested and revealed the powerlessness of this law of veto. It did more than this—it set all Scotland in a flame of agitation, indignation, and anger. So great was the excitement that people of all opinions and positions were drawn into disputes—often unfriendly and even bitter, families were divided, and friends fell away from each other and went into hostile camps; whilst platforms and pulpits rang with appeals, arguments, and, shall we say it, with denunciations. The notorious Aucterarder case arose in this wise: four months after the enactment of the veto law the Earl of Kinnoull presented a Mr. Young to the living of Aucterarder, a large village in Perthshire. He preached the customary two Sabbaths, and then the 'call' was exposed for signature. To give the congregation the privilege of signing a call was a relic of the original law of congregational rights. At this time the call rested upon a theory which was purely a legal fiction—that the income of the benefice was dependent upon the presentation; but the title to the pastoral office was dependent upon the consent and action of congregations and Presbytery. But the presentee did not become the incumbent, nor could he possess the right to receive the stipend till the congregation had called and the Presbytery had ordained and inducted him. The stipend in this parish was about £400 per year, and was, in all points of view, a desirable sort of thing. To the 'call,' however, only two signatures were adhibited, while 300 of the congregation dissented from it. In the face of this state of things the Presbytery could not proceed with the ordination, and, of course, Mr. Young could not possess himself of the benefice unordained. The General Assembly sustained the action of the Presbytery in refusing ordination on the ground of the veto of the congregation. Now came the resort to the civil power. The patron and presentee applied to the Court of Session for an interdict to compel the Presbytery to go on with the ordination. Now, ordination is purely a spiritual function. Shall the State interfere? If there is one thing necessary to the very life of the church, it is that she should decide who should be ministers and office-bearers. The conflict between the ecclesiastical and civil tribunals which followed was long and severe, and when it was over the general conviction was that the Law Courts had come out with diminished prestige and tarnished credit. Dr.

Chalmers was not a member of the Assembly which enacted the veto law, nor had he any great liking for it; but when it was the law of the church he fought for it with lion-like energy, never yielding, never turning aside until he had fully vindicated the church's right to legislate for itself upon purely spiritual questions. Up to this time he had not been what is called a church politician; but, henceforth, he threw all his soul into the controversy, and proved himself worthy—as he undoubtedly was—to wear the mantle of Knox, Melville, and Henderson.

The case of the Aucterarder presentation was argued before a full Court of the Lords of Session by the most eminent advocates at the bar. The central question the Judges were called upon to decide by the pursuers was the issue of an interdict declaring that, in enacting the veto law of 1834, the Assembly had acted *ultra vires*. After a long delay the Judges delivered judgment. Eight of their lordships were in favour of the pursuers, and decided that the Assembly had travelled beyond its powers and jurisdiction in giving the congregation the right of veto—that whenever the Assembly enacted a law conflicting with statutory law, the latter must prevail; moreover, that any proceedings anent the settlement of a minister must lie with the Presbytery, and not the congregation. This they declared to be the law; and the church, as the creature of the law, must obey it. It was, therefore, ordered that the Presbytery take Mr. Young 'upon his trials;' and as no faults were found with his morals, acquirements, and doctrine, that he be forthwith inducted. Five of the judges delivered judgment that the Assembly, in putting the power of veto into the hands of the congregation, had acted within its powers, and seeing that in this case the congregation had vetoed the presentation of Mr. Young, he must not be thrust upon the church.

The Judges of the minority were not one whit inferior in forensic eminence and legal knowledge to those of the majority; indeed, some of them have left names conspicuous in literature as well as law—Lord Moncreiff, the author of the veto law, Lords Jeffery, Cockburn, and Glenlee. The readers of Dr. Guthrie's life will readily recall his graphic description of the last-named learned lord. The judgment of the Court of Session went with the majority, and the interdict was issued. This, in connection with the hostile and bitter tone of several Judges, caused consternation in the ranks of the Evangelicals, and every one was asking his neighbour what next, and what shall we do now, for things cannot remain as they are. We cannot but regret the feeling displayed by the Judges, which looked like an animus; yet we

are compelled to admit the consistency of their finding. The law of patronage was the law of the land, so that when their judgment was invoked, they had no choice but to uphold the law. The marvel is that Chalmers and his friends did not see this—that they did not see the untenableness and inconsequence of their position. It goes with the saying that church independence and non-intrusion, and alliance with and dependence upon the State are incompatible and contradictory things. Chalmers' theory of a 'Free Established Church' was not only a misnomer, it was an impossibility. Whatever advantages a State Church may have, freedom and independence cannot be among them. Dr. Chalmers maintained, with never-ceasing iteration, and with all the affluence of his splendid intellect, that the church should be free from State intrusion, and yet he would have the church bound to the State, and he held out an exigent hand for State money for church work. He complains that he knocked at the doors of Whig and Tory Governments alike in vain. Intrusion becomes consistent when money is paid. Is it not an elementary principle in equity that the party which finds the money should have a voice in its expenditure? Is it not equally clear that an institution created by the State should be subject to the power upon which its existence depends? That these noble men did not see this must be set down to their training and long association with what may be honestly called the best of State churches. Good and excellent as these men were, in this they were mistaken and ill-instructed.

In an appeal to the House of Lords the *Aucterarder* case was again decided against them. The Lord Chancellor, Lord Cottenham, and Lord Brougham were the law lords who heard the appeal. There can be no doubt that Brougham expressed his approval of the veto law either before its enactment or immediately after it. A great authority once said of him that, had he known a little law, he would have known a little of everything. His being pitchforked on to the Woolsack was the wonder of his day. In delivering judgment in this cause he delivered a rambling extempore speech, a legal scold. He lectured right and left, and poured the vials of his wrath upon the heads of all who maintained the right of congregations to choose their own minister. Upon the promulgation of this final decision Dr. Cook, the leader of the Moderate party, moved the Assembly to repeal the Veto Act as being contrary to the law of the land. In opposition to this, Dr. Chalmers moved the appointment of a committee to confer with the Government on the adoption of means to avoid these unseemly collisions between ecclesiastical and civil courts. A memorable debate followed,

which was carried on into the small hours of the morning, when the motion of Dr. Chalmers was carried by a majority of forty-nine. Chalmers's speech was a masterpiece of acumen, of rhetorical device, and would compare with the best efforts of oratory either in or out of Parliament. Towards the close, when contending for the rights of congregations to dissent from nominations without reasons, he said :—

I would take the verdict of a congregation, just as I would take the verdict of a jury, without reasons. Give me the aggregate will, and tell me only that it is founded upon the aggregate conscience of a people who love their Bibles, and to whom the preaching of the Cross is precious ; and the expression of that will, the voice of the collective mind of that people. To such a voice, and coming in the spirit and with the desires of moral earnestness from such a people, I, for one, would yield the profoundest reverence.

When the Veto Act had been in force for five years fifty settlements had taken place, and in only ten of these was the power of veto exercised. But two of these cases exceeded that of Aucterarder in national excitement, and contributed in no small degree to the rending of the church in twain ; these were the Dunkeld and Strathbogie cases. The beautifully-situated village of Lethendy lies among the lochs at the head of the great valley of Strathmore. In this parish a vacancy occurred, and the Government, as patron, appointed a Mr. Clark, who had been assistant minister. It seems that the congregation knew their man too well, for he was all but unanimously vetoed, and, in consequence, the Presbytery refused to proceed. Upon the rejection of Mr. Clark, the Government presented a Mr. Kessen, who was acceptable to the people ; but the first presentee stepped in to assert his rights. He sought and obtained an interdict from the Court of Session to compel the Presbytery to ordain and induct him. Between the two fires the Presbytery elected to obey the ecclesiastical, and thus disobey the civil, authority. The excitement was intense concerning the Aucterarder case ; but this Dunkeld case raised it to an intenser heat. The agitation was embittered and aggravated by an officious declaration of the Dean of the Faculty Hope (who, all through the conflict, was the prompter and adviser of the enemies of the Free Cause) that the Dunkeld Presbytery ' would infallibly be committed to prison.' This threat was very near being carried out, for the ' reverend court ' was summoned to the bar of the Court of Session for contumaciously resisting the interdict of the court. It is easier to imagine than to describe the scenes of public disgust and irritation which occurred through the country, and which reached its height when the disobedient and refractory ministers stood in the Court of Sessions as

criminals liable to imprisonment. The court was crowded in every part. In the gallery were well known faces, watching most anxiously the issue of events. At their side voluntarily stood the noble Dr. Gordon, to share their obliquy. The twelve judges occupied the bench. Amid breathless stillness the Lord President asked the incriminated ministers what they had to say in vindication of their disobedience to the interdict of the court. The senior minister read a temperate but decided statement that, in their conduct, they were ruled by the dictates of conscience, which were imperative, and by the commands of the General Assembly of the Church. From their firm attitude everyone concluded that they were doomed to imprisonment. In this expectation gloom sat on every face. The judges retired to confer upon their sentence. It has been said that there was more than division among the judges in this conference. The majority, however, decided that censure would meet the needs of the case, and thus Edinburgh was saved the moving spectacle of a Presbytery marched off to Calton Hill Jail.

Exciting as was the Dunkeld case, the Strathbogie one was tenfold more so. In this latter instance the position of the parties was changed—reversed. In the Dunkeld case the Evangelical element prevailed, in the Strathbogie Presbytery the Moderate element was prevalent. The facts were briefly these. A vacancy occurred in the parish of Marnoch. The patron presented a Mr. Edwards to the benefice. The feeling of the parish towards the presentee may be gathered from the fact that only one person, and he a public-house keeper, could be induced to sign the call, while 260 out of 300 persons signed the dissent. Notwithstanding this pronounced veto, the Presbytery was about to carry on the ordination and induction, when the Assembly commanded delay. Once more the civil court was appealed to, and an interdict was granted to compel the Presbytery to ordain and induct. The Dunkeld Presbytery elected to obey ecclesiastical authority in opposition to civil. The Strathbogie Presbytery decided to obey the civil as against the ecclesiastical power. In this decision the numbers were seven to three. Again the Commission of the Assembly ordered the Presbytery to sist proceedings under pain of deposition; not having power to depose, the Commission suspended the Presbytery. The complication was deepened by the recalcitrant Presbytery invoking the Court of Session to reduce and quash the Assembly's edict of suspension. This could only be partially done, because the judges decided that their power of control extended only to the material structures—'church, churchyard, school houses, and

the bell.' They could and did interdict the deputies of the Assembly from occupying or using any of these. Notwithstanding this legal interdict, the brave deputies of the Assembly went down to these rebellious parishes. Chalmers himself went, so did Cunningham, Gordon, Candlish, Guthrie, and others. Debarred from the pulpits, they gathered crowds in the glens and mountain sides, and preached to them the word of life. Many exciting scenes occurred; the tide of feeling ran high, the country was roused against the Moderates and the tyranny of the civil courts. Not content with the interdict shutting the Assemblies' deputies out of the church, the Strathbogie Presbytery sought by another interdict to prevent them from preaching in the parishes at all, thus drawing a cordon around these ecclesiastical districts. In Dr. Guthrie's life there is a characteristic description of his visit to these proscribed localities as the deputy of the Assembly. It affords a view of the commotion in the country and the manly and heroic spirit of the orator. Dr. Guthrie says:

In going to Strathbogie to preach I was met by an interdict of the Court of Session. On the Lord's Day, when preparing for the services, in came a servant of the law and handed me the interdict. I told him he had done his duty, and I would do mine. The interdict forbade me, under penalty of Calton Hill Jail, to preach the Gospel in the parish churches. I said, the parish churches are stone, and, hence, belong to the State. I will not intrude there. It forbade me to preach in the school-houses. I said, the school-houses are stone and lime, and belong to the State. I will not intrude there. It forbade me to preach in the churchyard. I said, the dust of the dead is the State's. But when these Lords of Session forbade me to preach my Master's blessed Gospel anywhere in that district, I put the interdict under my feet.

So great was the power of his ministry on these hill sides, that an eye-witness says the people were wrought up to such a pitch that he could have persuaded them to do anything, even to march up the valley and pull down the old church and the manse. Holding up the interdict, he thundered out, 'Sooner would I rot in the darkest dungeon of all Scotland than I would have gone to the Court of Session for a document like this,' and he threw it down upon the table before him.

These ill-starred interdicts set the whole country in a flame. Every one in city, town, and village were eagerly discussing the Aucterarder, Dunkeld, and Strathbogie cases, patronage and veto laws, and nonintrusion. Crowded and excited meetings were held to discuss the rights of the church to govern herself, and the duty of resisting the intrusion

of the courts in spiritual questions. In one of these meetings, held in Edinburgh, Dr. Chalmers said :—

We come here not to sound the trumpet of defiance, or to make a boastful proclamation of whom we shall obey or disobey. We come here as an Assembly of fellow-Christians, and we would lift up in your hearing the solemn proclamation of our resolute adherence to duty and conscience. Let there be no mistake. Should any earthly power, should the Court of Session, vested with legitimate power in things of Cæsar, stretch forth his hand to intromit or intermeddle with the undoubted things of God, then, if the act is to receive its designation not from the obstacles over which it has to pass, but from the urgent principle which impels to the performance of it, then I say, let our act be named by that which is its actuating motive, obedience to the Head of the Church rather than by that which is not its actuating motive, disobedience to the Court of Session. If the church commands and the Court of Session countermand a spiritual service from any of our office-bearers, then it is the duty of all ministers and members of our Church of Scotland to do precisely as they should have done though no interdict had crossed their path.

We quote these sentences (1) as a fair sample of Dr. Chalmers's grand, if involved, oratory, and (2) as affording a key to his attitude as the party aiming to secure a Free Established Church. Their grievance, their proposed remedy, and their claim for redress were laid before the Government; but the ruling spirits in Downing-street underestimated the strength of the movement, and thought that, with a judicious mingling of hauteur and diplomacy, they could quiet these resolute and perfervid ecclesiastics. Lord Aberdeen went so far as to propose to legalise the veto law; but what was given with the right hand with seeming willingness was withdrawn virtually by the left, for the veto must be accompanied by reasons. The contention was for veto pure and simple. Any one can see at a glance how difficult and opposed to every feeling of delicacy it would be for a congregation to set out at full length in a formal public document why they did not accept the presented candidate as their minister. The liberty they demanded was, as we have shown in the extract from Dr. Chalmers' speech, that the congregations should be able to give their opinion, aye or nay, without reasons, as a jury delivers its verdict simply as its finding. A claim so fair and equitable only the infatuation of blindness could refuse. The truth is, that the ruling powers of that day underrated the strength of the agitation, as they misunderstood the leading men in the agitation. They fondly and foolishly believed the movement was superficial, the product of a few noisy agitators, and if they were firm enough, the noise would pass away. Let it be said, in explanation, if not in extenuation, that Lord

Aberdeen, Sir Robert Peel, and Sir James Graham were not on the spot, and in the distance they were easily misinformed. The most reasonable solution of the problem was proposed by the Duke of Argyll, the father of the present Duke. The principle in his Bill was to give the power of veto to the male heads of families, providing always that the veto did not spring from factious motives. This Bill passed the House of Lords; but a change in the Government of the day led to its being dropped. The new Ministry cared as little for the real needs of the Scottish Church as the defeated one.

In Scotland things became more ominous because of the defiance of the Strathbogie Presbytery of their deposition by the General Assembly. Such a thing was unknown in Presbyterian Scotland, as the acts and decisions of this supreme church court had always commanded obedience, if not reverence or respect. But on the principle that untoward events come not singly, but in 'battalions,' the Garioch case came up to widen the already gaping breach and intensify the excitement. This case was one of clerical insubordination, and occurred in a Presbytery adjoining that of Strathbogie. A large majority of the congregation had dissented from the appointment of a poor, helpless old man to the living. The Presbytery, instead of giving effect to the veto of the people, went on with the forms of induction. The services were conducted amid scenes that can only be described as disgraceful. The members escaped from the church with difficulty and fled to the manse, where they completed the ordination ceremonies. When the case reached the courts, civil and ecclesiastical, there was the same conflict of judgment as before. One said to the Presbytery, you shall ordain; the other said, ordain if you dare. Then came mutual interdicting, and hurling of defiance from Assembly to Court of Session, and from Court of Session to Assembly. These scenes were undignified if they were not childish and pitiable.

It now became clear to the anti-patronage and non-intrusion party in the Church of Scotland that, if the Parliament did not interpose and give them relief, the time of their remaining in the church was brief and determined. Having faced that most probable eventuality, they set about preparing for it. In a letter to the Rev. J. Bruce, Dr. Chalmers suggested that a formal statement of their case and their claims should be drawn up, and having passed the Assembly, it should be laid before Parliament and the country. It was agreed that the preparation and wording of this famous document should be entrusted to the man with the ablest, wisest, and most judicial mind in the party—Mr. Murray Dunlop, the jurist of the Disruption. One who knew

him intimately, and who is every way entitled to speak, says of him :

He was the purest of enthusiasts. While nearly all were raging and traducing, I have not only not heard a harsh or angry word, but I have never detected lurking in his heart an unkind thought even towards his least tolerable opponents. Any of his opponents might have trusted their statements to him. I know no other person who so thoroughly unites the severity of the agitator with the temper of the gentleman and the Christian.

He was an ecclesiastical Bayard, *sans peur et sans reproche*. The Claim of Right was a calm and powerful appeal against the encroachments of the civil courts upon the purely spiritual functions of church courts. It consisted of a claim, a declaration, and a protest.

In this long and fiercely-contested struggle pamphlets were as plentiful as hail in a thunderstorm : as many as 780 were counted. The present writer has examined a pretty full collection of them. In size they varied from the bulky treatise of Dean Hope to the tiny leaflet, and in style from the fiery and eloquent to the dreariest of dull and verbose compositions. As evidence of the passionate character of the feeling then prevalent, we could take many of these pamphlets. But standing out in conspicuous eminence for cogent reasoning, lofty eloquence, and intensest feeling, is the pamphlet of Hugh Miller, in the form of a letter to Lord Brougham upon his famous, or rather infamous, judgment delivered in the House of Lords upon the Aucterarder case. It was written from his quiet home at the head of the Cromarty Bay. He had laid aside his mason's tools, and was now head clerk or manager in a bank. The wrong done to the church by this decision of the House of Lords roused all his indignation, so that his writing was aflame with it, whilst his logic was keen and conclusive. It is questionable if the 'Cromarty Mason' ever wrote anything to surpass this. It is a good example of the doctrine that science and close reasoning are not only compatible with, but serve to excite, poetry and emotion rather than extinguish them. This pamphlet led to his being appointed editor of the *Witness*, which, in his hand, became a most powerful instrument in accomplishing the work of the 'Ten Years' Conflict.' In controversy Miller was a hard hitter ; indeed, his pen seemed sometimes to have the force of a sledge hammer. Nothing daunted him, and in the 'hurly-burly' of the struggle his huge head was ever seen in the van. To the young and the weak he was all gentleness ; to women he was the soul of chivalry ; but in the heat of battle he had not a little of 'the ferocity of genius.' Dr. Guthrie says, 'it was he who educated the country. His business

was to fight, and, like a war-horse among the trumpets, ha! ha! he smelt the battle from afar. He did more to serve our cause than a dozen ecclesiastical leaders, and was, beyond all doubt and controversy, except Dr. Chalmers, the greatest man in the Ten Years' Conflict.' Figuring so prominently in the conflict, and contributing so largely to the success of the movement, we may ask why his name is scarcely ever mentioned and his share in the work ignored in the recognised histories of the Disruption? We know that differences, jealousies, and recriminations took place. In the conduct of concerted and combined movements and agitations differences are inevitable; but in the after records of these conflicts surely good men can afford to be just, if not generous. This is another instance that good and great men have their weak places, and occasionally descend to not very honourable things.

The Assembly of 1842 was a momentous one. The Marquis of Bute was Royal Commissioner. He was appointed—so it was surmised—that his great influence might, so it was hoped, sway the Assembly against these disturbing non-intrusionists. If this was the policy of the Government, it utterly failed. To suppose that the band of sturdy Evangelicals could be turned from their deep and clear convictions by a great name, great wealth, or personal blandishments was a piece of fatuity which helped to precipitate the disaster they were anxious to avoid, while it showed the greatest ignorance of the character of the men whose antagonism they held in such little esteem. Of one thing there can be no doubt, that the Tory Government of that day was hostile to church independence. The claim of right was presented to the Assembly, and was discussed in one of the longest and most exciting sederunts ever known. It was not till the morning dawned that the motion for its adoption was carried by 241 votes to 110. From this point events thickened till the final step of disrupting the church was taken. The controversy had long ago outgrown patronage. The issue now was the deeper one of spiritual independence. How urgent this question of independence had become was forcibly illustrated by the fact that their deliberations in the highest court of the church were disturbed by the appearance of an officer of the Supreme Court to serve an interdict upon the Assembly itself. It was only after some confusion and alarm that Lord Bute arranged this ugly intrusion, which helped to hasten the end. Two other events happened shortly which gave impulse to the movement by showing that the grip of the civil power upon the church was an iron one. One was the decision of the House of Lords mulcting the Aucterarder Presbytery in all the costs

of the notorious case, which amounted to many thousands of pounds, and which, but for the aid of the friends of the church, would have reduced every member of the Presbytery to starvation. The other event was the Stewarton case. The Presbytery of Irvine had received a Mr. Celland from one of the secession churches, and had erected his church into a *quoad sacra* parish church. Disturbance and litigation followed at the instance of the heritors, whose cause was sanctioned by the Court of Session, the Presbytery being ordered to undo what they had done. This was another grievance added to the many previous ones.

In November, 1842, the celebrated Convocation of the Disruptionists was held in Edinburgh, when it was found that 300 ministers had adhered to the claim of right. Having tried and failed in every attempt to reform the church, they must now leave it. This momentous and inevitable conclusion involved a preparation for emergencies of the new state of things. The most pressing question was that of finance, for if four hundred ministers threw up their livings, they could not be left to the chances of the hour. There was one man equal to the emergency—Dr. Chalmers. No Chancellor of Imperial Exchequer ever devised a better fiscal system than that developed in the Sustentation Fund of the Free Church of Scotland, which now yields £176,000 per annum. Everything was made ready, and, like the Israelites of old, they were prepared to march when the hour should strike. The end was definitely brought about (1) by Sir J. Graham's intimation that the Government had disallowed their claim of right; and (2) the rejection of the Honourable Fox Maule's motion in the House of Commons for the appointment of a committee to investigate and report upon the facts of the case. The debate in the Commons lasted two nights, and the best speakers of the House took part in the discussion; but the majority was decisive against them. During the month of April and the early weeks in May the air was filled with all sorts of rumours and speculations. Some said that the malcontents would not leave the church after all the noise they had made, for they loved their livings too well. Some said that if they did go out, it would only be a dozen or so; that the agitation would turn out 'much cry and little wool.' Others, again, said, let them go, they will soon return. Even the Free Church leaders did not expect or hope that the movement would be of the magnitude it afterwards assumed. In due time the 18th day of May arrived. The Marquis of Bute was again the Royal Commissioner, and the venerable and saintly Dr. Welsh was the retiring Moderator. After the usual levee in Holyrood and the official sermon in St. Giles' Cathedral, the procession moved on to St. Andrew's Church, in George-

street, to constitute the Assembly. The events of that day—as memorable as any in Scottish history—have been often described. Beyond question Hugh Miller's description—the most animated and graphic, is best known; but Mr. Walker's description in this work is so good that we give an extract from it. He was one of those who had been crowding St. Andrew's Church since five o'clock in the morning. The time of waiting was long, but so great was the excitement, that no one appeared weary. 'At length three o'clock arrived, and with it the Moderator. We thought proceedings would be prolonged. It was all over, however, very soon. Dr. Welsh offered up a very solemn prayer, and then, amid a silence which was painful in its intensity, he read a protest to the effect that there had been an infringement of the church's constitution, so that the Assembly could not now be constituted without a violation of the terms of union between Church and State in this land. Laying this protest on the table, he left the chair and made his way towards the church door. Dr. Chalmers had been standing immediately on his left. He looked vacant and abstracted while the protest was being read, but Dr. Welsh's movement awakened him from his reverie. Seizing eagerly upon his hat, he hurried after him with all the air of one impatient to be gone. And then, slowly, the depletion proceeded. I saw row after row of the men with whose names we were all most familiar file deliberately out of the church and out of the national establishment. The spectacle was so extraordinary, that for some time we looked on as if stunned. At last cries began to be heard—cries of admiration, of anger, of grief—and the crowded galleries became stirred like trees in a storm. As the exodus continued every part of the house grew emptier: great blanks appeared, especially in the ranks of students of divinity, for the flower of the young men naturally followed their master. The Disruptionists, a clear majority of all the members of the Assembly, having formed into a column in the street, marched down to the Canon Mills, where an immense low-roofed hall, capable of containing three thousand people, had been prepared to receive them. When the commotion of taking possession of the new house had subsided, Dr. Welsh proceeded with the business, which had been interrupted by the incident of the Disruption. It had long been the custom of the Moderator to name his successor. 'I feel assured,' said he, 'that the eyes of the whole church are directed to one individual, whom to name is to pronounce his panegyric. In the exhausted state in which my duties have left me, it is scarcely in my power to say more; but, indeed, I feel that

would be more than superfluous. The extent of his labours in connection with our present position would justly entitle Dr. Chalmers (the mention of Dr. Chalmers' name here was received with extraordinary enthusiasm, the whole of the vast audience rising, cheering for some minutes with the utmost enthusiasm, and the house presenting a perfect forest of hats and handkerchiefs)—would justly entitle that great man to hold the first place in this, our first meeting. But surely it is a good omen, or, I should say, a token for good from the great Disposer of all events and the alone Head of the Church, that I can propose to hold this office an individual who, by the efforts of his genius and his virtues, is destined to hold so conspicuous a place in the eyes of all posterity.' On taking the chair Dr. Chalmers proposed another service of praise and prayer, and as the great congregation of three thousand souls, all thrilling with suppressed enthusiasm, sang the words,

O send Thy light forth and Thy truth,
Let them be guides to me, &c.,

a sudden burst of sunlight filled the building, and recalled to many present this text, from which the Moderator had preached six months before, 'Unto the upright light shall arise in the darkness.'

The departure of the large majority of members and hearers left an ugly gap in the Assembly in St. Andrew's Church. Amazement or despair sat upon the countenances of those who remained. Under the skilful pilotage of Dr. Cook, they set themselves to right the ship, to repair the damage, and prepare for the future. At the date of this writing we see that in most places the 'Auld Kirk' has recovered her lost ground, thanks chiefly to the endowment scheme of Dr. Robertson, while in real church work she is abreast of other churches. In the Western Highlands and islands, in Rossshire, in Sutherlandshire, in parts of Argyleshire, and in other places the Established Church has not recovered an inch of ground, and the likelihood of her doing so must be reckoned among the remotest of contingencies. In all the places referred to the Free Church is everywhere and everything. Of its influence and methods of operation some curious and instructive facts could be related. In such a struggle as the one we have reviewed it was perhaps unavoidable that there should be much bitterness and uncharity in spirit and speech, and, from an examination of the literature of the time, we are in a position to affirm that unkindly and even unconscious temper and speech were not a monopoly on either side. This ill-feeling continued for years. We wish that truth permitted us to say it was extinct now.

After the Disruption aristocratic landowners and lairds refused sites of land for the erection of free churches, thinking themselves able, by petty oppression and persecution, to stamp out the hated uprising of the church for liberty. These lords and gentlemen thought that a little of what they called firmness would bring these ill-advised wanderers back to the church. Not that they cared for the church, only as a State machine, for the aristocracy and lairds of Scotland, as a body, belong to a dissenting, alien, hostile church—the Episcopalian. Out of this conflict and division God, in His overruling Providence, has brought immense and unmistakable good; for while the Established Church has been revived and rehabilitated, there has arisen one of the grandest evangelising agencies of this century. The Free Church of Scotland has permeated the country with Gospel truth, life, and morality. As no human institution is free from defect and drawback, so this noble church is set in a framework of the hardest and most rigid Calvinism, which is visibly breaking up. The aged men and Highlanders are in terror at what they see and hear; but no gifts of genius, no amount of casuistry, or what is called learning, nor even saintliness of character can prevent the decay of bad philosophy and untrue theology. No one can mingle much with Free Church ministers and elders without discovering a certain straightness and exclusiveness. They are churchy, and carry an air of 'we are the church.' That this does not hold of many does not affect the statement. The rigidity and narrowness is seen in the repeated refusal of the Assembly to allow individual churches to use musical instruments in the public service of praise. As we write we learn that one church has so far rebelled as to introduce a harmonium into the church. It is amusing to note the utter puerility of the arguments employed by Dr. Begg and others with him in condemnation of the organ, scornfully calling it 'a box of whistles,' or, in better form, 'a kist of whistles.' There is one aspect of the Disruption which demands notice—its political effect. The doctrines of Liberal politics and church freedom from State control have advanced with rapid strides since the Disruption, and the fact that only eight Tories sit in the House of Commons for Scottish constituencies is largely attributable to the Free Church vote. The united Presbyterians, as a body, are unmistakably Liberal; the Established Church is as unmistakably Tory. Thus, on which ever side the Free Church vote goes it is the determining power. This sharply-drawn line is quite consistent with notorious exceptions, as such staunch Churchmen as Principal Tulloch and Drs. Story and Cunningham being good Liberals, and such staunch

Tories as Drs. Begg and H. Bonar being staunchest Free Churchmen. In certain localities this Tory Free Churchism is strong. It is a matter of public knowledge that two of the eight Tory Scottish seats were carried by Free Church Tories. The older men who came out of the church have retained their old Tory notions; but the younger men, who have been born in freedom, are free indeed, politically and ecclesiastically. We may conclude with the wise words of one of the best Journals of the day:—

The majority in the Church of Scotland before the Disruption, who maintained the ancient freedom of their church, obeyed what was to them a Divine command. They did not consider consequences, and their Christian virtue has been amply justified by the issue. To their fidelity and courage it is due that every congregation in Scotland now enjoys the freedom to elect its own pastor, and that even the Established Church is left practically, though only by sufferance and during docile behaviour, in the enjoyment of freedom. The result of the Disruption in Scotland at this hour is, that three branches of the old national church flourish side by side, and that their formal re-union, though not, perhaps, essential to their efficiency, comfort, or funds, may be looked forward to as one of the possibilities, if not probabilities, of the future.

H. E. G.

II.—COMBINATION FOR IMPROVEMENT IN KNOWLEDGE.*

To an interesting work on Civilisation which has lately proceeded from the pen of Dr. Arthur Mitchell there is prefixed a drawing by Sir Noel Paton, which furnishes a very striking and beautiful illustration of an important feature of human life, especially in the civilised state. The artist has represented two persons, each of them from physical defect in a state of comparative helplessness, the one deprived of the use of his lower limbs, and the other blind; but the cripple being carried on the strong back of his blind friend, and directing his steps, each supplies the lack of the other, and locomotion, otherwise impossible to the one and difficult and dangerous to the other, becomes easy and pleasant to both by a combination of their powers.

Most things that men accomplish are done by *combination*. All over the world, for good purposes and for bad, men combine. And this tendency to combination is peculiarly human, for the simple reason that the *need* of combination, and especially the *power* of efficient combination, are peculiarly human.

Man *stands more in need* of help from his fellows than any other creature. The wants of the lower animals are few and simple; nature has provided them with all the clothing they need; their food requires no preparation, in most cases is very readily procured, and when they have to catch their prey, they have bodily implements and powers fully equal to the work. Very different is the case with man. His wants are more numerous and less readily supplied; his feeble physical powers can only supply them by the aid of the contrivances of art; and if each one of us had to prepare with his own hands every article of food and clothing, and himself manufacture all the implements that he used, our appliances would be but few and sufficiently primitive in their character, and our conveniences and comforts could not be procured. It is by our combination in society, each helping to supply, in some particular way, the wants of others, and himself receiving in return what he requires, that we are enabled so easily to procure the numerous comforts we enjoy. By this organisation for the division of labour, the supplying of each requirement being attended

* Substance of an Address to the Edinburgh Primitive Methodist Mutual Improvement Class, by J. T. RICHARDS, President. Delivered November 7, 1880.

to by a number of persons devoting their skill and labour especially to it, it is evident that each want is supplied infinitely better and more easily than it could otherwise be.

To form such arrangements—to enter into such combination, evidently *indicates and requires intelligence*—intelligence only possessed by man. And in proportion to the advancement and enlightenment of the people, with which, of course, increases their ability to organise efficient combinations, do these become more numerous, more complex, and more powerful, until, in the highest state of civilisation, as in our own country, the function of government itself, which in more primitive States is naturally exercised by one individual, is carried on by the combined wisdom of many. In fact, we may, with Dr. Mitchell, regard civilisation as essentially consisting in successful combination.

On a smaller scale, the *necessity of associations* is felt in every department of life. Hence our commercial companies, large and small, in which capital is furnished by one, experience in business by another; and so trade is carried on with advantage to all. Hence, also, our religious societies, in which ‘the friends of religion combine to build up each other in their holy faith; by uniting in fellowship they strengthen each other’s hands to resist evil influences and promote the benevolent objects they have in view, without which necessary step even holy resolutions frequently fail before the influence of what an inspired writer calls (Heb. xii. 1) *ἐνπεριστάρον ἁμαρτίαν*—‘the well-circumstanced sin;’ in fact, religious fellowship seems to be essential to the preservation and perfection of the Christian character.’

The principle of *combination for mutual advantage* thus exemplified in the conduct of commercial enterprises and in religious institutions (particularly well, perhaps, in the Methodist class meeting) is largely applied for the *diffusion of knowledge*. It is so in such important institutions as our Royal Societies, in which are combined those who are engaged in the pursuit of various branches of knowledge, the members communicating to the societies, and through them to the world, the results of their enquiries, which thus become common property, and knowledge is increased and widely diffused. Various local institutions, founded on the same principle, and also of great value, exist, not for the spread among the learned of fresh additions made to the sum of human knowledge, but for the purpose of spreading general knowledge, old as well as new, among all classes of the people.

These two kinds of institutions—the great literary and scientific societies, and mutual improvement societies throughout the country,

working on the same principle of combination for mutual advantage, take their origin in the same fact—the *natural desire of the human mind for information*. Not only does man possess intellectual powers, distinguishing him from the rest of the animal world; but, with the power, it is evident that he has a natural desire to understand the things that present themselves to his mind through the senses or otherwise. For, although he is born not only the most helpless object in the world physically, but mentally without pre-eminence, the description of Zophar, the Naamathite, ‘born like a wild ass’s colt’ (Job xi. 12), being more true than flattering; and while there are a few unfortunate creatures who remain in the same condition, without the power of thought, going through a mere animal existence, mindless objects of disgust and pity, till death removes them from our sight, these are rare exceptions; young humanity seldom fails very soon to give evidence of mental capabilities, and of a desire to get an understanding of objects that attract the attention—a desire which, if encouraged, enlarges and expands, and which perhaps it is impossible to destroy. ‘The eye of an infant soon becomes a note of interrogation, telling us that it longs to be wise,’ and before long the questions of the little one are more easily asked than answered. One evening last summer in Leith a child walking near the sea just before sunset enquired of her father, ‘What made the sun red?’ The reply, given with admirable sharpness, was that ‘the man in the moon painted it;’ and, no doubt, further enquiries would follow respecting the painter and his picture. The spirit of inquisitiveness, which thus early manifests itself as a part of human nature, is the source of all science. It is the same desire for knowledge that animates the philosopher, who, devoting his life to the study of nature, wearies himself with prolonged and laborious investigations. And the same desire appears on the face of the savage, to whom is presented, for the first time, some pleasing wonder of civilisation. He is anxious to know the cause or meaning of what he sees or hears. But, although the savage possesses the desire for knowledge in much the same sense as every child possesses it, he generally acquires but very little, contenting himself with superstitious guesses, and most of our children grow up and go through life with very limited information. The reason of this is evident. Knowledge, except of a very imperfect character, is not easily acquired; and so, although man has some natural desire for information along with a capacity to receive it, this is not usually strong enough to induce him to take much trouble to gratify it, and not being encouraged, the desire becomes more and more narrowed in its range.

On the other hand, there are those, and their number is now happily increasing, who cultivate a taste for knowledge, and are willing to take the trouble necessary to inform their minds to a greater or less extent; and the more they learn, the more do they desire to learn, and the more cordially do they agree with Cicero when he asks, 'Quid est enim (per deos!) optabilius sapientia? Quid præstantius? Quid homini melius? Quid homine dignius?' (Cic. de Offic., lib. ii. 5.) 'What . . . is more to be desired than knowledge?' 'What more excellent? What can be better for man? Or, what more worthy of him?'

Let us consider some of the *advantages resulting from the possession of knowledge* of various kinds—its practical importance and value.

A glance at our own condition as compared with the state of the untutored savage is sufficient to prove to us how greatly *knowledge is conducive to physical well-being*. 'Naturally and essentially, he is the same as we. There are about him and in him the same physics and metaphysics, and his wants are mostly the same as ours. The botany of his country is, perhaps, more inviting than ours, his mines are richer, his skies more clear and sublime, while his mind has the same natural powers and susceptibilities. But he has never cultivated his understanding; his knowledge is only such as has come to him almost as instinct or by chance. And thus, allowing his mind to lie dormant, he lives almost without a comfort.' And so should we be living to-day had not science ministered to our wants. But we have not been content with such knowledge as happened to come in our way. Some of our predecessors have set themselves to gain knowledge, and by reasoning from what was already known, by observation and experiment carried on with skill and perseverance by one person after another down to our own times, and by more persons now than ever before, has the sum of our present knowledge of nature been reached, from which every one of us derives incalculable benefit. 'What our empire owes, for example, to mathematics, and is destined yet to owe, no human mind can conceive.' Employed in navigation, in ship-building, in every kind of architecture, in the construction of bridges, of railways, of machinery in its endless varieties, 'what would England have been without mathematics?' To physics our obligations are still greater. This branch of science investigates the nature and laws of the material world, and when these are known to us we can make them subservient to our wants to an ever-increasing extent. The benefits we have derived, for example, from the study and application of the

properties of steam and of electricity are too well known to need mentioning, and are increasing every day. The blessings that chemistry has conferred on our country and on the world are also without number. 'It has chased midnight from our streets, and houses, and shops, giving us almost the light of day; it has descended our mines and given the labourers there a shield from the deadly fire-damp. In the shape of sanitary science it has done much to check the progress of disease amongst us.' We may mention, too, among its uses, less important but striking, its value in the detection of crime, 'entering even the grave and the coffin, and compelling the dead body to confess whether or not poison occasioned its death. The ancient soothsayers professed to divine from the entrails of animals, but they had no certain data on which to proceed. The modern chemist consults the stomach of the murdered corpse perhaps weeks after it has been buried, and brings forth ocular evidence of the fact which none can gainsay or resist.' The arts and manufactures depending on chemistry are too numerous to mention, and the wealth they bring to this country especially is incalculable. So much, in fact, of the trade and manufacture of the country depends on chemical processes, that it has been truly said that its state of commercial prosperity may be judged of with great accuracy by the amount of sulphuric acid which it consumes, of which there is now made in the South Lancashire district alone more than 3,000 tons per week. It is evident, then, that physical science is the chief source not only of almost all our comforts, but also of our national wealth and greatness; so that to our original proposition—that knowledge is conducive to physical well-being, we may now add the further statement that *knowledge is productive of riches and greatness*, or, as Solomon puts it, 'Length of days is in her right hand, and in her left hand riches and honour,' (Prov. iii. 16); and in another place, 'Through wisdom is a house builded, and by understanding it is established, and by knowledge shall the chambers be filled with all precious and pleasant riches,' (Prov. xxiv. 3, 4.)

In the next verse Solomon mentions another advantage of knowledge—'A wise man is strong; yea, a man of knowledge increaseth strength' (Prov. xxiv. 5), with which agrees the aphorism of our own philosopher, Bacon, '*Knowledge is power*.' 'Wisdom strengtheneth the wise more than ten mighty men which are in the city' (Eccl. vii. 19). 'A wise man scaleth the city of the mighty and casteth down the strength of the confidence thereof' (Prov. xxi. 22). 'There was a little city, and few men within it; and there came a great king against it, and besieged it, and built great bulwarks against it. Now,

there was found in it a poor wise man, and he, by his wisdom, delivered the city. Then said I, Wisdom is better than strength.

. . . Wisdom is better than weapons of war' (Eccl. ix. 14-18). In illustration of these passages, Dr. A. Clarke quotes a well-known case from ancient history.

Syracuse, the capital of ancient Sicily, having fallen under the dominion of the Carthaginians, who were then at war with Rome, was invested both by sea and land by two great Roman armies. Upwards of a hundred sail of ships were brought by the Consul, Marcellus, under its walls, while Appius Claudius, with an immense force, attacked it everywhere by land. At this time that prodigy of mathematical skill, Archimedes, the favourite and friend of its late King, Hiero, was the bulwark of the city. Though its walls were said to be twenty-two miles in circumference, he contrived machines in every part which galled the Roman armies; and by projecting great beams, pointed with iron, clouds of darts and vast stones, some of which, according to Plutarch, were 1,200lbs. in weight, he disconcerted and baffled every attempt of these two powerful armies for the space of three whole years. By the skilful use of levers with chains and grappling-hooks, he lifted the galleys out of the water, and, whirling them about, dashed them to pieces against the rocks; others he destroyed and sunk with such missiles as have been mentioned, and some he set on fire by concentrating upon them the sun's rays transmitted through glasses constructed for the purpose, until he had burnt, sunk, and destroyed a great part of the Roman fleet, and obliged the Generals to retire from the walls. Here the wisdom of a single man long prevailed against the most powerful exertions of a mighty nation. Archimedes commanded no company of men, made no sorties, but, by his machines, confounded every attempt made by the Romans both by sea and land. The city was finally betrayed by one of its own governors, who admitted the hostile army; the place was given up to pillage, and Archimedes himself was stabbed by a Roman soldier while sitting in his room deeply engaged in demonstrating a new problem in order to his further operations against his country's enemies.

Here, indeed, wisdom was better than strength; and modern civilised warfare abounds in illustrations of the same principle. Scientific knowledge and skill have given us weapons of such power as in a few months to bring to a close contests which would formerly have occupied many years. But in peace, as well as in war, knowledge is the source of power. Which are the most powerful parts of our country? 'Not the agricultural districts, where the people are still in ignorance and the dupes and slaves of those above them, but the manufacturing districts and large towns, where the people are more enlightened, and think and act for themselves. Between these two populations there is in some places the distance of a century in education and intelligence, and corresponding is the difference in their power. The agricultural classes exert almost no in-

fluence in the country, while the sceptre of the nation is to a great extent in the hands of the manufacturing population. The chief manufacturing towns have always been the terror of tyrants, and have originated and carried out many a great reform. When these clothe themselves in their power, premiers of every political creed succumb and yield to their wishes.' So says a writer whose work on the sources of our national greatness has been previously quoted. 'What Lancashire thinks to-day, England will think to-morrow' is the boast of the inhabitants of that great manufacturing county. And in a country like ours, where the people rule in a constitutional manner, the power is sure to reside with the intelligent populations.

Let us note, lastly in this connection, the power that one particular kind of knowledge—a knowledge of human nature—gives to an individual when skilfully applied. It is a difficult and dangerous thing to rule men by force—an impossible thing to rule their minds by force. But let a man study men, either individuals or a nation, and get to know their susceptibilities and their weaknesses, and artfully act on these: by such means, apart from merit, have many attained to influence and power. The foundation of their success was knowledge of character, obtained by the usual method of observation. These instances will suffice to illustrate and prove the statement that *knowledge is power*.

And while knowledge is the source of riches, and honour, and power to individuals and nations, its acquisition tends also to give us wisdom to employ them rightly. It is evident that wealth and power may be unwisely employed, and so prove useless, or worse. But *knowledge tends to improve the judgment*, and so leads a man wisely to use the advantages he enjoys. Cases sometimes occur when wealth and power come into the hands of the ignorant and uncultured, and generally, perhaps, to such they prove most hurtful, and by such are most abused. History shows that the greatest tyrants have frequently been those who have risen from obscurity, without culture, into power, and not those born to power; while, in modern society, it is not the cultured aristocracy, but those who, without education, have become possessed of money, who are frequently the most haughty and imperious, and the least benevolent. The disposal of money and the exercise of power are generally safest in the hands of those whose education has suited them to fill a high position. And generally the carrying out of important objects should not be entrusted to the ignorant; rarely, if ever, has anything great been conducted by an uncultured person; for although knowledge does not necessarily or always give judgment

and skill—far from it—still, it can but tend in that direction; and experience proves that, as Lord Bacon says, ‘the arrangement and disposal of things comes best from those who are learned.’ Armies must be commanded not by men of courage and natural ability merely, but by men thoroughly trained in all the departments of military study. The helm of state can only be held with advantage by those who have carefully studied men and things, and the wider the education of the statesman, the better fitted is he for his post. Especially in this latter department is historical knowledge of supreme importance—a knowledge of what has happened in the past—guiding public men to work on principles which have previously worked well, and to avoid those courses which have yielded bad results.

How often in private life do men *go wrong for want of knowledge*. Let us take one or two illustrations. Many a man, finding life in this country to consist of too much work and too little pay to please him, has gone to seek his fortune in another land. Glowing descriptions of America especially have met his eye; but of real knowledge of America he had none, and he has gone only to find himself landed in destitution and distress without the means of return. Such is not the case with most of those who now go out; but it has been so, and many still who fail in this country because they are indolent or intemperate go out to find that indolence and intemperance meet with no more success in America than here, but the reverse. A previous knowledge of facts which they afterwards learned would have saved hundreds the trouble and disappointment of going to a foreign land and returning worse off than when they went. So with many who enter the army, they know only the pleasures and nothing of the crosses of a soldier’s life. It is certain that not a few, when they learn what it is to be a soldier, wish themselves again at the plough or in the workshop. Previous knowledge would have saved them from making a change which they thought would be for the better, but find to be for the worse.

Just in the same way *knowledge of its results* may save from moral wrong-doing—at least exercise a powerful influence in that direction. There might be less of sin if its results were better known. Too often the enticing face of sin is seen, but its sequences are not seen. No doubt the miserable fruits of vice are obvious enough in many of our streets and in wretched homes everywhere; no doubt, also, the condition of hundreds in our gaols and penal establishments gives plain enough evidence that the way of transgressors is hard; and, no doubt, the results of crime sometimes appear terribly enough in a court of

justice or a place of execution. But these things only slightly or occasionally come under the observation of the public—not sufficiently to act as a powerful warning. Of the sights and sounds of such streets and homes we see and hear but little; in fact, we avoid them. Of the hardships of prison life we know nothing. We occasionally pass the gaol, but we never see, and, perhaps, never think of those who are spending their days in weary confinement there, or in the still worse bondage and labour of penal servitude. We scarcely notice the frequent executions unless the victim happens to be in our own neighbourhood, and then we realise and tremble at the results of sin. These things, although we all know, we seldom think of, and without feeling we cannot realise. But there are other miseries the result of sin—often of sin which the law does not punish—which are known to few. The wretchedness of mind which accompanies a life of sin, especially in those who have fallen from virtue and position, is not often told to others, and is frequently concealed under a gay exterior, but is none the less real and wide-spread. The personal and domestic troubles and wretchedness produced by wrong-doing among those who occupy respectable and high positions in society are best known to the confidential attendants and professional advisers of the sufferers. In hospitals and elsewhere the results of evil courses appear in the shape of diseases deep-seated and far-reaching in their effects, often painful in their manifestations, it may be, fearfully destructive. But all these things are in the background, not generally seen by the public eye. As Solomon says of the deluded victim of sin, ‘He knoweth not that the dead are there.’ More knowledge of the results of wrong-doing might have a beneficial effect.

But though it tends in that direction, knowledge of the results of sin is not sufficient to save men from running into it. Too often does a man, under the influence of temptation, deliberately do that for which he knows he must suffer, perhaps suffer severely at the hands of the law. The passions are strong. Divinely implanted in human nature, while their strength is controlled and directed by reason, they are productive of pleasure, and often prompt to noble deeds; but, unrestrained, their perversion and abuse is the fruitful source of degradation and misery. Now, *the cultivation of the mind tends towards the restraint of the passions*; mental culture is conducive to moral. Application to mental work, especially of a severe nature, is a discipline which can but tend to calm and subdue unruly impulses. What can be a better cure for anger than to sit down and work out a problem? And just as the temporary passion is calmed by such means,

so does the habitual training of the mind tend to bring the passions into permanent subjection.

‘ Ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes
Emollit mores, nec sinit esse ferus.’

This should be one of the most important results of improvement of the mind by the acquisition of knowledge.

But we must allow that it is not always so. Not a few most cultured men have been among the most immoral. And the terrible wars that are waged in Europe are dreadful manifestations of unbridled passions of hatred and envy animating even the rulers of the most cultured nations. So it was with ancient nations—‘cultivating various arts and sciences, yet fierce, barbarous, and cruel. Their history is a tissue of frauds, aggressions, assassinations, revolts, wars; their soldiers were licensed plunderers, their heroes human butchers, their conquests the blast of desolation and death.’ This is true even of the cultured Greeks and polished Romans. ‘Crimes and carnage of all descriptions make up their annals. The Roman Colosseum, one of the largest and most magnificent buildings that wealth and ingenuity ever erected, resounded from day to day with the shrieks of human beings and the wild yells of ferocious beasts tearing them to pieces amid the acclamations of 87,000 spectators rejoicing in the butchery. The most cultured people on the face of the earth erected this huge pile for savage and bloody spectacles such as few tribes at the present day are so barbarous as to enjoy or tolerate.’ Individual examples also abound. Cæsar, while he led his armies carrying fire and sword over many countries, at the same time wrote the history of his wars in language that we study to-day as a model of correct and elegant description—the work of a refined scholar. Napoleon needs only to be mentioned—at once ‘patron of the arts and scourge of Europe.’

Learning and culture, then, while they are clearly favourable to moral discipline, are not safeguards against the abuse of the passions and attendant evils. Moreover, the greater part of mankind have little opportunity for cultivating the mind to any great extent. But there is another kind of knowledge, which is, at the same time, more easily accessible to all, and much more effectual in its operation, namely, *religious knowledge*—a knowledge of the Supreme Being and of the relations of man to God. Certainly there are those who deny that we possess any such knowledge. There are very many more who believe in it, but not so earnestly as to be much influenced by it; but there is no doubt that religious belief—here we will call it religious knowledge—is the most potent agency we know in restraining the

passions, thereby preventing misery and producing happiness. For not only is the nature of the teachings and precepts of Christianity such that we can say without fear of contradiction, 'Let Christian principles be understood and reduced to practice, and all moral and social evils, with their unhappy consequences, will finally and for ever cease;' not only so, but they carry with them a power that other influences do not possess—a power that is differently felt by different persons, being partly derived from the authority which they give to moral laws, partly from the fact that the strongest passion of human nature—love—is the foundation and ruling principle of the whole system. The power of religious knowledge intensifies the influence in the right direction of all other training, and, in the absence of mental culture, is itself sufficient to rule the life. Were it universally in operation on every individual, its beneficent effect in removing the sources of most of human suffering and providing constant sources of happiness would be incalculable.

To speak thus of the effects of religion among the benefits resulting from knowledge is to use the language of Scripture. Not only does a knowledge of God form the essential foundation of all religion, but in a more special sense St. Paul says that the Christian is 'Renewed in knowledge after the image of Him that created him.' (Coloss. iii. 10.) And in another place we read, 'This is life eternal, that they might know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.' (John xvii. 3.) Further, increasing religious attainments are to be built upon increasing knowledge. St. Peter says, 'Add to your virtue knowledge, and to knowledge temperance,' and the other marks of Christian perfection. (2 Peter i. 5, 6.) And St. Paul prays that the love of the Philippians 'may abound yet more and more in knowledge.' (Phil. i. 9.) As the Christian learns from experience and Divine teaching more and more of God and the ways of God to man, his faith, and love, and holiness, and happiness increase, until he ceases to know in part, and then enjoys happiness complete and eternal.

In the view we have thus taken—by no means a complete one—of the beneficial results of knowledge of various kinds, some of our illustrations have had reference to knowledge, scientific and technical, possessed only by a few, but conferring incalculable benefits upon all; others have had reference to the value of knowledge to its individual possessor. Those who labour in the field of original enquiry, and by adding to the sum of human knowledge confer universal benefits, will always be few; but the cultivation of the mind to the greatest extent

that circumstances will allow is important to all, and is now more than ever before sought after and provided for. The provision may be made in various ways. Combination for mutual improvement is an excellent auxiliary to other training, and especially affords a ready means of gaining information to those whose opportunities of doing so otherwise are limited. A wide range of subjects is presented to those who are seeking for knowledge; and in reference to this it has to be remembered that education consists not so much in storing the memory with facts as in training the mind to an intelligent comprehension of facts, so as to enable the individual to act with judgment in the various situations of life. Special education is necessary for special situations; for instance, medical education when dealing with disease; and general education is necessary for all situations. Every individual should seek after such education as will fit him to fill whatever position he occupies in the world, with advantage to others and credit to himself.

In the Edinburgh Primitive Methodist Mutual Improvement Class, which meets on the Sabbath, Scriptural and religious subjects are chosen for consideration. These afford ample scope for interesting enquiry and efficient means of mental culture. They have the further advantage (thanks to our Christian institutions) of being more widely and better known among people in general than any others, and hence are eminently suited for a popular class; while they are subjects in which every man, whatever his position, is seriously interested. Further, it is desirable, in the interests of truth, that these subjects should have careful study. The interests of religion itself require this. Ignorance has so frequently accompanied religion that it has got credit for being its parent. Religious zeal among unenlightened peoples has given rise to religious suicides, painful penances, unmeaning and lengthened pilgrimages, fasts exhausting the health and strength, and feasts where man has sunk into the brute. If religion consisted in such things as these, it could not stand; intellectual advance would sweep it away, and would benefit man by doing so. But the Christian religion is not of such a nature. Whatever may be thought of some of the doctrines held by different sections of those who profess it, and of rules and observances which some have added to it, undoubtedly all its essential and original principles are such as reason and morality cordially approve; their excellence, in fact, supplying an argument for its Divine authority. Thus furnishing us with a system of practical morality of supreme excellence in the shape, not of arbitrary rules, but of simple principles of general application, founded upon rational

considerations, and having the authority which no system other than religious can have; and further supplying considerations on which the mind can rest, and in which it can, under any circumstances, find happiness, Christianity is a thing of value, whose place intellectual culture is not able to supply, and with which there is no reason why it should not co-exist. If there are any religious beliefs among us which intellectual progress is likely to destroy, such progress is, on that account, all the more to be desired and promoted, so that the evidence in support of religious truth, and the power of such truth, may not be weakened in the minds of its friends or in the eyes of its enemies by its association with error. In any case, it is increasingly desirable that the religion of every Christian should be not an emotion merely, or a mixture of emotions, nor a conservative adherence to an old belief, but the result of intelligent conviction.

III.—HORACE BUSHNELL.*

DR. BUSHNELL was a genius in theology, but he is the founder of no school. He has created no body of followers to adopt his tenets and be called by his name. In one way his influence has been great and will be enduring. He has made a strong mark on the living generation, at least in this country. He has done much to determine the direction of theological inquiry. He has stimulated a large number of active minds, and thrown into them seeds of thought which will long continue to bear fruit. There is a conservation of force, even though force is diffused abroad and resolved into new forms. In a similar way the influence of Dr. Bushnell will be perpetuated. But he framed no system. This was not from a lack of energy, a moral infirmity, such as prevented Coleridge from giving to his philosophical opinions a coherent form. In the case of Dr. Bushnell it is because his thinking was never complete. The ferment did not subside, or it subsided only to recommence. Nothing more disconcerts disciples than to find themselves deserted by their leader. They wake up to discover that he has pushed on to a new position, whither they must follow him as best they can, or be left as sheep without a shepherd. There was no end of brilliant and even profound suggestions; but, speaking generally, the teaching was immature; it was liable at any moment to undergo essential modification. This was because Dr. Bushnell was indisposed to patient, scholarly investigation. He wrote with an insufficient stock of learning. He published and studied afterward; and studied then mainly for the purpose of self-defence. The want of a broader converse with other minds was a great loss to him. He was wanting in respect for the thinking of other men. He took up recondite themes, which had been canvassed with intense earnestness by subtle Greek thinkers in the early ages of the Church, and by every generation since; and this he did with little heed to what had been thought and said before. So vivid, and for the moment so exhilarating, were his own conceptions, that to stop for the sake of poring over books was like reining in a mettlesome horse when at the height of his speed. He said of himself: 'It is very hard for me to

* *Life and Letters of Horace Bushnell.* New York: Harper and Brothers. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1880.

read a book through. If it is stupid and good-for-nothing, of course, I have to give it up; and if it is really worth reading, it starts my mind off on some track of its own that I am more inclined to follow than I am to find out what the author has to say.* A few thoughts caught up from favourite writers sufficed to kindle his mind into a flame. The sentences of Coleridge, in the 'Aids to Reflection,' on the distinction of nature and spirit, were the germ of his eloquent treatise on the Supernatural. An essay of Schleiermacher on the Trinity, translated by Professor Stuart, was at the root of his discussions of that subject. I shall not stop to confute the vulgar notion that learning and study put fetters upon independent intellectual activity. Scholars who are effected in this way are destitute, at the start, of mental independence. Reading, to an active mind, is fuel to the fire. Especially do adventurous, original minds need to put themselves alongside of other minds, and to find, in the work done by the past, a corrective and complement for their own speculations. The opposite method, with regard to any other science than theology, would be scouted. What student in astronomy, or botany, or medicine would think of shutting his eyes on the investigations of previous labourers in the same province? If he did so, he would find himself anticipated in many of his discoveries. He would be misled, also, into the adoption of hypotheses which had been tested and found wanting, and which, on a wider inspection of the field, he himself would be driven to abandon. Nothing is more fallacious than to set up a contrast between scholars and thinkers. To stigmatise students as plodders is an impertinence of the ignorant. Was Leibnitz a plodder? Was Schleiermacher a plodder?

There must be culture as well as thought; and culture, as Matthew Arnold has expressed it, implies that one turns into his own mind streams from the thinking of other men. There must be rain and sunshine, an upheaval of the soil and tillage, in order that the earth should bring forth fruit. Fruit growing wild is not so savoury as that produced in the garden. On any other method than that just indicated, in which the present connects itself with the past, progress in any department of knowledge is out of the question. The individual can do no more than pour water upon the sand. The toil of his brain is spent in vain; those who come after him pay no heed to it. Students, then, do not constitute an army ever moving forward to new conquests. They are rather dispersed stragglers, each of whom fights and fires by himself. There has been and still is in this country a great waste

* *Life and Letters*, p. 295.

of intellectual power on account of the deficiency which we have here pointed out.

The first publication which brought Dr. Bushnell prominently before the public as a theological writer was his discourses on Christian Nurture in connection with his argument in vindication of them. In this timely and suggestive discussion he took up the divine constitution of the family as a provision for planting Christian character in children, and of thus extending the kingdom of God. The organic relation of parents to their offspring, the organic unity of the family, was insisted on in opposition to an extreme theory of individualism. The atomic conception of Christian society was vigorously attacked. It was the design of Providence that character should be transmitted from parent to child. It should be expected of children that they should grow up in the exercise of Christian piety. To take it for granted that the young born in religious households are to be irreligious up to the age of maturity, and are then to be suddenly converted, was pronounced a gross practical error. The main reliance of the Church for the spread of religion should not be revivals and revivalism, but right methods of Christian nurture. Spasmodic excitements and sporadic conversions were of minor utility compared with the silent agency of the family within its own circle. These views were not novel beyond the bounds of New England, certainly not in the European churches. They were novel, however, in the community to which they were immediately addressed, and the reasoning by which they were supported was in no degree hackneyed. The discussion was not free from over-statement. For example, true as it is that in Germany religious character is apt to be gradually developed as the fruit of Christian training, it is far from being uncommon for religious persons to be able to recollect an epoch of decision, a turning-point in conscious experience. The reverse is the fact. Out of New England the criticism was made that the author had accounted for the congenital origin and the progressive growth of Christian character on the plane of naturalism by the law of heredity. There was no more recognition of the agency of the Spirit of God, it was said, than a pious deist, who holds to the immanence of the Divine Spirit and Providence in the whole creation, might allow. This criticism, however, was conceded not to be valid as regards the intent of the author, and could be justified only by reference to the apparent drift of a portion of his language. He postulated an operation of Grace, and an operation as immediate as is pre-supposed in the prevailing creed in the case of adult conver-

sions. All that could fairly be said was that he had neglected to guard himself fully against misconstruction in this particular, and had not been entirely consistent in his explanations. This publication made it quite manifest that here was a man of vigorous intellect, rich in his resources of argument and illustration, whose modes of thought were quite diverse from those in vogue in the existing schools of New England theology—a man of gallant bearing, who had no lack of confidence in his own thinking, and not the least timidity in proclaiming the results of it. No one could predict with certainty what precise attitude this new-comer would take in relation to the old conflict between Unitarianism and Calvinism, or to the intestine controversy within the pale of orthodoxy between the New School and the Old. The Unitarians hoped that they were eventually to be reinforced by a potent ally from the ranks of their opponents, while the *Princeton Review*, finding in the book a great deal to applaud, was in doubt as to the probable outcome to be expected from such a beginning.

The public were not long left in suspense on these points. The work entitled 'God in Christ' appeared in 1849, and was followed, two years later, by 'Christ in Theology.' Theological thought in our times, so far as it is not taken up with apologetic inquiries, turns to Christology. The proofs of revealed religion, but, most of all, the aggressions of Atheism and Agnosticism, are now the most absorbing topics of discussion. But independently of these questions relative to the foundations of religious and Christian belief, and within the pale of the Church, attention is mainly concentrated upon the person and work of Christ. Schleiermacher, in Germany, revolutionised the method of theology by fencing off extraneous matter from its domain, and by making redemption the one theme of dogmatics. The doctrine of Christ was made the central topic. In other countries the same tendency is manifest. Dr. Bushnell, therefore, did not go counter to the current of the times in turning away from anthropology to take up the subjects which are handled in his principal writings. Yet for New England this was a change. Free agency and decrees, the doctrine of sin and of regeneration, the moral government of God and the theodicy, had been most prominent in theological teaching. Controversies, even the Unitarian controversy, had revolved mostly about these themes. Dr. Bushnell has done much to turn theological thought into a new channel.

By way of prelude to the theological discourses contained in the first of the volumes just mentioned, Dr. Bushnell introduced a disserta-

tion on language. The aim was to demonstrate the impossibility of dogmatic theology, owing to the infirmities that cleave to the vehicle for communicating thought. Not only do words which denote spiritual states, involving feeling, mean different things to different persons—a point which is strikingly set forth in the essay, and has been impressively illustrated also by Dr. J. H. Newman—but, inasmuch as all language descriptive of mental states and immaterial things is borrowed from the material world and the relations of matter, it is all of necessity figurative. It is a fossil poetry, which, however, does not get precision in becoming fossil. It is for ever in-exact, in some degree fluctuating in its significance, never the adequate representative of thought. Words are a currency, but from the value on the face of it there is a discount not to be accurately estimated. They are a suggestion of thought, not its literal equivalent. Hence, theology, and metaphysical philosophy as well, is precluded. Theological definitions are metaphors; creeds are poems. One corollary was that there is no difficulty in subscribing a variety of creeds; they all dissolve in the alembic of thought. They are but partially successful, stammering attempts to utter that which language cannot embody, and which can be apprehended only in forms of the imagination. What Dr. Bushnell's theory amounts to, and what he ought to have made his thesis, is, that the objects of religious faith cannot be *conceived*, are not, owing to their nature, within the limits of the conceptive power. This is the theory of Hamilton and his school; notably of Mansel in his 'Limits of Religious Thought.' It has been held, in one form or another, by numerous theologians as far back as Augustine. The inference is that everything that we say of God is anthropomorphic. To every proposition a minus or plus sign must be silently attached. Strange to say, Dr. Bushnell charged the difficulty mainly upon language instead of going to the core of the subject, and fastening his eye on the nature and boundaries of the conceptive faculty. It is, no doubt, true that the infinite can be only partially conceived. Infinitude can be the object only of an inchoate, positive conception. But the theory of Dr. Bushnell, when translated into the shape which it ought to have assumed, is, in the sweeping form in which he advocates it, untenable. Professing to discard logic in theology, and volunteering to give examples of the logical perplexities into which, as he confessed, his adversaries if they chose could drive him, he still does not hesitate himself to employ logic and make logical inconsistencies and absurdities a sufficient warrant for rejecting obnoxious doctrines. It is curious to find in this essay an intimation that language may ultimately

become more exact, and thus more serviceable in philosophy and theology, through the advance of natural and physical science. The material world being an allegory, or a body of symbols, having a pre-ordained correspondence to the world of thought, the more correctly the type is apprehended the more true will be the verbal sign. It is also worthy of note that this insight into the symbolical character of language induced the feeling that he might freely manufacture words. 'Have I not as good a right as anybody else ever had before me?' 'Writing,' he says, speaking of his own procedure, 'became, in this manner, to a considerable extent, the making of language, and not a going to the dictionaries.'*

As Wordsworth's theorising on poetry did not improve his poems, so Dr. Bushnell's ideas on language tended to vitiate his style. His later writings contain not a few uncouth specimens of word-making. As to exterior form, they are decidedly below the productions of an earlier date. The whole *Essay on Language*, spirited and suggestive though it be, is crude. It is unguarded in its statements. More extended philosophical reading would have made it a hundred-fold better.

Following the hints which he had caught up from Stuart's translation from Schleiermacher, Dr. Bushnell undertook to solve the problem of the Trinity by bringing forward the Sabellian hypothesis—that of the Trinity as solely a means of Revelation—with which he connected a view that did not essentially differ from the Patripassian theory of the person of Christ. Schleiermacher had been led into his doctrine by his speculative difficulties respecting the personality of God. He never escaped in his doctrinal definitions from the leaven of Spinozism. The best description of Schleiermacher's system was given by Strauss, who said that in it Spinozism and the Gospel were each so completely pulverised and both so thoroughly mixed that it was impossible to separate them one from another. Dr. Bushnell was no Pantheist; yet he sought to show that personality in the Deity is to us incomprehensible, and appears to clash with the infinitude of the Divine attributes. It is through the medium of three modes of personal action that the ineffable One discloses Himself and comes near to the apprehension of His creatures. The Logos is the self-revealing faculty of the Deity; Father, Son, and Spirit are the *dramatis personæ* through which the hidden Being reveals himself. This conception of the Trinity, logically and historically, allies itself to a Pantheistic philosophy. Dr. Bushnell, in this bold exploration, sailed near dangerous

* *Life and Letters*, p. 209.

rocks. Docetism, the ancient heresy, which reduced the human nature of Jesus to a mere appearance, a garment of flesh assumed to be thrown off again, had a natural affinity with the Sabellian conception. In Christ, Dr. Bushnell said, God manifests himself under the limitations of human life—thinking, feeling, suffering with us. The existence of a human spiritual nature, if not expressly denied, was held to be practically of no account. It was substantially the Apollinarian idea. ‘The human element is nothing to me, save as it brings me to God, or discovers to me, a sinner, the patience and brotherhood of God as a Redeemer from sin . . . The union of the Divine and human, being only for expression, what is there in it for us beyond the expression? There may be a human soul here, or there may not; that is a matter with which we have nothing to do, and about which we have not only no right to affirm, but no right to inquire.’* These statements should be closely observed. This was Dr. Bushnell’s conception of Christ. God surrenders himself to the restrictions of a human organisation, and subjects himself to the conditions of an earthly life on our level as a medium through which to manifest Himself to us. It is all, literally speaking, Divine thought, Divine emotion, Divine action, even Divine suffering. This was the fundamental thought in Dr. Bushnell’s Christology—the thought which, whatever were his mutations of opinion, was always uppermost.

But Dr. Bushnell did not stay by the model theory of the Trinity. Smitten by antagonistic critics on all sides, he took up the books and discovered—discovered more and more—that the Nicene or Catholic definitions embraced welcome features which had been dropped out of later and more provincial representations of the doctrine. There was the great idea of self-expression, ‘God of God,’ ‘Light of Light,’ etc.; there was the subordination of the Son, the Revealer, though not in the Arian sense of inferiority of attributes; there was especially a Trinity belonging to the life and activity of the Deity, and not a mechanical juxtaposition of three individuals or ‘distinctions.’ ‘On a careful study of the creed prepared by this council [of Nicæa], as interpreted by the writings of Athanasius in defence of it, I feel obliged to confess that I had not sufficiently conceived its import, or the title it has to respect as a Christian document.’† A truly significant avowal! He is surprised to find that he is so nearly orthodox; he is surprised to find orthodoxy so reasonable. However, notwithstanding his effort to prove his close approach to the Nicene formula, he still withholds his assent to the hypothesis of an immanent Trinity.

* *Christ in Theology*, p. p. 93-98.

† *Ibid.* p. 177.

He holds that the distinction of persons is incidental to revelation, which, to be sure, may—but may not—have been eternal. Whether that distinction will ever cease to be, he likewise finds it impossible to conclude. In short, the immanence and eternity of the personal distinctions in the Deity he is not quite prepared to admit. Still later, in an article marked by consummate ability—the ablest of his contributions to this discussion*—he makes a further advance towards the Nicene standard. Here he argues that the infinity of God engulfs us in Pantheism, unless we conceive of him as a triple personality; the term ‘person,’ whether as a predicate of the One or of each of the Three, being a figure, an approximative term, and so far indefinable. The ‘practical infinity of God and the practical personality of God’ are both secured by the Trinitarian conception. By some interior necessity of his nature he is thus ‘accommodated in his action to the finite . . . he is eternally threeing himself, or generating three persons. . . . In some high sense indefinable, he is datelessly and eternally becoming three, or by a certain inward necessity being accommodated in his action to the categories of finite apprehension—adjusted to that as that to the receiving of this mystery. . . . We must have no jealousy of the Three, as if they were to drift us away from the unity or from reason; being perfectly assured of this, that in using the triune formula, in the limberest, least constrained way possible, and allowing the plurality to blend in the freest manner possible, with all our acts of worship—preaching, praying, singing, and adoring—we are only doing with three persons just what we do with one, making no infringement of the unity with the Three more than of the infinity with the One.’ Here is a certain real immanence of the Trinity. Still, however, there is a relation, as a necessary property of the Deity, to the finite and to revelation; hence, a dependence on the finite, at least as a possible existence. It is immanence conditioned on relativity. The Nicene doctrine holds to the Trinity as being independent of such a relation, as belonging to the eternal necessary activity of the Divine Being, because it is the realisation to Himself of his own nature. It steers clear of every germ of Pantheism—an advantage not absolutely gained by Dr. Bushnell’s statement, which postulates a potential relation to the finite as the ground or condition of tri-personality. It is evident, however, that the Athanasian theology more and more commended itself to Dr. Bushnell’s mind. It is highly probable that, if he had explored the history of the doctrine before, instead of after, he published on the subject, he would

* The Christian Trinity a Practical Truth—*New Englander*, November, 1854.

have come out as an expounder and champion of the Nicene faith. Starting with the fixed prepossession that the Trinity is instrumental, is for self-revelation *ad extra*, he never entirely broke loose from this view. But certain cardinal features of the ancient orthodoxy on this branch of doctrine he at length warmly espoused. The movement of his mind was in this direction.

Dr. Bushnell's departure from the prevalent doctrine of the Atonement was even more provocative of dissent. It must be confessed that on the orthodox side in New England there was a popular representation of the work of Christ which was offensively meagre. His death was treated as a make-weight in a scheme of moral government. At a given point a certain amount of suffering was wanted by way of counterpoise to the penalty remitted, and the passion of Christ served the purpose. The governmental theory as set forth by the younger Edwards, and before him by Grotius, was the opinion in vogue. The death of Christ was not penalty, but a substitute for it—an expression of God's abhorrence of sin, equivalent, in respect to the ends of government, to the infliction of the penalty. Very well, said Dr. Bushnell, let it be considered an 'expression.' The correlate of expression is impression; and if there is expression it must be according to æsthetic laws; it must be in a mode conformed to the laws by which thought or feeling is conveyed from mind to mind. What are those laws? How is it that the death of Christ is thus expressive? To this question the New England theology, as he contended, gave no intelligible answer. But Dr. Bushnell, in his earlier expositions of the subject, gave up altogether the propitiatory idea as a literal truth; Christ, he taught, came into the world to renovate character. This was the one comprehensive end of His mission. Nothing was needed but the reconciliation of men to God, or a new spirit in men. Christ produces this through the power exerted by him as bringing into visible manifestation the forbearance, pity, yearning, forgiving love of God. Disobedience and distrust are both conquered; they melt away under this face-to-face view of the Divine goodness. The restoration of the transgressor to confiding communion with God arrests the progress of that disordered action of our spiritual nature which is the principal penalty of sin. There results a healing of the soul—inward health and peace. This is the moral view of the Atonement which, in its characteristic principle, was advocated in the Middle Ages by Abélard. It is not generically different from the Socinian theory. But Dr. Bushnell held fast to the Divinity of Christ, who is ever present to the believing soul; and he emphasised the truth

that our life is perpetually in Christ. He is infinitely more than an example to be copied; He is a power of righteousness. Much that was involved in the old idea of the *unio mystica* Dr. Bushnell interwove in his conception. There is a living, spiritual, reciprocal fellowship between the believer and Christ; but propitiation and all kindred terms were declared to be the language of appearance; they are figures, as when we say that the sun rises. A change which takes place in ourselves we metaphorically impute to God. The removal of our distrust and alienation, which sets us at one with Him, we represent to ourselves as a removal of hostility in Him. But this imaginative exercise, Dr. Bushnell contended, is necessary to the end in view—which is the production within us of penitent and trustful feeling towards God. It is the means, therefore, of that change in us which is the indispensable condition of restored communion with him. The sacrifices of the old covenant were a 'transactional liturgy,' which was operative in this way. Dr. Bushnell's standing illustration is the analogy of prayer. This is not, he tells us, a self-magnetising process. Prayer is to produce an effect; but the effect is only indirectly an effect on God. He is not changed. The effort to change Him produces such a change in us that the sole obstacle to the exercise of His beneficence towards us is removed. In this circuitous way we may be said to prevail with God in supplication. In no other way is He said to be propitiated.

The idea of the 'altar form' cannot be said to have satisfied many minds. It made the subjective atonement—the moral view—the naked truth, while it was felt that, after all, nothing was left to believers in the objective atonement but a figure of speech. Once possessed of the philosophy of the subject, of the simple reality, it was not so easy for the mind to give itself up to the imaginative counterpart. Once initiated into the Copernican theory, one is too often uncomfortably reminded that the sun does not rise. Moreover, how can representations which are affirmed to be repugnant to the moral sense, inconsistent with a truthful or ennobling view of God's character, be profitably entertained even for the purpose designated?

It cannot be said that the 'altar form,' as originally presented, continued to satisfy Dr. Bushnell himself. In his elaborate treatise on Vicarious Sacrifice he set forth the moral view of the Atonement—the renewing influence upon character which flows out from Christ, from His sympathy and suffering with us, and His whole collective manifestation. He went beyond his former dogmatic statements so far as to give some place to the voluntary participation of Christ in

'the corporate curse' of the race, or in the sufferings which come upon mankind as a retributive infliction consequent upon sin. But, he was careful to say that he laid no great amount of stress on this element in his view. One leading proposition, it should be remarked, in this treatise is that the incarnation and suffering of Christ fall under a law of self-sacrifice which is of universal obligation.

It is a fine instance of Dr. Bushnell's intellectual honesty that he came before the public once more with a frank avowal of a modification of his opinion on this momentous theme. This was in his 'Forgiveness and Law,' 1874. He still considered the atoning function of Christ to be nothing exceptional in its principle, to be nothing at variance with general law. It was grounded, as the title-page announced, 'in principles interpreted by human analogies.' But there had been 'an unexpected arrival of fresh light' in his mind. He had caught sight of a meaning and a reality in propitiation which he had not discerned before. It had struck him that in all cases of heavy grievance, even though there is a placable wish and intent, it is psychologically impossible to quiet the resentful, retributive impulse inherent in one's own conscience save by undertaking some work involving loss and suffering in behalf the offender. Only by this means is the feeling of forgiveness realised in the heart of the party wronged; only thus are all traces of the vengeful sentiment of justice dissipated. This Dr. Bushnell supposed to be a general fact, holding true of men, and by analogy presumably of all rational beings. It is a fact of experience, however inexplicable it may be. Accordingly God Himself, in Christ, enters upon a work of self-sacrifice and self-propitiation. By undergoing suffering, by the cross and passion, he realises in Himself the clemency which he would fain exercise. He appeases His own justly-indignant sentiment. The end was still the recovery of the sinful creature from the guilty and painful bondage of sin. This was the benefit to be imparted. It may seem to some that Dr. Bushnell is chargeable with fickleness in thus passing from one opinion to another on a topic of this grave importance. It is to be observed, however, that one leading idea, as I have before intimated, runs like a thread through all his thinking on this subject in its successive stages. It is God himself who is active and passive in all the experiences of Christ. They are an expression of God. It is the Divine, not the human, which acts and suffers. The human is at best but a transparent glass, through which we look directly into the heart of God. The fundamental thought with which Dr. Bushnell started remained with him to the end. It was the inspiring thought which

held full possession of his mind amid all its fluctuations in regard to more specific questions. Now, on this subject, above all others in theology, it is difficult to collect the complex elements of the truth into one theologic view. An archangel might despair of absolute success in the endeavour. Hence the patience that is due to earnest efforts of superior minds in this direction even when they fall short of the mark. The general proposition at the basis of 'Forgiveness and Law' is of doubtful validity. The failure to give to the humanity of Christ its proper scope, as a factor in his person and work, to that extent vitiates Dr. Bushnell's construction of the doctrine of the Atonement. In the Catholic view, which we deem to be both agreeable to the Scriptures and most satisfactory to reason, Christ is truly human as well as divine. He is the Son of man as well as the Son of God; and he is the representative of humanity before God, working out redemption in humanity. His endurance of death, the wages of sin, is a tribute to God, though it emanate from God, who 'spared not his own Son;' and it is thus the highest evidence of God's love. There is no room here, even were there the ability, to explicate this deep problem of propitiation. It is enough to express the opinion that a different conception of the person of Christ from that which Dr. Bushnell presents is requisite to the full solution of it. The rectification of his view must be sought in a more full recognition of the true humanity of Christ.

Dr. Bushnell had qualifications for success in the pulpit such as rarely exist. If there was a tendency in his theological writing to exaggerate some one element of the truth, and to let it for the moment eclipse correlated elements of equal moment—if he was hurried into some excess by the enthusiasm of the discoverer—this characteristic was rather a help than a hindrance to his success as a preacher. In this function one truth or one duty was to be singled out, vividly delineated, and made for the time to cover the whole field of vision. It need not be said that he was utterly free from cant and rant, the two vices of pulpit oratory. Every hearer felt that it was a man with a mind in full health who was speaking to him. There was nothing professional or perfunctory in manner or matter; yet his preaching was eminently religious. It was pervaded by a sense of the supernatural; it was inspiring. New aspects of Christian truth, as beautiful as they were startling from their freshness, were opened to view. One of his sermons was on Unconscious Influence, the text being, 'Then went in, also, that other disciple' (John xx. 8). On fast days, and other occasions of that sort, he contrived to bring out effectively

his convictions on political affairs, or on secular topics of local importance. Wishing to help on the project of bringing the water-power of the Connecticut River from Windsor to Hartford, he preached on the connection between prosperity and virtue in large communities, choosing for his text, 'This same Hezekiah also stopped the upper water-course of Gihon, and brought it straight down to the west side of the city of David' (2 Chron. xxxii. 30). Dr. Bushnell's printed sermons have been extensively read in Great Britain as well as America. In a large circle of thoughtful minds there his name is a venerated one. Few volumes of sermons find a permanent place in literature. This is the case, to be sure, of books generally, but it is peculiarly true of pulpit discourses; their fate, however, is perhaps no worse than that of forensic orations—orations in senates and at the bar. There are few Chrysostoms to hand down their homilies to distant generations. On his contemporaries at least Dr. Bushnell's sermons will exert an influence excelled by that of few preachers of the time.

The extraordinary fascination of Dr. Bushnell's literary addresses has been allowed by the most censorious of his theological critics. Depth of thought, liveliness of imagination, and brilliancy of diction are seldom minged in a more effective union. His Phi Beta Kappa oration at Cambridge on 'Work and Play,' which was written when he was in the heat of his theological conflict, had all the freshness of a mountain stream in the Adirondack forests, where he loved to wander. To our mind the finest illustration of his peculiar power as a literary artist is his discourse at the Litchfield centennial celebration in 1851, on 'The Age of Homespun.' No painting, or series of paintings, could more vividly picture the New England of the old time. Home and school and church, household life and village ways, as they existed in the author's boyhood, are reproduced with the skill of a Rembrandt. The veil is lifted with a reverent hand, yet with constant touches of delicate humour; and New England society, before the quiet old Puritan era had passed by, is delineated before the eyes of a new generation. The recently-published biography of Dr. Bushnell contains letters which were written to his family while he was travelling in Europe. His descriptions of Alpine scenery and of the impressions made on him by the cathedrals contain passages of elevated, unstudied eloquence. His criticism of the masterpieces of art, bold as all his utterances were, show a genuine power of insight and appreciation. He looked through his own eyes, whether it was the works of Nature or the creations of genius that he gazed upon.

Dr. Bushnell was no unpractical recluse; he was no dreamy mystic, cut off from contact with the objects and occupations of every-day life. He knew how to make himself the companion of plain people. He was conversant with common things. There was hardly any art or trade in which his practical suggestions, always uttered with a racy bluntness, were not instructive. On matters like house-building and church-building, farming, and the various handicrafts which call into exercise mechanical ingenuity, his judgments were those of a connoisseur. He invented a furnace. He taught the people of Hartford how to make a beautiful park out of an unsightly mud-flat, and they becomingly called the new creation by his name. A robust common-sense was a marked quality of his mind.

It is a pleasure to refer those who would further acquaint themselves with the personal traits of Dr. Bushnell to the admirable biography which, with the exception of a single chapter, is composed by members of his own family. Here the steps of his career are traced from his childhood, which was passed in the bracing atmosphere, physical and moral, of a rural town in Connecticut, to the close of his life. The development of his mind and character is delineated in connection with the story of his parochial work, his literary labours, and his theological battles. The record of his sojourn in California, where men spontaneously turned to him as a leader, of his journey in Europe, and of a winter spent in Minnesota, form interesting episodes in the progress of the narrative. It is written throughout with sympathy, but with excellent taste, and is free from the alloy of indiscriminating eulogy.

International Review.

IV.—IRELAND IN THE PAST.

THE affairs of Ireland are now engaging much attention, and are likely to do for some time to come. The disaffection and lawless proceedings in that part of her Majesty's kingdom are the burning question of politicians. It is not the first time that such difficulties have had to be encountered. The union of Ireland with Great Britain has never been a happy one, and whether it can ever be made so is a problem not yet solved. The marriage has not been satisfactory to one party, and hence not very comfortable to the other. The union entered into 'for better or worse' seems, like the fabled wedding, to have been 'all worse and no better.' Pitt said, 'Ireland is my difficulty.' From his time to that of the present Administration there have been but few, if any, leading Statesmen who have not had to think and say the same.

The circumstances of the times require us to acquaint ourselves with the history of our fellow-subjects in the Emerald Isle. It is not likely that many will either read large volumes on the subject, or select such portions as are interwoven with the history of our own country. We propose, therefore, in this brief paper to give a bird's-eye view of Ireland in the past. Without some knowledge of the past, it is impossible to comprehend the present state of things. To understand why the Irish are so distressed and discontented, while the English, as a rule, are so prosperous and loyal, we must seek the causes in history. To-day is the child and heir of yesterday. We reap what we sow; the harvest answereth to the seed. There is such a thing as looking backward that we may see forward. It may be a little loathing to sensitive minds to descend into the catacombs of by-gone ages and handle the skeletons and cerements of historic crimes; but we shall have to look not only at the transactions which are remote and ghastly, but at those which have happened nearer our own times, and for which we cannot altogether evade responsibility. With a knowledge of these transactions, we shall not wonder why Irishmen, not deficient in public spirit or probity, have been eager, at many different times, to break away from the union and from all connection with England.

It is a common thing to blame the Irish for all the evils which befall them, and to ignore the wrongs and grievances they have

suffered at our hands. While we disapprove of its lawlessness and outrages, and especially of the conduct of some of its advocates in the House of Commons, we are bound to say that the Land League is an uprising against a system which for many generations has been simply intolerable, and which, perhaps, could not have been remedied without such violent opposition. There is generally required a deep and wide-spread dissatisfaction with the existing state of things to drive any measure of reform through both Houses of Parliament. When Sir Robert Peel proposed to cold ears in the House of Commons the repeal of the Corn Laws, he could hardly obtain a hearing until famine in Ireland spread its devastations far and wide, and many even in our land were dying of starvation. In the Upper House the Duke of Wellington, when the Peers came to him to ask permission to vote against the Bill, replied, 'You cannot dislike it more than I do; but we must all vote for it.' Thus the great famine of 1847 and 1848 was one of the chief forces in causing the repeal of the Corn Laws. So the present agitation in the sister isle may be one of the necessary factors for effecting such changes in the land laws as have long been most urgent.

The ancient history of Ireland, like that of most other countries, is involved in considerable mystery and obscurity. It extends, according to historical charts, to a more remote period than does that of England or Scotland. The primitive inhabitants of the island are believed to have been of the same Indo-European race with the original populations of Britain. The name Ireland is derived from *cir*, which, in the Celtic tongue, means west. It was probably given to the island on account of its position being on the western point of Europe. In a Greek poem composed five centuries B.C. the country was known as *Iernis*, and in different Pagan writers as *Hibernia* and *Juverna*.

About 350 years B.C. the Belgæ crossed the channel and invaded Britain, and so extended themselves over the kingdom that a great many of the inhabitants who had gradually retired before the enemy were obliged to pass over into Ireland, which was then, to a great extent, uninhabited. The Belgæ were a people of ancient Gaul. They had descended from the Scythians, or Goths, who, after defeating the Cimbri, crossed over the north-west part of Gaul. Cæsar speaks of them as the most warlike of the Gauls. The savages of Britain could not resist such invaders, and therefore fled for their lives to the land of the West, the mountains of Wales, and the Emerald Isle. In the year 150 A.D. the latter was represented as being full of people, and

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they were distinguished among the Britons as *Scouts*, or *Scots*, meaning wanderers or refugees. In turn these refugees, who had settled in Ireland, became formidable to the Roman invaders of the British Isles and extended their expeditions and conquests to the coasts of Gaul.

There is evidence that in very early times Ireland was the seat of literature, arts, and refinement. Numerous works and MSS. in the Vatican, in Paris, and in the British Museum prove that there was a comparatively high state of civilisation in this island when Britons were barbarians. The ornaments and weapons of solid gold and exquisite workmanship still found in the bogs of Ireland indicate the wealth, skill, and magnificence of the people in a very remote period. So late as the reign of Henry IV. it was deemed necessary to pass legislative measures to keep the profuse splendour of the Irish chieftains within reasonable limits.

In the middle of the fifth century St. Patrick, the great apostle of the Emerald Isle, was the means of converting the inhabitants to the Christian faith. This was more than a century before Augustine was sent to evangelise the Anglo-Saxons. Much uncertainty rests on the personal history of St. Patrick; but it is clear that he was a most devoted missionary and an indefatigable and successful preacher of the doctrines of the Cross. It is probable that he was born in Gaul and taken to Ireland as captive along with others in connection with some of those expeditions which we have said the Irish made to Gaul and other countries when they had become a formidable and warlike race. After spending six years in captivity, he escaped back to his parents; but shortly after had a dream that he must return to Hibernia and preach Christ to the people. Many friends entreated him not to risk his life in going to the Pagans; but, believing that he was divinely called by the dream, he went without being commissioned by Pope, Bishop or Council, and won a nation for Christ. It may be questioned whether anything in the history of the Church would be more wonderful than a complete record, if we had it, of his apostolic zeal and success; or whether any people ever more readily embraced the Gospel than did the inhabitants of Ireland. It must be distinctly understood that this was not a connection with any Popish mission. The Roman Catholics had no more to do with it than had the Brahmins of India. St. Patrick appealed to no foreign authority. His announcement was, 'I, Patrick, an unlearned man, to wit, a bishop constituted in Ireland; what I am I have received from God.' The story of his studying under St. Germain at Tours and going to Rome for ordination was a fabrication in-

vented 500 years after his death. The Irish Church which he founded was much purer than those over which the Pope presided, and there was no Roman Catholicism in the sister isle until we took it there at the point of the sword in the reign of Henry II. No one ever heard of Patrick being a saint or canonised until all Ireland were made saints by the armed bands of England. Papists have no manner of claim to this great evangelist ; but Protestants have ignorantly or indifferently allowed them to place him in their ranks, thus giving error a gratuity which it is now difficult to recover. He was buried at Down, in the Province of Ulster, and the spot is still venerated by the people, though his relics were outraged by the soldiery of Henry VIII., Elizabeth, and Cromwell.

The early Irish Church established institutions in which religion and learning were zealously cultivated. Numerous missionaries went forth carrying the doctrines of Christianity to the still Pagan nations of Europe. Thus, before England had received the faith the Emerald Isle was the centre of learning and missionary enterprise, and frequented by distinguished students from Britain and the Continent for the sake of the gratuitous instruction which was given both in religion and letters.

From the sixth century Ireland was occasionally invaded by the Saxon Kings of England, and about A.D. 800 by the Danes and Norwegians. The natives defended themselves with great bravery, and the invaders were prevented from penetrating the interior of the country and forced to settle upon the coast, where they built Dublin, Limerick, Waterford, Wexford, Cork, and other cities. But, by imperceptible degrees, they became masters of the whole island, driving the original inhabitants to seek shelter in the Isle of Man and the Western Isles of Scotland, where they established a kingdom and became powerful. These Scandinavian incursions, which lasted upwards of 300 years, checked the progress of civilization and seriously injured the Church. The invaders were defeated and completely routed by Borumhaa, monarch of Ireland, in a great battle near Dublin, 1014 A.D. After this time the country was divided into five kingdoms, viz. : Ulster, Leinster, Meath, Connaught, and Munster, all of which kingdoms, excepting Meath, are now the names of provinces.

Under Henry II. the subjugation of Ireland by England commenced. He despatched a messenger to Rome to obtain the Pope's sanction to invade the island of the West with a view to enlarge the bounds of the Church, enforce the payment of Peter's pence, and annex the country to the Roman See. His Holiness quite approved of so good an object,

prompted by ardour, faith, and love. Accordingly an army crossed the Channel to claim Ireland for the sovereign of England and its Church for the Pope of Rome. The first expedition was mainly a failure, owing to the jealousies and rivalries amongst the leaders. The next was accompanied by Henry in person, and it landed at Waterford in 1172. After the usual sanguinary conflicts his sovereignty was generally acknowledged, and he held a Parliament at Dublin and formed a civil administration for the government of the whole kingdom, very similar to that of England. His son John was sent to reside in Ireland, and received the title of Lord Lieutenant; but he made himself so offensive to the chieftains, that he had to be recalled. Being ruled neither by the English nor the Irish sovereigns, and the people not knowing which to own, much lawlessness and anarchy prevailed. Civilisation now began to disappear, and Henry discovered that his newly-acquired territory was likely to be only a fertile desert, sprinkled over with inveterate enemies, and therefore became indifferent to its state and left it to its destiny.

When John was King he made an expedition into Ireland to curb the refractory spirit of his barons, who had formed a dangerous alliance with the natives. Instead of the barons making the Irish English in manners, they were allowing themselves to be made Irish in their habits, whereupon John passed a statute forbidding the adoption, by any man of English blood, of the Irish language, name, or dress, and made treasonable any marriage of the English with persons of Irish blood, and any adoption of English children by Irish foster-fathers. At length, owing to the disaffection of the barons, a rising of the clans took place, and on the bloody field of Athenry the English, assisted by a Scotch force, slew 11,000 of the Irish.

In the reign of Richard II. the condition of Ireland grew no better, but worse. The English settlers could neither rule nor colonise the country, nor be driven out of it. Again the sovereign of England landed in the sister isle with an army of overpowering strength, which was victorious wherever it went; but, like our army lately in Afghanistan, it could not go everywhere. A number of chiefs and petty kings did homage to Richard and received the order of knighthood; but all traces of his work vanished with the embarkation of his soldiers. The influence of the native chiefs increased so much that the authority of the English crown became limited to a few towns on the coast, and the district termed 'The Pale,' comprising a small circuit about Dublin and Drogheda.

In succeeding reigns the Norman lords and knights were the cause

of much mischief. They adopted Irish manners, and were disloyal to their sovereign. Their feuds were as incessant and disastrous as those of the Irish Septs had been, and their despotism over the miserable inhabitants of the 'Pale' was most intolerable. The wretched descendants of the first settlers felt that English order, so called, was much worse than Irish misrule, and the border of the 'Pale' retreated steadily towards Dublin. For nearly four centuries the English had established a more miserable state of things than that which they had displaced.

Until Henry VIII. it was but a partial and nominal lordship which the sovereigns of England had over Ireland. Henry saw that a different policy must be pursued—that he must either govern Ireland or let it alone. From the first hour of his accession the Irish felt the heavy hand of a master. With his new Lord-Deputy the King sent a train of artillery, which speedily worked a startling change in the political aspect of the country. The castles, which had been the strongholds of rebellion for ages, were battered into ruins, and the rebel forces driven into the bogs and forests. All Ireland began to stand in fear and submission; and the power of the Crown, which had been limited almost to the walls of Dublin, was acknowledged throughout the country, and Henry received the title of 'King of Ireland.' With a high hand he endeavoured to set up English law and customs, and to put down those of a Celtic character, though he was conciliatory towards the native princes. His most fatal blunder was his assumption of 'Supreme Head of the Church of England and Ireland.' This he did in a spirit of antagonism to Rome, and the effect was to plunge Ireland into a religious strife, the consequences of which were hardly a less evil than those of the civil strife which his policy had, to a great extent, brought to an end.

During the reign of Edward VI. great efforts were made to establish Protestantism in Ireland, but without success. The Irish did not want the abolition of pilgrimages, the destruction of images, and the reform of public worship; but clung passionately to the ancient forms of faith and the traditions of their fathers. The little that was accomplished quickly melted away when 'bloody Mary' came to the throne, the mass was restored, all the old modes of worship were set up again, and all religious dissension between the Government and the Irish subjects discontinued.

The days of Elizabeth brought fresh trouble to the land of St. Patrick. That kingdom was fixed upon by the Catholic powers of the Continent as the ground on which they could best fight out their

quarrel with the great heretic Queen. A rebellion of a very formidable kind was instigated, which it took years of conflict and almost rivers of blood to bring to an end. It was headed by the Earl of Tyrone, who, in the first engagement, defeated the English and left the general and 1,500 of the soldiers dead upon the field. This victory, so unusual to the Irish, fired their courage, secured them arms and ammunition, and increased confidence in their leader. The Earl of Essex, with an army of 18,000 men, was sent to quell the outbreak, but suffered a tremendous defeat, and had to make treaty with the Irish general. For this and other blunders Essex lost his head on the block. It took his successor, Mountjoy, several years to subdue the revolt in the isle of the saints.

After the death of Elizabeth a great revolutionary measure was carried, known as the colonisation of Ulster. Two-thirds of the North of Ireland was declared to have been forfeited to the Crown owing to the part its possessors had taken in the revolt; and the lands thus gained were allotted to new settlers of Scotch and English extraction. In its material results this policy of spoliation proved to be a success. The foundations of that prosperity which has raised Ulster so much above the rest of Ireland in intelligence and wealth were laid in the confiscations of 1610. This seemed to be the crowning act in the conquest of the country, commenced 400 years before by Strongbow, and now completed by Mountjoy. Scarcely had James I. ascended the throne when the last O'Donnell and O'Neil, who had held the rank of independent princes, kissed his hand at Whitehall; and henceforth his writs ran and his judges held assizes in every part of the land.

The reign of Charles I. witnessed, perhaps, the most fearful rebellion and atrocities ever known in the Emerald Isle. A person called Roger Moore, much celebrated among his countrymen for valour and capacity, formed the project of expelling the English, and engaged all the heads of the native Irish in the conspiracy, especially Sir Phelim O'Neil and Lord Maguire. The commencement of the revolt was planned for the approach of winter, that there might be more difficulty in transporting forces from England. The Irish, everywhere intermingled with the English, needed but a hint from their leaders and priests to begin hostilities against a people whom they hated on account of their religion, and envied for their riches and prosperity. The houses, cattle, and goods of the unwary English were first seized. After rapacity had fully satiated itself a universal massacre commenced. No age, sex, or condition was spared. Death was the slightest punishment inflicted by the rebels. All the tortures which wanton cruelty could devise, all

the lingering pains of body, the anguish of mind, the agonies of despair could not satisfy the revenge of the Irish. Amidst all these enormities the sacred name of religion resounded on every side. The English, considered as heretics abhorred of God, and detestable to all holy men, were marked out by the priests for slaughter; and, of all actions, to rid the world of these declared enemies to the Catholic faith was represented as the most meritorious. The English colonies of Ulster were totally annihilated, and the flames spread over all the other three provinces. Even where the Catholics professed to exercise moderation they expelled the Protestants from their houses, despoiled them of their goods, wasted their cultivated fields, stripped them of their very clothes, and turned them out naked and defenceless to all the severities of the season. The heavens themselves, as if conspiring against the unhappy people, were armed with cold and tempest unusual to the climate, and executed what the merciless sword had left unfinished. It is believed that few, if any, short of 200,000 persons perished in this terrible outbreak.

Most severely was this fiendish rebellion revenged by Cromwell. On landing in Ireland with an army of 12,000 men and a formidable train of artillery, he said, 'We are come to ask an account of the innocent blood that hath been shed, and to endeavour to bring to an account all who, by appearing in arms, shall justify the same.' His first blow was decisive and characteristic of the man. He proceeded at once to storm Drogheda. The first and second assaults were repulsed, but in the third, led by himself, the garrison fell, and all that remained in it were put to the sword, and also all in the town that were found in arms; and that fearful night more than 2,000 were slain. Several other garrisoned towns shared a similar fate. At length cities began to open their gates to him without resistance. The storming of Clonmels, where the remains of the rebel forces had concentrated, and the overthrow of the Irish army under Hugh O'Neil, closed Cromwell's campaign in Ireland. Cromwell has been much censured for inflicting such a heavy vengeance on the Irish, which is called the one dark spot on his life. We cannot rightly judge of it without knowing all the circumstances of the case, and especially keeping in view the massacre of the Protestants which had taken place just before. It was not for a love of cruelty, but to strike terror into the hearts of those who had delighted in cruelty, and, to use his own words, 'to prevent the effusion of blood in future,' that he proceeded with such relentless severity. To him the most energetic way seemed to be the most merciful. 'He made war on the Irish,' remarks Macaulay, 'as the Hebrews made war on the

Canaanites. Drogheda was as Jericho, and Wexford as Ai. To the remains of the old population the conqueror granted a peace such as that which Israel granted to the Gibeonites. He made them hewers of wood and drawers of water. In a few months Cromwell subjugated Ireland as Ireland had never been subjugated during the five centuries of slaughter which had elapsed since the landing of the first Norman settlers. He resolved to put a stop to the conflict of races and religions which had so long distressed the island.' Strange to say, under this iron rule the country began to wear such a face of prosperity as it had never done before. Wild and barren districts were transformed into fruitful farms, new buildings, roads, and plantations appeared, the rent of estates rose fast, manufactories were established, and soon the English landowners and tradesmen began to complain that every market was stocked by products from Ireland, and to clamour for protecting laws.

Unfortunately, Charles II. nowhere showed his weakness more than in the policy he pursued in Ireland. It was a pusillanimous policy, which, instead of satisfying either party, vexed and irritated both. While many of the English and the Scotch had their property taken from them, but few of the Catholics had it restored to them. More than 3,000 who had taken no part in the rebellion were cut off from any hope of recovering their lands. With the confiscated territories Charles had many favourites to gratify, and not a few of their descendants are now quaking before the terrible deeds of the Land League. We see 'the sins of the fathers visited upon the children to the third and fourth generation.'

It is lamentable to think how Ireland was again distracted and almost desolated by being made the battle ground between James II. and William of Orange. It was James' refuge when neither England nor Scotland would longer entertain him. To fortify himself, as he supposed, in the sister isle, he set Catholic Mayors, Sheriffs, Aldermen, Councillors, Judges, Justices of the Peace, and other officers over every city and county. Such startling changes in places of power were effected, that the fear of another massacre seized the Protestants, who drew together at Londonderry and Enniskillen. With a force of 25,000 men James attacked the former place. The defenders, chiefly English and Scotch, were comparatively few, and the fortifications weak, yet courage and desperation made up for the weakness of numbers and of fortress. The siege had to be razed and turned to a blockade. Many died of hunger and fever; yet no cry of surrender was heard. For 105 days the brave men held out until they were

relieved by the passage of the river being forced. James was defeated, and several thousands of his men slain. He had no better success at Enniskillen. After being repulsed, many of the Irish soldiers were forced into Loch Erne and drowned. At length William landed in Ireland, and stamped out James' power in that kingdom by the celebrated battle of the Boyne, July 1, 1690, the anniversary of which is kept up with so much enthusiasm by the Orangemen, but only remembered with regret and revenge by the Catholics.

A dead quiet now settled upon Ireland. Wars, revolutions, and massacres had fairly worn the country out. The native population was tranquil with the ghastly tranquillity of exhaustion and despair. There were, indeed, occasional outrages, robberies, fire-raising, assassinations; but more than a century passed away without one general insurrection. Though two rebellions in the time were raised in England by the adherents of the House of Stuart, yet they had no effect beyond St. George's Channel. The iron had entered into the soul. The memory of past defeats, the habit of daily enduring insult and oppression, had cowed the spirit of the unhappy nation. Irish Roman Catholics of ability, energy, and ambition were to be found anywhere except in Ireland, at Versailles, and at Saint Ildefonso, in the armies of Frederic, and in the armies of Maria Theresa. One exile became a Marshal of France; another Prime Minister of Spain, and in his palace at Madrid had the pleasure of being assiduously courted by the ambassadors of George II., and of bidding defiance in high terms to the ambassadors of George III. Scattered all over Europe were to be found brave Irish generals, dexterous Irish diplomatists, Irish counts, Irish barons, and Irish knights, who, if they had remained in the house of bondage, could not have been anything in any petty corporation. The natural chiefs of their race, by oppression and persecution, being expelled, the country was left utterly helpless and passive. The Catholic population especially were in a deplorable condition.

In 1782, taking advantage of the difficulty we were in with the war in America, and with Spain, which was demanding the surrender of Gibraltar, a strong force was organised in Ireland to declare and, if necessary, fight for the independence of the kingdom. It was occasioned by many stringent measures of the English Parliament to annihilate the commerce and ruin the agriculture of Ireland. The jealousy of the English landowners caused statutes to be passed forbidding the export of Irish cattle to English ports. The export of wool was disallowed, lest it should interfere with the profits of English wool-growers. Green says, 'Poverty was thus added to the curse of

mis-government, and poverty deepened with the rapid growth of the native population till famine turned the country into a hell.' In such a hell no wonder that rebellion again broke out. A hundred years of misrule and misery had gone. The time for deliverance came at last. An association, 100,000 strong, demanded a separate Parliament for Ireland, and England had no power to resist. Home Rule was established. The two kingdoms were now held together only by the fact that they had one sovereign. The period of independence lasted for eighteen years. No one acquainted with it can regard it as an improvement. The Parliament was not a representative one, but wholly in the hands of a selfish and despotic party. The aristocracy were corrupt, the commonality ferocious, the Government distracted, and the people divided. Some idea of the fitness of Ireland to govern itself may be formed from the fact that, owing to the factious ignorance of the Irish landowners, the Irish Parliament rejected Pitt's Bill for free trade, which, in the interests of Ireland, he had fought through the English Parliament against the fears and jealousies of the farmers and manufacturers of this country. Many Irish members are now guilty of similar suicidal conduct in opposing a Government which is more determined than any other we have ever had to give wise and just laws to their distracted country. Pitt was so discouraged that, but for the revolutionary struggle and the efforts of France to excite rebellion in Ireland, he would most likely have left that part of the United Kingdom to have reaped the fruit of its own doings.

In 1792, while Ireland still enjoyed Home Rule, there was another rising of the tide of social and religious passion, under the title of 'United Irishmen.' The object of the movement was to obtain reforms in the Government; but many of the members were Republicans, and hoped to effect their designs by a revolution. Among the conspirators were Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Arthur O'Connor, Dr. McNiven, a physician; Thomas Emmel, a barrister; and Oliver Bond, a merchant. They entered into a communication with France, which promised to send over a large body of troops. In 1796 the flame of insurrection broke out. It was fanned by the Orange Yeomanry and English troops, who marched through the country robbing, outraging, and murdering the insurgents wherever they found them. Atrocities were answered by atrocities. Protestants were lashed, tortured, and piked in their turn, and every soldier taken was butchered without mercy. An immense slaughter of the rebels at Enniscorthy partly terminated the contest and secured peace. The scenes of cruelty and suffering witnessed in this struggle cannot be described. The French troops,

arriving when it was too late, were surrounded and made prisoners of war.

Pitt saw that Ireland must either be made something of or let alone. He resolved to put a stop to the miserable farce of independence. The necessity of a thorough union of the two kingdoms, or no union at all, was brought home to every English statesman by the erratic and arbitrary conduct of the Irish Parliament, which was determined, whether in the right or wrong, to oppose whatever the English Parliament did. A Bill was drawn up to the effect that England and Ireland should have but one Parliament, and that in London. After much discussion and a stubborn resistance by the borough mongers of the sister isle, the Bill was carried in both the English and the Irish Parliaments, the latter being mainly bought with money and a liberal distribution of pensions and peerages to its members. It came into force in January, 1801. It provided that four lords spiritual and twenty-eight lords temporal, elected by the Irish Peers, should be life members of the House of Lords, and that one hundred Irish members should be added to the House of Commons; and that the churches of the two islands should be united as one Protestant Episcopal Church.

This measure did not remedy all evils in Ireland. For about thirty years there was a state of continual unrest. Coercion and insurrection acts were in force most of the time. To remove one cause of Irish grievance in 1829, Sir Robert Peel introduced the Catholic Relief Bill. For several years the question of Catholic emancipation had been gaining ground. Though the Roman Catholics were five to one of the Protestants, yet they were treated as foreigners in their own country. The House of Lords, the House of Commons, voting for representatives in Parliament, the magistracy, all corporate offices in towns, all ranks in the army, the bench, and the bar, the whole administration of Government or justice were closed against Papists; and, by the sweeping confiscations which had been made at different times, there were few Catholic landlords left. No Protestant in Ireland was allowed to instruct any Papist. By Eighth Act of Anne, no Papist was allowed to teach any other Papist. By Seventh William III., no Papist was allowed to be sent out of Ireland to receive instruction. By these statutes nearly the whole body of the Irish people were legislatively prohibited from receiving any instruction whatever, either from a Protestant or a Catholic, either at home or abroad. The darkest and most profound ignorance was enforced under the severest penalties. Even so late as the Twelfth Act George I., any Catholic clergyman marrying a Protestant and a Catholic was to be hanged. By Seventh

George II., any barrister marrying a Catholic was to be disbarred. By Second Anne, Papist clergymen going into Ireland and performing religious exercises were to be hanged. By Eighth Anne, fifty pounds reward was to be given to all informers against Catholic Bishops and vicars-general. Perhaps the most extraordinary of these penal statutes were those of Seventh William III. No Papist to ride a horse worth more than £5; and Ninth George II., Papists residing in Ireland shall make good to Protestants all losses sustained by any Catholic King ravaging the coasts of Ireland, and Twenty-ninth George II., which required barristers and attorneys to waive their privilege and betray their clients if Papists. In fact, nearly all rights of citizenship were denied the Papists. Wolfe Tone is within the bounds of truth when he affirms that there was no injustice, no disgrace, no disqualification, moral, political, or religious, civil or military, that was not heaped upon them. This horrible system, pursued for above a century with unrelenting acrimony and perseverance, had wrought its full effect, and had, in fact, reduced the great body of the Catholic peasantry of Ireland to a situation, morally and physically speaking, below the beasts of the field. The spirit of their few remaining gentry was broken and their mind degraded, and it was only in a class of their merchants and traders and a few members of the medical profession, who had smuggled an education in spite of the penal code, that anything like political life survived. Hardly any durst express a wish to have their rights restored to them. It was surely time for some relaxation of this wicked system to be effected. The Relief Bill caused a profound sensation. The Tories fought desperately against it. Even the Duke of Wellington, though himself an Irishman, opposed it, but at length gave way. The Bill passed triumphantly through both Houses, and the Catholics and the Presbyterians, for they had been under similar disadvantages, were politically free.

A few years after the Emancipation Act the enthusiastic and eloquent Irishman, Daniel O'Connell, headed an association for the repeal of the union. The old cry was raised that the country would never do any good until separated from England. Certainly the circumstances of the people, both temporally and morally, were deplorable in the extreme. Gustave de Beaumont, an eminent Frenchman, who visited Ireland in 1835, said, 'I have seen the Indian in his forests and the negro in his chains, and I thought that I beheld the lowest term of human misery; but I did not then know the lot of Ireland. Irish misery forms a type by itself of which there exists

nowhere else either model or imitation. In seeing it one recognises that no theoretical limits can be assigned to the misfortunes of nations.' Mr. Inglis, who spoke from observation, said, 'The condition of the Irish poor is immeasurably worse than that of the West Indian slave.' Mr. Barrow, who made an extensive tour in Ireland in 1835, said, 'There is no other country on the face of the earth where such extreme misery prevails as in Ireland.' It would be easy to give similar quotations from authentic accounts down to the year 1880. Hence, it is not surprising that men like Daniel O'Connell, who was educated in France, and Smith O'Brian, and Charles Gavan Duffy, who, by the way, is now one of Her Majesty's loyal subjects in Victoria, and has twice filled the office of Prime Minister there and received, as recognition of his services, the order of Knighthood, should endeavour, even by unlawful means, if others were not likely to be effectual, to save their country from such appalling misery.

The chief events of Irish history since those days are within the memory of many persons now living. They are the great famine of 1847 and 1848, the horrors of which it would take volumes to describe; the Fenian rising in 1866; the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Irish Church, and the Land Act under the Gladstone Ministry; and, lastly, the Land League with agrarian riots, incendiarisms, Boy-cotting, murders, and assassinations, and which is, perhaps, the strongest, most hostile, and formidable organisation with which the Government has ever had to deal in Ireland. The history of the English in the Emerald Isle is one which no man can read without feelings of humiliation and shame. We are responsible for the wretched and disaffected condition of the people. English mis-rule has borne this bitter fruit in Ireland, and the present landlords, no less than the tenants, are, for the most part, the innocent victims of it. While England shows an attitude of firmness and power towards the sister isle it is her duty to speak words of conciliation, peace, and even commiseration to the wronged and suffering people; and especially to spare no pains to readjust on an equitable basis the relations of landlord and tenant, and thus settle at once and for ever one of the principal and most bitter of Ireland's grievances.

JOSEPH WOOD.

V.—MINISTERIAL DUTIES AND PREROGATIVES.

THE priests and prophets of the Old Testament Scriptures and the Apostles of Jesus Christ were set apart to minister in holy things. God said to Aaron and his sons, 'Ye shall serve: I have given your priest's office unto you as a service of gift, and the stranger that cometh nigh shall be put to death' (Num. xviii. 7). 'Son of man,' said the Lord to Ezekiel, 'I have made thee a watchman to the house of Israel: therefore, hear the word of my mouth and give them warning from me' (Ezekiel iii. 17). 'I have set watchmen upon thy walls, O Jerusalem, who shall never hold their peace day nor night.' (Isa. lxii. 6). 'As the Father hath sent Me, so send I you,' said Jesus to His disciples. (John xx. 21). 'I certify you brethren,' said St. Paul, 'that the gospel which was preached of me is not after man, for I neither received of man, neither was I taught it, but the revelation of Jesus Christ' (Gal. i. 11). But the Apostles as such could have no successors, as their office was only temporary: hence, they set apart another class of men to minister in holy things. In the inspired epistles these are indifferently called 'bishops,' 'presbyters,' and 'pastors.' What are their duties and prerogatives will now occupy our attention.

First, *Ministerial Duties*.—Duty is that which is due, or that which a person is bound by any obligation to do. The Christian minister is obligated—

1. to preach the gospel plainly and fully. Jesus called the twelve disciples together and sent them to preach the kingdom of God. 'Jesus commanded us to preach unto the people,' said Saint Peter in the house of Cornelius (Acts x. 42). And daily in the temple and in every house they ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ (Acts v. 42). 'For though I preach the gospel,' said Saint Paul, 'I have nothing to glory of, for necessity is laid upon me; yea, woe is unto me if I preach not the gospel' (1 Corinthians ix. 16). The apostles understood their work, and did not fail to discharge it. 'We preach Christ crucified.' 'I had rather,' said St. Paul, 'speak five words with my understanding, that by my voice I might teach others also, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue' (1 Corinthians xiv. 9). Christian ministers are called and set apart

by the same Divine Head to preach the Gospel of the kingdom of God. And, notwithstanding what the Plymouth Brethren, the Ritualists, and the Roman Catholics have to say upon this question, it is evident, from the teachings and example of the Apostles and their immediate successors, that the most prominent and important duty of the Christian minister is to preach the Gospel to the people. In order to do this efficiently, it will require much reading, considerable study, and earnest prayer that the power of the Holy Ghost may rest upon him.

St. Paul advised Timothy, and through him all ministers of Christ, to 'Give attendance to reading.' This advice comes home with considerable force in these days of a 'reading public,' 'cheap books,' and a 'free press.' The ministers of Christ must not lag behind the 'reading public' in general intelligence. History, both ancient and modern, natural philosophy, geography, and biography, with the current literature of the period, should have part of their attention. Reading furnishes the mind with the materials of knowledge. It supplies food for reflection. 'Reading,' says Lord Bacon, 'makes a full man.' But as the Christian minister is called to discharge a particular work, special attention must be given to those books which bear directly upon that work. 'There is, indeed,' says Locke, 'one science incomparably above all the rest, and that is theology. That which contains the knowledge of God and His creatures, our duty to Him and our fellow-creatures, and a view of our present and future state is the comprehension of all other knowledge directed to its true end, i.e., the honour and veneration of the Creator and the happiness of mankind.' The one book, therefore, of the Christian minister must be the holy Scriptures. Here God reveals His will and makes known His purposes respecting our race. The Bible is in the world of books what the sun is in the solar system. It is the great light, the great truth, and the true way of life. All other books borrow their little light and truth from it. 'Search the Scriptures,' said the Saviour, 'for in them ye think ye have eternal life; and they are they which testify of Me' (John v. 39).

But reading itself is not study. We do not study by allowing our eyes to run along the words of a line and down the contents of a page. We do not study when we allow our thoughts to go as fast as they come, like breezes moving over a field of corn, or shadows flitting over a brook. Study is an earnest thing. Study is mental effort. Study is hard work. It pauses to understand, and delays to reflect, and tarries to compare, and never passes on till it has made the

present object its own by an act of mental appropriation. Montaigne says, 'Knowledge should not be stuck on the mind, but incorporated in it.' 'It is not enough,' said John Locke, 'to cram ourselves with a great load of collections: unless we chew them over again, they will not give us strength and nourishment.' 'Read not to contradict and confute, nor to believe and take for granted, nor to find talk and discourse, but to weigh and consider.' Ministers must, therefore, 'read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest' the truths of the Gospel, and then preach them to the people. 'Let us study,' says the Apostle, 'to show ourselves approved unto God, workmen that need not be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth' (2 Tim. ii. 15). But prayer is indispensably necessary to efficiency and success in all Christian work. In order to preach well, ministers must pray well. 'Ask, and it shall be given you.' All their readings and studies must be consecrated upon the altar of prayer. 'The preacher,' says Hugh Bourne, 'if possible, should so fully get into faith as to preach the Gospel with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven. In order to do this, he must keep clear of all improprieties, all reflections on individuals or societies, and all other unprofitable things (because these grieve the Holy Ghost), using only sound speech which cannot be condemned, and, as far as wisdom is given him, preach a pure Gospel, and nothing but the Gospel.' The Apostles of Christ earnestly prayed that the Holy Ghost might help them to preach, and they also earnestly requested the members of the churches to pray for them (Col. iv. 2, Eph. vi. 18). Ministers of Christ must plead for the presence and power of the Holy Ghost in all their ministrations. 'For it is not by might, nor by power, but by My Spirit,' said the Lord of Hosts' (Zac. iv. 16). 'I have planted, Apollos watered, but God gave the increase' (1 Cor. iii. 6).

'Go in Thy Master's name,
To treat with men of everlasting things—
Of life, death, bliss, and woe; to offer terms
Of pardon, grace, and peace to rebels;
To teach the ignorant, to cheer the sad,
To help the halting, to lead the blind,
To warn the careless, heal the sick of heart,
Arouse the indolent, and on the proud
And obstinate offender to denounce
The wrath of God.'

The Christian minister is obligated—

2. To pay pastoral visits at suitable times to all the members of his flock, but particularly to the sick and poor. 'Take heed, therefore, unto yourselves,' writes the inspired Apostle, 'and to all the flock

over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the Church of God, which He hath purchased with His own blood.' The Greek word which is translated overseers is compounded of two, which signify the care, the intense care, which must be taken of the Church. If one soul, therefore, perish through the minister's neglect, the awful words apply to him, 'His blood will I require at Thine hand' (Eze. iii. 18).

In the pulpit the minister may have an attentive audience gathered about him, listening with eagerness to the words of eternal life, and for whose salvation he feels an intense and ardent desire; but when that congregation enters upon the common concerns of daily life, the cares and vicissitudes of business, how apt are they to forget the important lessons of the Sabbath, and the impressions which were made upon their minds are speedily effaced, and their souls become as careless as ever. On the Lord's-day the minister felt deeply for the people, and it is just to imagine that many in the congregation were seriously impressed with the truths; but during the ensuing week the chilling influences of the world too frequently destroy the effects of the Sabbath services. Hence, the necessity and importance of seconding the efforts of the Sabbath by pastoral visitation.

As soon as the minister enters the house of one of his flock the remembrance of the topic of discourse on the preceding Sabbath will be refreshed, and the members of the household who can conveniently be assembled will be glad to listen to what their pastor has got to say, who, after suitable advice and encouragement, will lead them in prayer at a throne of heavenly grace. By such visits the good seed which was sown on the preceding Sabbath is nurtured, and the dew of heaven descends upon the family. Parents delight in these visits of the minister, and by them the children are better prepared to listen to the voice of their teacher on the ensuing Sabbath. The poorest families will greatly esteem and value them, as they will tend to sooth and comfort them in the midst of their many privations and sorrows. Special attention should always be given to the afflicted poor. Their position and sufferings demand this consolation at the minister's hands. *And, in order to make such visits more efficient and better appreciated, the church should place at the minister's disposal a fund for distribution amongst the deserving poor.* 'I have kept back nothing that was profitable unto you, but have showed you, and have taught you publicly and from house to house, testifying both to the Jews and also to the

Greeks repentance towards God and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ (Acts xx. 20). Writing to his brethren, Wesley said, 'We must instruct them from house to house. Till this is done, and that in good earnest, the Methodists will be little better than other people.' Again he writes, 'Go into every house in course, and teach every one therein, young and old, if they belong to us, to be Christians inwardly and outwardly.' Again he asks, 'Can we find a better method of doing this than Mr. Baxter's? If not, let us adopt it without delay.' Upon this subject Mr. Baxter says, 'We shall find many difficulties both in ourselves and in the people. In ourselves there is much dulness and laziness, so that there will be much ado to get us to be faithful in the work;' and after some other remarks, he adds, 'Some of us have also a foolish bashfulness. We know not how to begin, or to speak plainly. We blush to speak for Christ, or to contradict the devil, or to save a soul.' Again he writes, 'After all our preaching, how ignorant, negligent, and worldly-minded are many of our people. Some of them might never have heard the gospel preached. How few that know the nature of repentance, of faith, and of holiness. Most of them have a sort of confidence that Christ will justify and save them while the world has their hearts and they live to themselves. And I have found by experience that one of these has learned more from one hour's close discourse than from ten years' public preaching. O brethren, if we could generally set this work on foot in all our societies and prosecute it skilfully and jealously, what glory would redound to God thereby! If the common ignorance were thus banished, and our vanity and idleness turned into the study of the way of life, and every shop and every house busied in speaking of the word and works of God, surely God would dwell in our habitations and make them His delight.'

John Wesley practised what he enforced upon his brethren. When seventy years old he writes in his journal: 'Tuesday, January 12th, I began at the east end of the town to visit the society from house to house.' 'I know of no branch of the pastoral office which is of greater importance than this.' Again, he says, 'I found that the society had decreased since L. C. ——— went away, and yet they had full as good preachers. But that is not sufficient. By repeated experiments we learn that, though a man preach like an angel, he will neither collect nor preserve a society which is collected without visiting them from house to house.' How indefatigable are Roman Catholic priests and Ritualistic clergymen in the regular visitation of their people, whether learned or ignorant, rich or poor, masters or servants! You find them

in the sick-chamber, in the workhouse, and in the hospital. They are always at it. And surely Protestant ministers will not lag behind in this important work. The early Methodist ministers and the fathers of our beloved Zion were not a wit behind the chiefest apostles in pastoral visitation. Feeling its importance to the souls of men, they gloried in it, and hence their great success. Dr. Chalmers was wont to say, 'A house-going minister makes a church-going people.'

Christian ministers are obligated—

3. To exemplify in life what they preach in word and doctrine.

St. Paul says, 'A bishop must be blameless,' *i.e.*, of spotless reputation, without fault or just suspicion; vigilant, lively, and zealous, yet calm and wise, not wasting his time in mere pleasure-seeking, nor in frivolous conversation. 'Of good behaviour,' his life outwardly corresponding with his teachings in God's house; 'given to hospitality,' not greedy, nor selfish, but liberal and generous, giving away to the extent of his ability; 'self-sacrificing' on purpose to manifest practical benevolence, especially among the sick and poor of his flock. 'Not given to wine;' temperate in his habits, abstaining entirely from what is evil in itself, and using moderately only what is good, thus being an example of perfect self-mastery. 'No striker,' not given to retaliation, but patient; not rash in judgment, nor disposed to inflict on any one unnecessary pains, but constantly gentle and forbearing.

'Many a man,' writes Baxter, 'hath warned others that they come not to the place of torment while yet they hastened to it themselves. Many a preacher is now in hell who hath a hundred times called upon his hearers to use the utmost care and diligence to escape it. Can any reasonable man imagine that God should save men for offering salvation to others while they refused it themselves, and for telling others those truths which they themselves neglected and abused? Many a tailor goes in rags who makes costly clothes for others, and many a cook scarcely licks his fingers who has dressed for others the most costly dishes. Believe it, brethren, God never took any man to heaven for being a preacher, nor because he was an able preacher, but because he was a justified and sanctified man, and consequently faithful in his Master's work.' Ministers must be thoroughly religious, living out in life the great truths they preach to others.

Second: *Ministerial Prerogatives*, by which we mean ministerial rights, or reasonable claims.

1. The Christian minister has a right to a comfortable maintainance for himself and family.

Jesus said, 'The workman is worthy of his meat, and the labourer is worthy of his hire.' The Greek word which is rendered *meat* means not only necessary food, but sustenance or support in general, and the word rendered *hire* means recompense. Hence, the doctrine taught by the Saviour is plainly that those who are devoted to the ministry are justly entitled to a comfortable living. 'Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn. And the labourer is worthy of his reward' (1 Tim. v. 18).

'Such declarations imply,' says Dr. Cook, 'that to render support to the Christian ministry is a debt of justice, and not a donation of charity; that the devoted minister, who is separated from a worldly calling in order that he may efficiently discharge the duties of his office, is as much entitled to support as the labouring husbandman is entitled to the salary he has earned by the sweat of his brow.' Again, 'Let him that is taught in the word communicate unto him that teacheth in all good things.' To communicate is, in a Scriptural sense, to contribute of our worldly substance. It is, therefore, evident that whoever enjoys the privilege of hearing the Gospel preached is under an obligation to support it. The privilege of hearing and the duty of supporting are inseparable.

St. Paul treats this subject at considerable length in his first letter to the Corinthians. He asks, 'Who goeth a warfare at any time at his own charges? Who planteth a vineyard and eateth not of the fruit thereof? Or, who feedeth a flock and eateth not of the milk of the flock? Say I these things as a man, or saith not the law the same also? For it is written in the law of Moses, Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn. Doth God take for oxen, or saith He it altogether for our sakes? For ourselves, no doubt, this is written that he that plougheth shall plough in hope, and he that thrasheth in hope should be partaker of his hope. If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great thing if we reap your carnal things? Do ye not know that they which minister about holy things live of the things of the temple, and they which wait at the altar are partakers with the altar? Even so hath the Lord ordained that they which preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel.'

The above statements are so clear and impressive that nothing further is needed to demonstrate the right of Christian ministers to a comfortable maintenance and the duty of the church to provide it. Such a claim is founded on the law of simple justice. But the question arises, 'What is a comfortable maintenance? What is reasonable

support?' Opinions greatly differ. But Dr. Guthrie was not far from the mark when he said that the minimum salary of a Gospel minister should not be less than £150 per annum. It is difficult to manage comfortably on less in these days.

2. The Christian minister has a claim upon the highest esteem and love of the people.

'And we beseech you, brethren, to know them which labour among you and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you, and to esteem them very highly in love for their work's sake' (1 Thess. v. 12). Here St. Paul teaches that there should exist a particular love and esteem in the hearts of Christians towards their ministers. The good Shepherd is known by every sheep, the kind teacher is beloved by every scholar, the attentive and obliging physician wins the sympathy of every patient, and the brave and generous commander is cheerfully obeyed by every soldier. Even so Christian ministers are good shepherds, who feed the flock of God; kind teachers, who strive to impart the soundest instruction; sympathetic physicians, who try to heal the spiritual maladies of the people; and energetic commanders in the great field of moral conflict, leading Israel's host in the thick of the fight until victory is proclaimed on Israel's side. Such ministers are not only beloved by the members of their charge, but by the whole Church of Christ and the world surrounding them.

Dear brethren, yours is a noble calling. You are called to walk on the high places of the earth. But your responsibilities are great. The interests at stake are of vast and infinite importance both to yourselves and others. Be real preachers, pastors, and Christians. Be true men.

He's true to God who's true to man, whatever wrong is done,
To the humblest and the weakest 'neath the all-beholding sun;
That wrong is also done to us, and they are slaves most base
Whose love of right is for themselves, and not for all their race.
God works for all. Ye cannot hem the hope of being free
With parallels of latitudes, with mountain range or sea.
Put golden padlocks on truth's lips, be callous as ye will,
From soul to soul o'er all the world leaps one electric thrill.

The most accursed among men is the traitor to humanity. You must evade that curse. The field is the world to work in. From other fields of labour you have been called of God to this particular work. His *truth* has made you free men. His spirit has enlightened your minds, softened your hearts, and expanded your social and religious sympathies. Noble examples of self-sacrificing zeal you have in the fathers of our connexion. Many of them fell early in the strife and

passed away to the land of rest ! You must tread in their footsteps ! That will lead you into the thick of the conflict and to the same glorious achievements for Christ. You, too, may fall early in the strife ; but what if you do ? Many nobler and better than you have fallen already on the high fields of moral conflict. They spent themselves for Christ. Their voices are now hushed in silence and their bodies are slumbering in the grave until the resurrection of the last day. But the truths they preached are living on in the memories and hearts of the people. The fires of holy aspirations which they kindled in many hearts are burning on more brightly than ever. The souls they saved are repenting on, praying on, believing on, singing on, until the day of complete deliverance. Their works do follow them. Even so shall it be with you. In order, therefore, to succeed in your great mission for right and Christ, you must be up and doing. The secret of all real success is hard work. Work hard, then, and work in earnest, and God will bless you !

WILSON BARRETT.

VI.—AGNOSTICISM.

THE universe and its phenomena have ever constituted a problem difficult of solution, and, as might be expected, the theories based upon them have been remarkably conflicting. All are agreed that the universe presents itself to us as an object of consciousness; but when the inquiring mind asks, 'What is it?' and, 'How did it begin to be?' it is found that no affirmation can be made that may not be debated. The great body of thinkers have adopted one of two views. Theists have affirmed and sought to prove that the universe is constituted of mind and matter, and is the product of an intelligent First Cause. Atheists have held the opinion that it is either self-existent or self-created, many of them further affirming that mind is not a separate existence, but a modification of matter. Between these two theories there is a broad distinction; and, perhaps, if the issue had rested here, we might have hoped for a complete settlement of the question sooner than we can in the present circumstances. But there is a third class of thinkers, who call themselves Agnostics, whose position demands the attention of those who theorise on the 'what?' the 'whence?' and the 'how?' of the universe—a class which probably has always had some representatives, and which in these days of refined doubt is rapidly increasing. Appalled by the mistakes of both Atheist and Theist, anxious to give credence to nothing of which they cannot be absolutely certain, made timid by their experience of the fallibility of the human understanding, and aware of the fact that every positive theory of the universe must involve great difficulties and some apparent contradictions, Agnostics shrink alike from affirmation and denial of the 'unseen,' venturing only on the negative assertion that we have no positive knowledge, and can have none, of anything that is not either cognisable to the senses or capable of logical demonstration. Whilst this view cannot be said to be flattering to man's natural pride of intellect, it is in some respects decidedly fascinating. The Theist is prepared to admit the existence of profound intellectual and moral difficulties in his theory, and, therefore, at first sight, that of the Agnostic will partially commend itself to his judgment, inasmuch as it offers him the chance of freedom from some of his difficulties, without committing him to the doctrines of his old foe, the Atheist, which he has been accustomed to regard as both

unreasonable and irreverent. And seeing that the Atheist is aware that he has not scored very many indisputable victories, he, too, is not altogether unwilling to accept the compromising position of the Agnostic. The consequence is, a state of things described by Professor Upton as follows:—‘A large and increasing number of thoughtful people are being carried into that vague condition of theological opinion called Agnosticism—a condition in which the mind oscillates between the two opposite poles of religious belief, at one time touching the confines of Atheism, at another time approaching equally near to definite Theistic convictions.’ This extract will serve to show that the degree of doubt in all who call themselves Agnostics is not the same.

A reference to the names of the exponents of this creed, if creed it may be called, will reveal how very ‘vague’ it is, and how completely Professor Upton is justified in making use of language implying that the Agnostic may be either almost an Atheist or almost a Theist; in fact, the approaches he makes are so close that, roughly speaking, he might be called altogether either the one or the other. It is a somewhat broad school of religious belief that admits within its ranks the names of persons so divergent in their opinions as Professors Tyndall, Huxley, and Clifford, Miss Bevington, Sir William Hamilton, Dean Mansel, Mr. Herbert Spencer, and Mr. Matthew Arnold. It would, perhaps, be unfair to give the names of these popular leaders of thought without referring to some of their writings to show that they have really adopted the thesis that the main objects of religious belief are removed beyond the sphere of human knowledge; but such references must necessarily be brief. We find the first-named, Professor Tyndall, expressing himself as follows:—‘The sense of moral responsibility in man gives to the scientific investigator an association with a power which gives fulness and tone to his existence, but which he can neither analyse nor comprehend.’ When the same writer is placed in the dilemma of accepting one of the two theories, that mind is either an entity, or the result of molecular motion, the former of which, of course, is necessary to prove both the existence of an infinite mind and the possibility of man’s immortality, we find him saying: ‘I reject neither position, and thus stand in the presence of two incomprehensibles instead of one.’ Professor Huxley has stated that ‘the theology of the present time has not only renounced idols of wood and idols of stone, but begins to see the necessity of breaking in pieces the idols built up of books and traditions and ecclesiastical cobwebs, and of cherishing the noblest and most human of man’s emotions by worship, ‘for the most part of the silent sort,’ at the altar of the Un-

known and Unknowable.' In language, which owes its eloquence of fervour and reverential feeling to christian literature, Professor Clifford speaks of 'a Presence,' 'a Great Companion,' arising in the hearts of men, 'which has borne many names,' but which he resolves into the god of the Positivists, and calls it the 'Fatherman, who looks out upon us . . . and says, 'Before Jehovah was I am!' Miss Bevington, in articles which have appeared in the *Nineteenth Century* and elsewhere, without asserting that there is no God, has sought to show that morality need not suffer, even though we do not continue to accept the fundamental dogmas of Theism. The position of Sir William Hamilton and Dean Mansel is, that whilst we believe there is an infinite and absolute Power, we cannot know Him or prove His existence, the former reaching his finest climax in the sentence, 'The last and highest consecration of all true religion must be an altar to the Unknown and Unknowable God.' Mr. Herbert Spencer, in his first book of *First Principles*, 'carries a step further the doctrine put into shape by Hamilton and Mansel, showing that the belief in an absolute that not only transcends human knowledge, but human conception, lies the only possible reconciliation of science and religion.' There is one famous saying of that prophet of culture, Mr. Matthew Arnold, which inevitably places him in the list of Agnostics. He speaks of 'a power, not ourselves, a stream of tendency, that makes for righteousness,' evidently not being able to decide whether it is a personal or impersonal power. A comparison of the views of the writers quoted above will serve to show that they do not reject the doctrines of the Theist, but simply assert that they are unprovable, and, therefore, argue for a suspension of judgment upon them.

Although Agnosticism has rightly been called the philosophy of Nescience, it has, properly speaking, both a negative and a positive side. It informs us what we cannot know; it tells us also what we may know; and in this latter sense, that is, in so far as it is positive, it is the outgrowth of Materialistic Evolution. No one can think that Hamilton and Mansel would have accepted all the positions of our great physicists; but, in their own way, they have maintained the doctrine of the Unknowable, which is the basis of Herbert Spencer's Materialistic system of philosophy, and the avowed cause of the attitude of mind assumed by all Agnostics in relation to ultimate truths, whether religious or scientific. The great metaphysician has barred up the course of human inquiry in one direction. And our Materialists propose to point out the only course of investigation that is admitted.

to be open to us; for every system of Materialistic Evolution starts from the premiss, in most cases suppressed, 'that only physical phenomena are properly objects of contemplation.' The Personal Intelligent First Cause of the Theist may or may not have an existence; but in either case he cannot be comprehended or even apprehended by us. And we are equally unable to make any positive affirmation respecting a future life, inasmuch as the theory involves that all that can be known about mind is that it is the result of the development of matter. Physical Science professes to have bridged the gulf between cold matter and conscious being. The universe, originally in an atomic condition, contains, according to the theories of the physicists, a given quantity of matter and a given quantity of motion, which, acting spontaneously through numberless stages, have produced every form of organic life, not even excepting man. There is a clear connection between 'the first gropings of the vital force' in the 'fire-mist' and the brain of Darwin. Every intellectual effort, every feeling of guilty remorse or self-satisfaction is simply the result of a change in the molecular construction of the body, the force of which might be gauged, providing there were a mechanical instrument sufficiently fine for the purpose. Granted appliances which we might expect will ere long be forthcoming, it is not too much to say that the scientist will be able to show the difference between the molecular movements that take place in Dr. Tyndall's nerves when he has put forth an intellectual effort that startles the British Association, and those which occur in the 'nerve-centres' of a Norfolk clodhopper when he has won a ploughing match.

It is not difficult to see how this doctrine will affect our primary religious beliefs—our belief in a God, and our belief in a future life. In seeking for knowledge, we always start from the fact of self-consciousness. Whatever theory of the universe we adopt, it must rest ultimately on the veracity of the position, 'I know that I exist.'

Before the point was mooted, 'What is God?'
 No savage man inquired, 'What am myself?'
 Much less replied, 'First, last, and best of things.'
 Man takes that title now if he believes
 Might can exist with neither will nor love
 In God's case—what he names now, 'Nature's Law'—
 While in himself he recognises love
 No less than might and will: and rightly takes.

Just because we have been accustomed to think we have a mind which is independent of matter, rather than its product, we have concluded there is an Infinite and Eternal Mind, who has designed the universe,

and who now superintends its vast and varied operations. But if we are only forms of life, pushed up out of the earth by the shooting stalk of Materialistic Evolution, there remains no longer a necessity for thinking that there is a Supreme Intelligence above all. As far as the requirements of thought are concerned, if we accept this position, God becomes a superfluity. And in relation to the doctrine of immortality, it is clear that as the doctrine of Evolution does not recognise the soul to be an entity, but simply a function of the body, the Evolutionist, to be consistent, should reject the generally-accepted dogma of a future life, and affirm that at the dissolution of the body the soul will cease to exist. And if there is any future life at all it will be when the atoms of which the body is composed shall have again segregated and developed into some new form or forms; and, of course, what is now a man will then have the chance of being a horse, a monkey, or an elephant, or a part of all the three. But, as we have already pointed out, he does not reject the theses of the Theist; he evidently has a suspicion that Materialism does not cover the whole field of truth, although he argues that it covers the entire domain of truth open to human investigation, and, seeing contradictions alike in Theism and Atheism, he refuses to pronounce judgment between the two.

But though no judgment is pronounced, the Agnostic position for all practical purposes amounts to an absolute denial of the fundamental doctrines of religion. If we suspend judgment upon them, we must act as if they were not true; and, in fact, the arguments and theory of the Agnostic tend to bring us to the conclusion that an affirmation of the existence of God and of man's immortality is not needed, and cannot logically be maintained. This being the case, Agnosticism and rank Atheism occupy exactly the same ground in relation to all questions of morals. Kant appears to have been fully aware of this, for after having said that 'no man knows that God and a future life exist,' he goes on to admit that a belief only that they may exist can only produce a negative morality. This result cannot be avoided by the reasonings of Hamilton, the great Christian Agnostic, on 'negative thought,' a form of expression which may be proved from the author's own writings to be a simple absurdity. He has argued that 'in any act of thinking there are three things we can discriminate in consciousness: there is the thinking subject, there is the object about which we think, and there is the relation between subject and object of which we are conscious.' It is remarkable that the author of this statement should say in reference to negative thought, 'When we per-

form an act of negative thought, this is done by thinking of something as not existing in this or that determinate mode. And when we think of it as existing in no determinate mode, we cease to think at all, it becomes nothing.' If, then, we cannot think of God as He is, but only by means of negative conceptions, He becomes nothing in the process. According to the Theistic theory, a belief in His existence is necessary to a sense of moral obligation; but if He is reduced to a negative conception, for all practical purposes he ceases to be; while immortality is said to be an unproved and unprovable dogma. Whether or not the doctrines of the Theist be true, our attitude in all our thinkings, and feelings, and actings ought to be as though they were not true.

There need be no other justification for this conclusion than the statement that nearly all modern Agnostics have adopted the theories of life and morals propounded by the Positivists. It is impossible for them to build up theories on these subjects from the basis of what they cannot know. They must take for their data what is admitted may be known. Our reason, they say, should be used, not in seeking for an enlargement of our range of inquiry, but in striving to avoid error by limiting the field of our investigation to the world of reality and certainty. Unquestionably, from one point of view, this world of reality and certainty is extended enough; but however wide the prospect over which a man may gaze from his back door, if the outlook at the front is closed up, it cannot be considered a satisfactory state of things. If we have to be confined to this one point of view, we will be forced to some rather inconvenient conclusions. Huxley's 'Hume,' in John Morley's series of 'English Men of Letters,' is a perfect specimen of the Agnostic philosophy. Both the author and his subject have sought to destroy the doctrine of personal identity by arguing that our recognition of self is simply a series of perceptions, strung together by a something they do not venture to define. There is no substratum of personality in which mental phenomena inhere, mind is simply the sum-total of perceptions; and when these perceptions cease, as in sleep, the mind ceases to exist. It is further argued that we have no right to claim identity with our former selves, because such identity is unprovable. It will be seen that no account is here taken of the testimony of memory, which asserts not what 'I am,' but what 'I was.' The Agnostic will not admit the validity of this assertion in respect of passed away states of existence, our consciousness being only the testimony of present perceptions of a present state.

Will suffers no less than personal identity. We are the effects of an eternal string of causes; and if it be said by a man that he can do what

he likes, the Agnostic replies that he cannot like to do anything, but only what is according to his constitution, and his constitution has already been determined by a blind, relentless causation. In other words, the only deity that can be known—the law of evolution—is as uncompromising in its dealings with man as in its dealings with all other existences. Every change of the past is a cause of the present and future condition of being, and this condition is as unalterable, by means of human volition, as the flowing of the tides or the courses of the sun and moon.

Equally unsatisfactory are the explanations given by this school of thought respecting moral life and the law of obligation. It has been thought that the recognition of a personal power—an eternal goodness external to ourselves—is a necessary condition for moral law to uphold itself. But the Agnostic undertakes to show that morality will lose none of its beauty, and, although some of its false sanctions may go, it will lose none of its real sanctions if our religions expire and our creeds be buried. Vice will always be that which is generally mischievous—virtue that which is beneficial to the race, and the love of humanity, together with the ‘upward stream of tendency,’ will be a sufficient safeguard from vileness, and secure for mankind all the moral development that is needful. If anything more is required, like Mr. Matthew Arnold, we may weave for ourselves an ideal God, that may curb our evil propensities and fill us with an admiration for, and an ambition to attain to, a more blessed state of being. Thus, virtue and happiness become convertible terms.

For the sake of this untried scheme, we are asked to give up our system of morals at the very basis of which lies our faith in God and a future life. Before doing so it would be wise to remember that whether or not morality would continue to be what it now is and even develop into something higher by sinking our faith in the unseen, it is a fact that all the best types of morality hitherto have been bound up with a belief in God. Whither can we turn for our lessons in truth and purity, and from whence has come the ‘stream of tendency making for righteousness,’ whose power for good to man is so loudly preached? Ancient Agnosticism is embodied in the teachings of Buddhism; and what has it done for the development of the race? It has produced a dreamy, lifeless, stunted manhood, inferior in every respect to the energetic and progressive type of human nature which has obtained under our Western Theism. When we turn to the idealistic Greeks, we find we can learn something from them respecting beauty and art, but nothing whatever about purity. It is to the

theistic Hebrews, 'the fundamental doctrine of whose faith is the existence of a 'Power not ourselves,' who is a Personal and Intelligent Power, that we are obligated for a rule of life that has held its position in the highest forms of civilisation the world has known, and a practical morality unequalled at least by the other nations of ancient times. Christianity is the last, and, our opponents themselves will admit, the highest form of Theism, and in its central figure there are a blended purity and tenderness that have done more to produce holiness of life amongst men than all other operating forces. These results have been produced because there has been in the mind of the Theist a consciousness of the existence of a Supreme Lawgiver, whose prerogative it is to reward the right and punish the wrong. The impartial Agnostic admits all this, but takes care to add that Theism, taking more for granted than is warrantable, is now superseded, the race having outgrown its teachings. In the white heat of scientific investigation it must evaporate, and mankind in the future must carry on the work of progress by new and better methods. Mr. Mallock in his book, *Is Life Worth Living?* has, we think, successfully combatted this position, showing that none of the substitutes offered in place of God will serve the required purposes of morality; that, in fact, with nothing more than these substitutes moral life will become colourless, vice and virtue indistinguishable. If pleasure and virtue are the same thing, vileness, with good sanitary conditions, unaccompanied by remorse, or scandal, or disease, will no longer be moral evil. This, at any rate, is a different thing from theistic morality, which condemns an evil act all the more if it is not attended with remorse, and does not allow sanitary conditions in the least to affect its verdict. Whether or not it is a better as well as a different morality, it ought not to be difficult to determine. Besides, as there is no future life to be taken into the account, may not the man whom we call wicked, if he is prudently wicked, have the advantage of him whom we call upright, but who has to struggle hard against disadvantages of constitution and of circumstances to the end of his life to maintain his integrity? Why struggle if all his struggling does is to add a trifle to the force and volume of the 'stream of tendency that makes for righteousness?' His little drop given to swell the current of Niagara will not make any perceptible difference. Let him

'Buy the merry madness of one hour
With the long irksomeness of following time.'

But the use of the word 'struggle' suggests another difficulty, proving how completely out of harmony with human experience is the

Agnostic position. According to this position, we are physically and morally subject to a law of necessity, and must do that which past events have already determined we shall do. Another meaning must, therefore, be attached to the word 'struggle,' and the race will settle down into a state of utter moral indifference. Of moral defeat the Agnostic must be regardless, and equally regardless of moral victory, if indeed they may be called by such names. Man has no power of volition, and therefore, to use the words of Professor Huxley, 'his responsibility has nothing to do with the causation of his acts.' As if afraid of the consequences of this assertion, the learned Professor goes on to say that 'man is responsible for the frame of mind that accompanies those acts.' But, according to his own showing, frames of mind are the result of molecular motion, which all the complex changes of matter throughout past time have fixedly determined, so that responsibility can have reference neither to acts nor frames of mind. But if, for the sake of argument, we were to grant him all he says, it becomes a question how we are to determine upon the frame of mind that would make a lie a good action.

These are some of the more general consequences of the adoption of the Agnostic philosophy. They are not pleasant to contemplate. 'Never,' says an English writer, who styles himself 'Physicus,' 'in the history of man has so terrific a calamity befallen the race as that which all who look may now behold, advancing as a deluge, black with destruction, resistless in might, uprooting our most cherished hopes, engulfing our most cherished creed, and burying our highest life in mindless destruction.' But however deplorable the consequence, if it is true, the 'stream of tendency'—the force of evolution—will bear us on to it, and we shall have to meet the 'black destruction' that is 'resistless in might.' Is it true? If we have to be shut up to scientific methods of investigation, we must submit ourselves to the inevitable with as good grace as possible. But if the eye of sense cannot see the Theist's God, this does not prove that He is altogether the Unknowable, for spiritual things are spiritually discerned. We do not question the existence of love, because, as yet, we have not been able to discover its constituent elements by means of the crucible and the laboratory fires. The position of the Agnostic is similar to that of a man who shuts his eyes and keeps his ears open, and then asks for a suspension of judgment on the question, 'is there light?' because he cannot hear it. If a man proposes to seek for God by the faculties which, from the nature of the case, cannot find Him, leaving unemployed those by which he might be successful in his search, it cannot be said that the

search has been fairly conducted; and we may legitimately be excused from accepting his conclusions. But if our inner consciousness may be used as the instrument of investigation, we may arrive at a certain knowledge of the existence of God and at a limited acquaintance with His nature. If we are conscious of a will which is the cause of our action, and then look out on the universe, we come to a knowledge of the Supreme Will, which is the cause—the primary cause of its phenomena. Our consciousness of intelligence and our experience of its operations lead us to think of a Supreme Intelligence who orders the universe. And our moral consciousness brings to light a Supreme Lawgiver.

The whole question of the soul's immortality is to be determined by a solution of the difficulty, 'Is mind an entity or a function of the brain?' The Materialist says it is the latter, and proposes to prove his assertion by showing that every mental operation is attended by molecular movements in the nerves. But this does not really account for mental operations—it only removes the question further back. If he can show that molecular motions *produce* as well as *attend* mental operations, the dispute will be settled. This he has failed to do hitherto; and, in view of his failure, we are at liberty to hold by the opposite thesis—that it is mental operations that produce molecular change. The Agnostic is well aware of the difficulty that is thus presented, Tyndall himself admitting that 'the passage from the physics of the brain to the facts of consciousness is unthinkable.' Professor Clifford has made an attempt to meet this difficulty that is scarcely worthy of an exact thinker, by offering the assumption that all matter is what he calls 'mind-stuff,' a stuff having in it the potentiality of every mental experience, the courage of the hero, the benevolence of the philanthropist, and the wisdom of the philosopher. Had the Professor not been a 'man of light and leading,' and the writer nobody, the latter would have been inclined to say, 'stuff and nonsense.' Remembering our relative position, we will state, that to make such an assumption is to beg the whole question.

The fundamental position of the Agnostic is an insult to human nature, and, if admitted to be tenable, would be a reflection on all past methods of human progress. It asks for a suspension of judgment on all subjects that are not completely within our grasp and comprehension, whereas, all the most fruitful lines of thought and discovery, all the most fruitful lines of moral organisation and social regeneration, all the most fruitful lines of spiritual self-government and purification begin with assumptions involving, more or less, what man

can never fully comprehend, though he may apprehend them. 'The world, by wisdom, has not known God;' but, by faith, He may be known; and those who thus know Him are, by their knowledge, saved. We must admit of difficulties in the Theistic position; but to admit them is only to imply that there is room for a higher revelation of His character, such a revelation as we have in Christ and His Gospel. Meanwhile, as the conflict of opinion proceeds, we may ask, 'Which will triumph—the Gospel, that reveals God in the face of His Son, and which brings life and immortality to light, or the creed of Ne-science, which tells us we cannot know anything of either?' There is a magnificent array of intellect ranged on the side of the latter. But the heart of the race is with the Theist, and in this instance we are inclined to trust to the power of the heart rather than to the power of the intellect. Readily acknowledging there is much of the 'Unseen' that is Unknowable, we feel that the little that we know is infinitely precious to us. And believing that the Agnostic is in error, we may hope that, ere long, that will be revealed to the wise and prudent which is now hid from them, and only known to babes. Until then, in view of their inconsistencies, their ideal substitutes for God, and their strange devotion to what they call 'Humanity in the abstract,' we may banter them with the sarcasm of Him of Nazareth, 'Ye worship ye know not what; we know what we worship, for salvation is of the Jews.'

ROBERT HIND.

VII.—THE SUNDAY-SCHOOL: ITS STRONG AND WEAK POINTS.

THE Sunday-school, though but a century old, is already become one of the leading institutions of the age. The occurrence of its Centenary year offers a suitable occasion for submitting its several features to a more careful examination than may have been previously bestowed upon them.

The institution, as our title implies, presents to view both strong and weak points, that is, both strong and weak features. This fact is too plain to require proof. And our present object in making these a subject of discussion is to attempt, through the Divine blessing, the performance of our little part, in conserving the strength and removing the weakness of an institution which has already been inestimably useful, and which, undoubtedly, is destined to be far more so.

It will be pleasant to begin with the bright side of the theme—the strong points of the Sunday-school. Happily, these are both numerous and important, and we now proceed to an enumeration of some of them.

Going at once to the bottom of the subject, we remark that the *Sunday-school is strong in its foundation*. This foundation is not the shifting sand of human opinion, but the immovable rock of Divine revelation. For, though this institution is not expressly named in Scripture, its principle, its germ is there, and finds forcible expression in many places. Take a few instances. In Psalm lxxviii. 5-7, it is written, 'For He established a testimony in Jacob, and appointed a law in Israel, which He commanded our fathers, that they should make them known to their children; that the generation to come might know them, even the children which should be born, who should arise and declare them unto their children: that they might set their hope in God, and not forget the works of God, but keep His commandments.' In this beautiful portion of Scripture some may discern nothing but a representation made to parents of the necessity and design of teaching the Word of God to their children. We think, however, we can see more than this. For the term 'fathers' frequently means ancestors, elders, in addition to its usual sense; and the term 'children' often denotes the juvenile inhabitants of a country or

place in addition to its ordinary meaning. We think this extended signification of the above terms may properly be given in the case before us in addition to their ordinary one; and, if so, a basis is here laid for the Scriptural instruction of the juvenile inhabitants of a country or members of a church by its adults—the very thing which is done in Sabbath-schools. Then, the following words of David must be cited: ‘Come, ye children, hearken unto me: I will teach you the fear of the Lord’ (Psalm xxxiv. 11). Does the royal teacher here stand forth merely as a parent calling his own children to receive instruction? Does he not rather address himself to the young generally as well as to those of his own family, and thus demonstrates that he regards the impartation of Scriptural instruction to youth in general as a sacred duty? Moreover, in Isaiah xxviii. 9-11, a passage confessedly obscure, there is furnished a striking description of the simplicity and perseverance required in teaching children. It runs thus: ‘Whom shall he teach knowledge, and whom shall he make to understand doctrine? them that are weaned from the milk and drawn from the breast. For precept must be upon precept, precept upon precept, line upon line, line upon line, here a little, and there a little.’ The primary object of this text appears to be to reprove the sins of Ephraim, the drunkenness of whose people, both priests and laymen, had rendered them so stupid that they required to be taught as simply as children. How forcible and wide-spread the need of such a rebuke in our own times! for drunkenness stalks unblushingly abroad almost everywhere, not only draining the resources and undermining the physical constitution of its victims, but also dimming their intellect, deadening their moral sense, and bringing them back to the feebleness, though, alas! not the innocence, of childhood. Our present business, however, is with the instruction of children, and in the above quotation we get a very ancient and valuable description of the way in which this is to be accomplished.

Coming to the New Testament, we find the adorable Saviour setting to His Church the example of caring for the religious welfare of children, and commanding His Gospel to be preached to every creature, every child being, as a matter of course, included in such command. And lest children should be overlooked, he expressly enjoined that spiritual nourishment should be given to them, saying to Peter, ‘Feed my lambs’—a brief and beautiful injunction, which furnishes a basis not only for preaching to them and for instructing them in the family circle, but also for teaching them as in Sunday-schools. The above quotations by no means exhaust the stock of Bible teaching on the subject

before us, but they are sufficient to demonstrate that the Sunday-school is securely founded on the rock of immutable truth. Shall we regard the long delay which took place ere the Sunday-school was originated and developed as one of the mysterious designs of Jehovah, or rather as an evidence of the sluggishness of the human mind in dealing with spiritual things? The reader must supply the answer.

We now proceed to observe that *the Sunday-school is strong in public opinion, in its hold upon the various religious bodies, the several ranks of society, and the different nations of Christendom.* That it is strong in *public opinion* is evident from the popularity of Sunday-school anniversaries, the success usually attending appeals for financial aid in its behalf, and the favourable notices and criticisms appearing from time to time in both the religious and the secular Press. If the matter be now viewed from a *denominational* standpoint, evidence of strength will easily be found. Though the institution before us began, so far as Robert Raikes was concerned, in the Church of England, it was not long confined thereto, but speedily spread through the Methodist and the several Dissenting churches. Even the Roman Catholics, despite their well-known repugnance to the perusal of Scripture by the laity, now have, and for a long time, indeed, have had, their Sunday-schools: not, it may be presumed, on account of a desire to diffuse Scriptural knowledge, but simply as a means of retaining the young of their flock, who, in the absence of schools of their own, might be lost to their church by attending those belonging to Protestants. Thus, churches, both orthodox and heterodox, have their Sunday-schools. Then, if the institution be considered from the *stand-point of rank*, proof of its strength will be apparent. It began in the middle class, for to this its honoured and pious founder belonged. But it extended itself almost immediately to the lower classes, for in these his earliest teachers were found—teachers whose humble circumstances made them glad to accept one shilling per Sunday as a remuneration for teaching. Thus, almost from the first, it has had firm hold of the two most numerous classes of society—the middle and the lower classes. Nor was it long ere it took hold upon the higher classes; for such authoresses as Miss Trimmer and Hannah Moore, and many noble lords and ladies, were soon enrolled amongst its teachers, and deemed it an honour, rather than a degradation, to be found on the Sabbath at the head of small bands of untaught children for the laudable purpose of pouring into their minds the precious light of Divine truth. It is worthy of remark that the honours showered on

Robert Raikes were not all kept back until after his death, for during his active and busy life he was noticed and even visited by Royalty, and this simply as a mark of respect on account of his connection with the origin of Sunday-schools. In our own day distinguished authors, renowned statesmen, popular orators, and learned judges are found adorning the ranks of Sunday-school teachers, while our Gracious Sovereign, Queen Victoria, and other members of the Royal Family have frequently received, with evident appreciation and pleasure, the loyal acclamations of tens of thousands of Sunday-school teachers and scholars. If, then, there is strength in the almost unanimous favour and good-will of every class, that strength belongs to the institution now under review. And if the same be viewed *internationally*, its strength will be no less visible. It is a fact, we believe, that wherever the English language and the English Bible are found, there is beheld also the Sunday-school. The publication of the 'International Lessons' forcibly confirms this fact, since supply implies demand. But the area over which the English tongue is diffused—though a very wide one—is not co-extensive with that of the Sabbath-school, for this has extended itself, we believe, to every nation of Europe, as well as to all other parts of the globe in which the Gospel is enjoyed. Thus the Sunday-school is known almost, if not altogether, as widely as the Gospel itself—a fact which reveals its remarkable strength.

Then, how strong it is numerically. Though but a century old, its teachers are roughly computed to reach the number of some million and a half, while its scholars are estimated to number some twelve millions. Truly such figures denote wondrous numerical strength, for they represent a very mighty host—a host, too, which is constantly increasing at a rapid rate.

Again, it must not be forgotten that the institution before us is strong in literature. This will appear if we consider that, while its claims are urged and its operations described in publications without number, there are also many excellent periodicals devoted entirely to its service. These furnish from week to week, or from month to month, admirable expositions and illustrations of the lessons to be taught, together with hints on the best modes of teaching. Hence, no teacher, however humble, need go to his work unprepared. This institution, moreover, can boast of a *standard literature* of no mean order, embracing books in every department of Sunday-school work—books written with great literary skill by authors of eminence in full sympathy with their theme. Special mention ought here to be made of the 'TEACHERS' BIBLE,' as it is very properly designated, which

contains a library within itself—a library sufficient, if well used, to furnish the teacher with valuable material to be used in every part of his work. Further, *the hymnology of the institution* well deserves recognition here. Hymns, simple in character and style, adorned with the beauties of poesy, richly laden with Gospel truth, and admirably adapted to move and purify the heart of the young, are plentiful indeed. Probably every Christian country and every religious denomination rejoices in its own collection of Sunday-school hymns, which it prizes above every other. We, at least, as a Connexion, have reason to be well satisfied with what we possess, for doubtless our SUNDAY-SCHOOL UNION HYMN BOOK is one of the very best and cheapest in the world. If the promised and eagerly-desired Tune Book shall prove equal to the Hymn Book, to which it will be the Companion—and, from the ability of the compilers, this may be expected—the many fine compositions in the Hymn Book, for which there are at present no tunes, will soon find suitable musical expression, while their saving truths will be deposited, by means of the delightful ministry of song, in the hearts of myriads of children.

Further, if the foregoing observations accord with truth, it must be evident that the institution under consideration *is strong in means of benefitting the world*. In its twelve millions of scholars what an extensive, rich, and promising spiritual field is brought under cultivation! In its million-and-a-half of teachers what a host of labourers are found—labourers who are employed in the cultivation of the above inviting field! In the sacred truths of Divine revelation what precious and abundant seed is given—seed that is suitable in quality and sufficient in quantity for sowing throughout every part of the vast field! And in the promises of the Bible and the influences of the Holy Ghost a guarantee is furnished that in due season a precious and an abundant harvest will gladden the toiler if he fail not in duty. This harvest, indeed, is already being gathered, our own denomination alone having during the past year received into its fellowship from its Sunday-schools upwards of nine thousands, while other bodies, we fondly hope, have realised equal success. Truly the institution before us is a mighty and beneficial power, whose delightful effects are not confined to the scholars, but extend to their parents, and to the nations of which they constitute a part; neither are those effects limited to the early years of the scholars, but, at least in many instances, travel onwards, influencing all their future being; thus diminishing crime, purifying morals, banishing obscenity, promoting honesty, sobriety, truth, and benevolence, emptying asylums and jails, filling churches,

multiplying the number of local preachers, class leaders, stewards, ministers, and missionaries, and peopling heaven with numerous individuals who, without the aid of Sunday-schools, would probably have perished eternally.

It hence appears that the Sunday-school is strong in its foundation—the word of God; strong also in public opinion, and in the hold it has obtained upon every rank of society, as well as upon every religious body and every Christian land; strong, moreover, in its number of teachers and scholars, in its literature, and in its means of doing good. The fact that its 1,500,000 teachers labour without fee or reward might well have been dwelt upon as one of the institution's strong points; for if such a numerous host as the above willingly and gratuitously devote their energies to its work, it is not likely to languish for want of willing hands, and heads, and hearts, and purses to promote its interests.

The weak points of the Sunday-school must now be brought under review. That there should be points of weakness connected therewith need excite no surprise, since all human institutions, whether social, literary, philanthropic, scientific, political, or religious, are marred by defects. Mr. R. Raikes admitted imperfection in the schools of his day, and expressed the belief that great improvements would take place in those of the future. Improvement, no doubt, has made its appearance; yet while, on the whole, the schools of the present compare very favourably with those of the past, in some respects it is believed the former days were better than these. Coming to particulars, we observe—

That the noise too frequently found in Sunday-schools is one of their weak points. This noise proceeds from various causes, several of which often operate simultaneously. These are the following: teaching and reading in a loud tone; conversation carried on by scholars, and occasionally even by teachers, who are not at work; shuffling and stamping of feet, thumping seats, &c. When, as is not unfrequently the case, several of such noise-producing causes are at work amongst many classes, taught in one large room, the result cannot fail to be such an amalgam of confusion and sound as must injure weak nerves, do violence to the drum of the ear, and render effective teaching impossible. Of course, the most effectual remedy for all this would be found in the multiplication of class rooms; for it is manifest that if from two to half-a-score religious class meetings were held at one time, in one large room, extreme confusion would inevitably result; nor can such confusion in school work be wholly

prevented until every class shall be taught in a separate room. But in the absence or scarcity of such desirable accommodation, some improvement may be made. Perhaps it may be worth while to mention that Robert Raikes adopted the system of having in each large class a monitor to about every five scholars, whose duties were to keep order amongst the pupils, hear their lessons and the repetition of what they had been told to commit to memory; such reading and reciting always being carried on in a subdued tone, only just above a whisper. Might not something of this sort be adopted with advantage in the schools of the present? Moreover, if all teachers would give increased attention to modes of management, and all superintendents would manifest improved regard to the enforcement of discipline, the great evil of which we complain would be considerably mitigated, and the efficiency of schools increased.

Another weak point is *the defective preparation of teachers for their work*. It may be proper to remark here that the preparation required is both intellectual and spiritual in character, the former embracing both the acquisition of knowledge of the subjects to be taught, and of ability to present the same effectively to the children; and the latter the attainment of a state of mind in harmony with the spiritual character of the work. The first of these—intellectual preparation—is to be obtained by reading, study, and observation; the last of them—spiritual preparation—by meditation and prayer.

Must it not be allowed that, even in this day of improved methods of teaching, there is a wide-spread defectiveness among teachers in regard to both kinds of preparation? Do not many go to their classes with very misty ideas floating in their minds as to the meaning of the lessons they have to teach? Do not many appear amongst their pupils from Sunday to Sunday with far too little of love to Christ and desire for the salvation of the souls committed to their care? As tending to forcibly illustrate the last point, it may be stated that, according to the returns of the schools of our own denomination which were presented to the Conference of 1880, there are in those schools no less than 11,069 teachers who are not members of the church, whose little ones, by the way, they are appointed to feed! Here, most assuredly, is a weak point, a point which ought to command a degree of attention equal to its vast importance.

Another weak point is *defect in visiting absentees*. Visits paid by teachers to the homes of their scholars serve important purposes. They help to discover whether the absence of their pupils is justifiable or otherwise, and thus open a convenient way for the impartation of

comfort or correction as each case requires. They also serve to attach scholars firmly to the school, and thus promote regularity of attendance—a matter of the first importance. Such visits, moreover, generally make favourable impressions on the minds of the parents, and at the same time afford teachers such insight into the home-life of their scholars as greatly aids in the task of securing adaptation of teaching to their requirements. But, as a matter of course, in the absence of such visits, a contrary state of things is witnessed. Sick children pine away and die apparently uncared for by their teachers; truants are undiscovered and confirmed in their evil ways; parents, whether rightly or otherwise, conclude that teachers feel little or no concern for their scholars; attendance at school is irregular, and many of Christ's lambs wander far from His fold. Robert Raikes was not long in discovering the necessity of such visitation, and that distinguished man both engaged therein himself and appointed others to do the same. It is somewhat remarkable that his visitors bore a name which Popery has rendered odious—that of 'inquisitors'—a name which we will not recommend for adoption at present. Sometimes senior scholars were employed by him in the duty of visitation. May we not derive from the example and practice of the Founder of Sunday-schools both stimulus and instruction in regard to the important matter now before us, and thus convert a weak point into a strong one?

Another weak point is found in *the small success attending endeavours to retain senior scholars and attach them to the church*. Many of these, it is thankfully admitted, are retained, and at present are rendering valuable service to the church; for they are filling with efficiency the offices of steward, leader, teacher, local preacher, tract distributor, sick visitor, minister, author, and missionary. But how small the number retained compared with the number lost? It is well to realise the fact that Christ died for the latter as well as the former, and also that the youths and maidens whom we have failed to retain possess souls as precious and capabilities for usefulness as great as those who remain with us. By their non-retention, then, what valuable talent is perverted, what usefulness is prevented, what danger and loss are brought upon the young people themselves, and what dishonour is heaped on Christianity and on God! Here, surely, if anywhere, is a weak point. Besides, the loss of which we complain gives evidence of defectiveness in the training of young people. It is written, 'Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it.' When, therefore, a child does depart from the right way, there is in the fact good reason to suspect that something has been

lacking in his religious education. Hence, the principle enunciated recently in the Albert Hall, Sheffield, by Sir Charles Reed, that the retention or non-retention of senior scholars furnishes a test as to whether the work done by teachers is Scripturally sound as well as practically valuable.

Though it scarcely agrees with our present design to give details as to the causes of the above loss, we venture briefly to indicate what we believe to be some of them. These are : the noise and confusion prevalent, as before stated, in too many schools; the absence or scarcity of class-rooms for adults ; insufficient attention to visiting ; deficient preparation on the part of teachers for their duty ; the lack of persevering endeavours to induce senior scholars to attend Sunday evening services, and thus escape those foes of the young—Sabbath breaking, bad company, and strong drink. But there is yet another fruitful cause of the loss in question, and one which is more remote than those above-mentioned : we mean the insufficiency of the efforts put forth by teachers of junior classes to gather their pupils while they are yet young and tractable into catechumen classes, in order that advice and teaching may be given them of a character calculated to produce love to the Saviour and attachment to the Church. Not to make efforts of the above description is to leave the door unlocked by which the burglars may enter ; it is to invite the evil of which we complain. Considering the magnitude of the evil, it is pleasing to perceive that, as a body, we are beginning to take preventive measures against it by means of catechumen classes, and also Bands of Hope.

Finally, *the system of having two sets of teachers, each in attendance on alternate Sabbaths, is thought by many to be a weak point.* Something may be said in favour of such a system. It manifestly possesses the merit of opening the way for employing twice as many teachers as would otherwise be needed, and of reducing by one-half the labour of preparation and teaching required of each. But something must also be said on the other side. The system of alternate teaching weakens the teacher's hold upon the scholars, or, rather, prevents him from obtaining a proper hold upon them. It introduces into the class different modes of teaching, which tend to perplex and do more harm than good. It also helps to make teachers indolent and lean upon each other instead of being diligent and self-reliant ; while, at the same time, it almost unavoidably lessens their feeling of responsibility in reference to their work. Having thus supplied some materials of thought, we leave the matter for decision to the judgment of every school and of every teacher.

In doing so, however, we feel moved to offer a practical suggestion—that, in places which have adopted the alternate system, the superintendent and teachers hold training-classes during school hours on the Sabbath that is free from school duty for the study of the forthcoming lessons. Such classes are, by common consent, of the first importance; and amongst Methodists, with their various and frequent religious services, it is often very difficult to find suitable times in which to hold them. Now, it strikes us that the above suggestion may assist in lessening this difficulty, as well as in furnishing a practicable mode of redeeming time and promoting efficiency in teaching.

The sum of the matter, then, is—that the Sunday-school, in many places at least, is weak in ability to retain senior scholars, and in the visitation of absent ones; weak in the preparation of teachers for their work, and in order and discipline during its performance. But, on the other hand, it is strong in means of usefulness, strong in the fact that it is founded on imperishable truth, strong in the approval and appreciation it has won from nearly all real and nominal Christians in every church, rank, and nation; strong, also, because it is worked by a mighty and increasing host of gratuitous teachers, who, fed by an ample and nourishing literature, are qualified, at least in a good degree, for the all-important duty of training twelve millions of young immortals to walk in the ‘way everlasting.’ It is pleasing to see that the strong points outnumber and outweigh the weak ones, that improvements are continually witnessed, and that, ere long, if the present rate of progress be kept up, the weak will be able to say, ‘I am strong.’ Hence, the subject should occasion joy as well as sorrow, and gratitude to God for success as well as penitence on account of shortcomings and mistakes, together with a determination formed in humble dependence on the Holy Spirit’s aid to avoid mistakes and shortcomings such as the above in future, and carry the institution to the highest attainable efficiency and power.

JOHN BARFOOT.

VIII.—CHARLES DICKENS' LETTERS.

IF Dickens could have looked into the future, it is highly probable that he would not have thought himself ill-served by the fate which cut him off while still, according to English reckoning, in the prime of life. He died at the extreme and toppling peak of his popularity. The breezes of applause and admiration which were the very breath of life in his nostrils, and seemed then swelling to an actual hurricane, have ever since been steadily subsiding. By clinging to life a few years longer he would have reaped a solitary, though a very substantial, advantage, he would have escaped the consequences of his own misjudgment by surviving Mr. Forster, and so rendering it impossible for that gentleman to write his biography. Really, he fares, in this respect, vastly worse than Thackeray. It was a singular error which led to the selection of Mr. Trollope as Thackeray's biographer. A dull, arrogant, loud-toned man, a novelist of the third rate, endowed generously only with self-conceit, who had chosen the tamest phase of social existence visible around him, and had depicted its insipidity with deplorable truthfulness, was chosen to write the memoir of the most subtle humourist and most delightful writer of the age. The result is a book so bad that irritation gives way to pity for the thick-witted author—a book doomed to the harmlessness of dusty death by its own unutterable stupidity. Mr. Dickens is less fortunate, for Mr. Forster's volumes will be read so long as any one cares about their subject; and Mr. Dickens will be led out before coming generations by this patronising showman, who will clumsily display the tricks of the animal which he so unluckily has the monopoly of exhibiting. It is true that Dickens himself was partly to blame for this; he selected his own manager, gave his own instructions, and went through all his posturing beforehand very carefully to avoid mistakes. He intended to have a magnificent scenic apotheosis in the presence of a worshipping audience co-extensive with the civilised world; he would be deity, and Forster would be high-priest. How incensed he would have been could he have foreseen that the high-priest would insist upon continually hopping up to the pedestal of the god till the puzzled adorers became doubtful which was which. It reminds one of the picture in *Punch* of the two revellers brought home at the small hours in a cab, the distracted cabby appealing at the door of

one of them, 'Will Mrs. Brown please come down and pick out her husband, for Mr. Smith wants to go home?' Dickens, *redivivus*, reading his own life, would hardly be able to pick himself out from Forster, though certainly he would very much wish to do so.

If Dickens was left in no enviable plight by Mr. Forster, it may certainly be questioned whether he is very greatly helped by the publication of these two volumes of his letters. The collection has been prepared by 'Mamie' Dickens and Georgina Hogarth, and one does not like to criticise unkindly the loyal task of love and admiration; nor, indeed, is there much need for criticism so far as they are concerned. The explanatory notes are simple and to the point; and though they might have been fuller and the system of interpolation might, in our opinion, have been more skilfully arranged, yet certainly everybody might not agree with us, and the editors shall have the benefit of the doubt. The collection, however, is decidedly too large, and could be improved by subjection to the scissors of an editor of vigorous and relentless temper. Over-liberality is the besetting sin of all editors of correspondence. They are prone to forget that there should always be some distinct and strong justification for the publication of private letters; that the test of this justification should be applied to each individual letter; and that it is unskilful work to publish a letter which substantially adds nothing to the matter of another already given. Some letters throw light upon history and politics; others introduce us to court intrigues, to literary coteries, or otherwise depict the society of other days. Occasionally, though not often, letters are intrinsically valuable for their own contents. A collection in such cases may sometimes properly extend to very considerable length. But none of these characteristics belong to Dickens's correspondence. The reader who has gone through all the letters faithfully from beginning to end finds himself better informed only in the single respect of his fuller knowledge of the mind and character of Dickens. There is absolutely nothing else in the letters save Dickens's personality. It is really quite striking to see how devoid they are of any possible value or interest of any other kind whatsoever. For any purpose except that of studying Charles Dickens, there are not three pages of material to be gathered in both volumes. They subserve this sole end, and for this end one-half of them would have amply sufficed. Simply as letters, they are commonplace, neither thoughtful, observant, chronicling; nor are more than half of them very witty. Many clever, lively, and cultivated men in every generation are writing better letters—letters which no one ever thinks of publishing,

yet which in themselves considered, apart from the interest borrowed from the autograph at the foot of them, are at least equally entertaining and much more agreeable and useful than these epistles of the great novelist.

Putting, then, these letters to the only use to which they can be put, let us consider what new impressions can be derived from them concerning the traits of Dickens's character, the quality and extent of his mental powers. Few persons, probably, will find their previous notions undergoing much change. There is all that real and substantial kindliness, genial heartiness, overflowing mirth, illimitable fun and frolic, animal spirits such as never before were given to man, intensity of conviction, honesty of purpose, narrowness of intellect, utter incapacity for thought, lack of scholarship or cultivation of any kind, and immense, though amusing and unconscious, vanity—a most strange farrago of qualities, a jumble of traits as queer and unsystematic as the parti-coloured mingling of glass bits in the kaleidoscope. It is very noticeable that Dickens seemed incapable of intellectual growth. The greatest expansion to which he ever attained he arrived at very early. Thereafter history, literature, even contemporaneous events, added little to his store of thought and knowledge. Endless fun, inimitable drollery, were the gifts which he had to bestow upon his fellow-men. These, indeed, he bestowed lavishly, gloriously, so that the English-reading world would doubtless much more readily part with any three of its profoundest thinkers than with this most witty and laughter-moving of all its writers. But this was all he had to give; and, from the very nature of the gift, it was nearer perfection in his earlier years than as he advanced in life. This is apparent enough in his letters. As a young man he usually appears like one quite out of breath with ceaseless laughter, jokes as it were exploding like minute guns from his riotous lips—hilarious, rollicking, radiant with mirth far beyond the supposable powers of mortal man. He cannot pause to think, nor, indeed, does it seem worth while for him to do so. Later in life, on rare occasions, he tried it, but he invariably made a sad business of it. It was a process with which he was not familiar, which he could never have learned, and which in his fresher years he instinctively shunned. There was at one time some talk of his going to Parliament, but his guardian angel preserved him from that blunder. His mission was to laugh and to make others laugh, and no mission was ever more thoroughly fulfilled—so thoroughly, indeed, that the capacity for laughter seems to have been quite wasted upon previous generations. In the absence of *Pickwick*, *Mrs. Gamp*, *Mrs. Nickleby*, *Micawber*,

what possible occasion could our forefathers have had for the laughing faculty?

The most striking peculiarity of Dickens's life was the element of exaggeration which pervaded it throughout. It is quite remarkable to see a man whose every sensation is so wonderfully in excess of the corresponding sensations of his fellow-men. The phenomenon presents some puzzling questions, such as could well be put by Miss Dartle. We should so much like to know whether his pleasures and pains were really greater than the pleasures and pains of others, or whether the difference lay only in his habit and capacity of expressing and setting them forth. He always dealt in superlatives, and the most exuberant superlatives seemed often to afford very imperfect relief to his ineffable aspirations. His friendships were the warmest, his successes the most brilliant, his merry-makings the most jovial that had ever been known among mankind. He was not even content when he had a cold in the head to suppose that any other cold of any other person had ever been of equal violence. His friends enjoyed at least one luxury in a rare degree, for such expressions of affection and admiration as he constantly lavished upon them cannot be dealt out to many of us. Listen to this letter to Macready:—

I am in a whirlwind of finishing a number with a crisis in it, but I cannot fall to work without saying in so many words that I feel all words insufficient to tell you what I think of you after a night like last night. The multitudes of new tokens by which I know you for a great man, the swelling within me of my love for you, the pride I have in you, the majestic reflection I see in you of all the passions and affections that make up our mystery, throw me into a strange kind of transport that has no expression but in a mute sense of an attachment, which, in truth and fervency, is worthy of its subject. What is this to say? Nothing, God knows; and yet I cannot leave it unsaid. . . . I never saw you more gallant and free than in the gallant and free scenes last night. It was perfectly captivating to behold you!

Here is 'praise from Sir Hubert Stanley!'—enough in one brief note, coming from Charles Dickens, to create in any susceptible and credulous man such an inordinate vanity as would ruin him for life. Indeed, the too frequent ministration of these potions had a very damaging effect upon his friend Forster, though some of the others appear to have been more fortunate in resisting the insidious working of such delicious poison.

A gentleman, dwelling 'in the back woods of America,' having written to him a letter of eulogy, Dickens replied to him: 'To think that I have awakened a fellow-feeling and sympathy with the creatures of many thoughtful hours among the vast solitudes in which you

dwelling is a source of the purest delight and pride to me; and believe me that your expressions of affectionate remembrance and approval, sounding from the green forests on the banks of the Mississippi, sink deeper into my heart and gratify it more than all the honorary distinctions (that all the courts in Europe could confer; and in the same style through another page. Strictly considered, it is hardly to be supposed that this glowing statement was rigidly veracious; it is safe to suspect that, if all the Emperors, Kings, Queens, and Princes of Europe had actually combined in the manner suggested by Mr. Dickens to do him all the honour in their united power, he probably would have been willing to surrender in exchange, if so requested, the letter from John Tomlin of the Mississippi backwoods. But such hyperbolic language was as natural to him 'as to a black-bird 't is to whistle.' Nor was it in any respect insincere. So long at least as he was actually engaged in giving expression to any feeling he always fully felt it in an equal measure of intensity. The evidence is overwhelming that his superlative sentences were just transcripts of his momentary sentiments.

Naturally enough a pendulum which swung so high upon one side did not swing very low upon the other, and we occasionally encounter diatribes of delightful eloquence. Listen to what he had to say about the non-existence of an international copyright between England and the United States:—

Is it not a horrible thing that scoundrel publishers should grow rich here from publishing books the authors of which do not reap one farthing from their issue by scores of thousands; and that every vile blackguard, and detestable newspaper, so filthy and bestial that no honest man would admit one into his house for a scullery door-mat, should be able to publish those same writings side by side, cheek by jowl, with the coarsest and most obscene companions, with which they must become connected in course of time in people's minds?

Were it not that these words were writ by the pen of Dickens, they would be in danger of being called Billingsgate. But he wrote them in high dudgeon. 'I vow,' he said, 'before high heaven, that my blood so boils at these enormities that when I speak about them I seem to grow twenty feet high and to swell out in proportion!' Thus it ever was with him. He was content with no expression less strong than the strongest which his ingenuity could devise. If he wished to say that he could not write an article or two for a magazine, he declared that it was 'the intensest extreme of no-goism.' If he made himself very agreeable at a dinner-table, he felt himself to be 'indescribably popular.'

But examples need not be multiplied simply to illustrate this habit, which will amply appear in quotations in other connections.

It was to this element of exaggeration that Dickens owed nearly all which made him great. His wit lay in an inimitable power of caricature, animated by the most exuberantly droll and merry nature which the world has ever seen. The gallery of his characters is a collection of *grotesqueries* just about as accurately reproducing real traits of men and women as the big-headed, shrunken-legged oddities of the illustrated comic papers of Paris reproduce the limbs and features of the living Parisian. The funniest overdrawing is his forte. Not that all his wit is of this character; but all the best, most amusing, and most distinctive displays of it are of this kind. Eliminate this, and the individuality of the man will be gone, and he will mingle on terms of equality with a throng of witty writers who are laughed at by a passing generation and quickly afterwards forgotten. He was not a humourist, nor was he capable of this higher order of the novelist's art. A well-sustained narrative, unfolding the subtle mysteries of human character, showing the reflex action of many conflicting motives and impulses in their slow influence and gradual unfolding, was beyond his power. He dealt with simple developments, and gave us a series of scenes and stories without much more of sequence or advancement than could be furnished by mere chronology. It was thus that everything struck him; his quick eye caught the passing fragment of fun; he played with it for a moment, making it twenty times funnier than it had any real right to be, then tossed it aside as another scrap claimed its turn. His letters are full of the most charming bits of this sort of rapidly-moving, exuberant jollity. Here is a scene which we get in a letter written from a Dublin hotel to Miss Hogarth; the actors are Dickens and the landlord's son, a very little boy:—

Inimitable.—Hollos, old chap!

Young Ireland.—Hal-loo!

Inimitable (*in his delightful way*).—What a nice old fellow you are! I am fond of little boys.

Young Ireland.—Air ye? Ye'r right.

Inimitable.—What do you learn, old fellow?

Young Ireland (*very intent on Inimitable, and always childish except in his brogue*).—I lairn wureds of three sillibils, and wureds of two sillibils, and wureds of one sillibil.

Inimitable (*gayly*).—Get out, you humbug! You learn only words of one syllable.

Young Ireland (*laughs heartily*).—You may say that it is mostly wureds of one sillibil.

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Inimitable.—Can you write?

Young Ireland.—Not yet. Things come by deegrays.

Inimitable.—Can you cipher?

Young Ireland (*very quickly*).—Wha'at's that?

Inimitable.—Can you make figures?

Young Ireland.—I can make a nought, which is not asy, being roond.

Inimitable.—I say, old boy, wasn't it you I saw on Sunday morning in the hall in a soldier's cap? You know, in a soldier's cap?

Young Ireland (*cogitating deeply*).—Was it a very good cap?

Inimitable.—Yes.

Young Ireland.—Did it fit unkommon?

Inimitable.—Yes.

Young Ireland.—Dat was me.

He wrote to Walter Savage Landor a note of invitation to Paris as follows:—

If you were the man I took you for when I took you (as a godfather) for better and for worse, you would come to Paris and amaze the weak walls of the house I haven't found with that steady snore of yours, which I once heard piercing the door of your bedroom in Devonshire-terrace, reverberating along the bell-wire in the hall, so getting outside into the street, playing Eolian harps among the area railings, and going down the New-road like the blast of a trumpet.

The remark concerning taking Landor as a godfather refers to the fact of Landor having filled this relation towards one of Dickens's children. Indeed, calling over the roll of the Dickens family was like reading the catalogue of a select library; for besides reproducing his own name, he had christened other sons after Francis Jeffrey, Sidney Smith, Tennyson, Landor, Fielding, and Bulwer, respectively. Within a few weeks of the publication of *David Copperfield* he lost a little daughter, whom he had named Dora. He would appear, from these letters, to have taken a warm and lively interest in his children; his references to them are constant and always affectionate. The little one, who was called by a variety of nicknames—the 'Plornishghenter,' 'Plornish-maroon,' 'Plornish,' or 'the noble Plorn'—seems to have been an especial favourite.

Upon the difficulties which caused the separation between himself and Mrs. Dickens not a ray of light is thrown by any letter in these volumes, and the matter is left just where Mr. Forster saw fit to leave it, and where it is quite as well that it should remain. An incompatibility which between persons of ordinary disposition might prove nothing serious would inevitably expand to an incurable breach where one of the parties had such a strong and peculiar individualism, and such an entire lack of the philosophic temperament, as was the case with Dickens. He was a warm and constant friend. He said of him-

self, 'My attachments are strong attachments, and never weaken,' and he was entitled to all the credit which the statement involves. The same persons to whom he is writing as his most intimate and valued friends in 1840 he continues to address in the same manner to the end, with a few additions made from time to time, but with no losses from the list. The names of Macready, Stanfield, Maclise, Mrs. Watson, Mary Boyle, Forster, Cerjat, and, later, Wilkie Collins and Fechter constantly recur. He certainly enjoyed one of the greatest pleasures which can be had in this world—a very charming circle of near friends, lively, clever, agreeable, and (which was very necessary) enthusiastic in their appreciation of him.

He seemed always to take an especial fancy to the artists who at one time and another illustrated his volumes. They had in some degree the character of co-workers with him—a relationship which had an unfortunate result in the case of Cruikshank, but which in all other instances appears to have cemented kindly and valued intimacies. It is rather an odd incident to recall at this date that Thackeray, when he was yet entirely unknown, and was mistakenly supposing that art was his natural vocation, called upon Dickens and offered certain sketches of use in the illustration of one of Dickens's earlier works, but was obliged to take his pictures away again with the discouraging, though probably justifiable, answer that they would not do. For the society of men of letters, on the other hand, Dickens apparently never especially cared, though, of course, he had many individual friends among them. But he was rather singularly lacking in those tastes which are usually supposed to attend upon a literary career. It was his misfortune, of course, and not his fault, that he had in his youth very meagre opportunities for education. But it is somewhat strange to see what slender ambition he ever after manifested to mend this deficiency. Most men with whom literature is a profession insensibly imbibe much literary knowledge; but Dickens never did. For aught that appears in his writings, there might never have been any other books save his own written in the world. He never charms by a happy allusion; he knows not the freemasonry of his own guild. The same utter absence of interest in books and literary cultivation of every kind is observable in his correspondence. There is scarcely a reference to anything which would indicate that he had any more extensive reading or ideas than were to be obtained from the daily newspapers and ordinary conversation. His English was careless, slovenly, at times almost illiterate; nor did advancing years and increased experience bring any

material improvement in his imperfect mastery over the language. His style was habitually ungraceful, to use no stronger adjective, to the end; how strikingly inferior in this respect to the exquisite and finished scholarship and charming style which Thackeray was at the same time displaying, making the defects of his more popular rival all the more glaring by the strong contrast! Yet Dickens was apparently quite unconscious of this blemish, and often spoke of the great pains which he took with his writing. When he became the editor of *Household Words*, as well as upon some other isolated occasion, he was an unsparing critic of the productions of others. Certainly nothing could show more indisputably what an immense and overshadowing reputation he had achieved than did the meek reception of criticism so sweeping as he sometimes dealt out; nor, perhaps, is that self-appreciation less striking which could induce him to exercise in so masterful a fashion a function so delicate.

But, then, all the world knows that the egotism of Dickens was as intense as were most of the elements of his over-wrought nature. 'I shouldn't write at all if I were not the vainest man in the world,' he wrote to M. Cerjat, thereby telling a truth about himself which certainly he did not really in the least believe, and which he would have been greatly incensed to have found any one else believing. Yet he was the only man who knew anything whatsoever about Charles Dickens who did not know this most undeniable of his traits. There was vanity in everything which he said, did, and wrote all his life long, and it kept growing to the very end. These volumes of his correspondence are so full of it, and if it were a commodity having bulk the Bodleian Library and the British Museum would be unable to contain so much of it. It was the most enormous, omnipresent, all-pervading, many-sided, irrepressible, unsuspecting vanity which has ever been exhibited to the gaze of astonished humanity—a quality which, in its greatness and various perfection, resembled the qualities of gods rather than of men—a vanity worthy of the Olympian Jove himself. But nothing short of his own wonderful power of exaggeration could make any fair approach towards depicting it. To us it is given only feebly to hint at it. It was not like the partial vanities of ordinary men, developed only or chiefly in some special direction; but it was a grand, unquestioning consciousness of greatness, of inimitable charms and unapproachable powers. It was a vanity of wonderful range, embracing the pettiest things no less than the greatest; so that one is at a loss to know whether he was more gratified at the astonishment created by the

marvellous waistcoats which his rather uncivilised taste in dress led him to select, or at the 'prodigious success' which he never failed to chronicle in glowing language as attendant upon the publication of his various books. Yet it must be acknowledged that this trait was not only an inalienable but an altogether essential part of Dickens's nature. It was the offspring of his intensity and his vivacity. It would be as reasonable to expect a blind man to paint as to expect a self-mistrustful man to write and read as Dickens wrote and read.

It is when he speaks of his readings that he expresses the most unlimited satisfaction with himself. But, however far he may go in self-gratulation concerning these, he will be cheerfully accompanied by any and all the multitudes who heard him read; nay, many would gladly go further were there any *ultima Thule* of glorification which he himself had not reached. It is impossible to conceive a greater treat than those readings were. To have been too old or too ill or too poor to hear them was to find a new misery added to age, to sickness, and to poverty. These volumes naturally contain very much about them, and certainly present a striking, almost a painful, picture. The intensity with which he threw himself into them is indescribable. The extreme high pressure to which he always did everything, from the lightest to the most serious occupation, rose in this to its highest point. It is hardly a figure of rhetoric to say that at each reading he cut off, as it were, so many days or weeks of his existence and gave them to his audience. It was not only eloquence, acting, imagination which his hearers bought with their guineas and dollars, but instalments of his life. 'I get so wonderfully hot every night in my dress clothes,' he wrote, 'that they positively won't dry in the short interval they get; and I have been obliged to write to Doudney's to make me another suit, that I may have a constant change.' His ordinary pulse was seventy-two; yet on the occasions of his more trying readings it used to run up to one hundred and twelve. His tour through the United States, in respect to the tax which it imposed upon his constitution, was probably at least equal to a severe military campaign. The accounts of it which these letters contain may also be called afflicting, so utterly unfit was he for the 'tremendous strain' which he incessantly endured, so obviously was he in a lawful, though none the less certain, way compassing his own speedy death. As we see him, ill, dispirited, unhappy, yet coming every night unflinchingly to his task and performing it with a fervour and success surpassing the most exacting expectation, we forget, what was nevertheless true, that it was a purely voluntary

enterprise of business, entered upon for the sole purpose of making money. We rather think of it with gratitude, as a beneficent pilgrimage of genius, undertaken and suffered for our very great good. But Dickens had his eye ever upon the dollars which the wretched and abused Dolby was heaping together in dirty piles of the paper money which reminded his master of the 'family wash.' Overwork and money-making are recognised as perfectly legitimate means of taking one's own life; and Dickens's reading-journeys were simply of this description.

Yet who could have resisted such applause and admiration as were showered upon him? Certainly he, least of all men, would have even wished to resist. It is beyond a doubt that had the years by which these readings unquestionably shortened his life been set, as it were, in a parcel before him, and the glory had been set against them, he would deliberately and unhesitatingly have bartered the years for the glory. Few persons, probably, can, even by an effort, imagine how they would feel it, in order to secure admission to hear them read for a couple of hours, a long line of men should come with mattresses and meals and place the hall actually in a state of siege throughout days and nights of inclement weather. If the reason of the most stolid would prove untrustworthy under such circumstances, what could have been expected from Dickens, who was exceptionally susceptible to these influences? Then the triumph of the hour itself; the great throng before him of men and women not wont to give way to emotion, sitting spell-bound, then bursting into frantic excitement and wildest cheering. Words could not always describe the scene. He wrote:—

I cannot give you any idea of the success of the readings here because no one can imagine the scene of last Friday night at the Embassy. Such audiences and such enthusiasm I have never seen; but the thing culminated on Friday night in a two hours' storm of excitement and pleasure. They actually re-commenced and applauded right away into their carriages and down the street.

From Glasgow he sends a newspaper to Miss Hogarth, from which, he says—

You may be able to form some dim guess of the scene at Edinburgh last night. Such a pouring of hundreds into a place already full to the throat, such indescribable confusion, such a rending and tearing of dresses, and yet such a scene of good humour on the whole! I never saw the faintest approach to it. While I addressed the crowd in the room Gordon addressed the crowd in the street. Fifty frantic men got up in all parts of the hall and addressed me all at once. Other frantic men made speeches to the walls. The whole Blackwood family were borne in on the top of a wave, and landed with their faces against the front of the platform. I read with the platform crammed with people. I got them to

lie down upon it, and it was like some impossible tableau or gigantic picnic—one pretty girl in full dress lying on her side all night holding on to one of the legs of the table. It was the most extraordinary sight. And yet, from the moment I began to the moment of my leaving off, they never missed a point, and they ended with a burst of cheers.

The stage carpenter was not altogether without sympathisers in the remark which pleased and amused Dickens so much: 'Ah, Sir, it's a universal observation in the perfession, Sir, that it was a great loss to the public when you took to writing books.' But the public of future generations will be thankful for the books, while the fascination of the readings can be for them only a tradition, which, fortunately, lest they should be oppressed with too overwhelming sadness, their imaginations will never adequately conceive.

Not the least entertaining part of the book for the American reader is the collection of letters from the United States. The days when criticism such as they contain made us angry belong to the past, and English tirades are now only amusing. Yet surely no abuse has ever been heaped upon this unfortunate people quite equal in severity to that which they received from Mr. Dickens. When he was among us for the second time we all knew that he did not like us; yet we treated him with a kindness and courtesy, the real magnanimity of which he was utterly incompetent to appreciate. But in these letters the extremity, nay, the actual rancour, of his antipathy are first made publicly apparent. During his earlier visit his feelings were too strong for utterance; during his second visit they became so far relaxed that he was able to find words to express them very eloquently. Boston he really spoke of with a kindness not absolute, perhaps, but comparative. It was the home of Mr. Fields, of whom he was very fond; and there also Longfellow, Holmes, Agassiz, Emerson, and a few others formed a not altogether unendurable coterie. He was less unhappy there than elsewhere, and finding himself 'immensely popular in Boston society,' he was once moved to say, 'Its cordiality and unaffected heartiness are charming,'—selecting for his praise traits for which Boston has seldom been lauded by other persons. But concerning any and all other places save Boston and its neighbourhood he could not be betrayed into a word of civility. 'All New England is primitive and puritanical,' he wrote; 'all around it is a puddle of mixed human mud with no such quality in it.' Syracuse he found 'a very grim place, and in a heavy thaw a most depressing one. The hotel, also, is surprisingly bad, quite a triumph in that way. . . . We were so afraid to go to bed last night, the rooms were so close and

sour, that we played whist, double dummy, till we couldn't bear each other any longer. We had an old buffalo for supper and an old pig for breakfast, and we are going to have I don't know what for dinner at six. In the public rooms downstairs a number of men (speechless) are sitting in rocking-chairs with their feet against the window-frames, staring out at window and spitting dolefully at intervals,' etc. But the American drinks pleased him ; and he referred not without pleasure to brandy cocktails. He suffered from a cold all the time of his stay, which he struggled in vain to describe to his friends at home. English colds, he told them, were nothing to those in the United States. He was further greatly annoyed at the heat indoors and the climate outdoors. The air in the hotel corridors, he said, was 'like that of a pre-Adamite ironing-day in full blast. His hair dried and 'cracked' and fell out rapidly, and his finger-nails split. But if ample sympathy may be felt with him in this difficulty at the hotels, it is impossible for any one who has ever travelled in England to listen without a smile to his indignation at the shocking and outrageous recklessness with which his luggage was handled.

At the time of his first visit he expressed very warmly, and with much show of superior humanity, his horror at slavery. Its existence quite destroyed for him the pleasure of a Southern trip. Yet, strange to say, he who had spoken thus feelingly, who had travelled in the country so extensively and knew or ought to have known it so well, who found Boston the only tolerable place in the whole length and breadth of the land, appeared, when the war of the Rebellion broke out, vehemently opposed to the Northern cause. 'A very intelligent German friend of mine,' he wrote in the spring of 1863, 'just home from America, maintains that the conscription will succeed in the North, and that the war will be indefinitely prolonged. I say 'No,' and that, however mad and villanous the North is, the war will finish by reason of its not supplying soldiers.' Again, in the autumn of 1865 he wrote : 'If the Americans don't embroil us in a war before long, it won't be their fault. What with their swagger and bombast, what with their claims for indemnification, what with Ireland and Fenianism, and what with Canada, I have strong apprehensions.' At another time we find him declaring that the 'French usurper' had been right in his desire to effect a separation of the States, and that Great Britain ought to have forwarded his endeavours, and had made a lamentable mistake in refraining from so doing by reason of timidity. But one should not judge too hardly of Dickens for such

blunders as these. Public affairs, domestic almost equally with foreign, were quite outside his comprehension, and he generally wisely recognised this fact, and refrained from discussing what he was unable to understand. It is no very serious matter that, when he was occasionally tempted into the imprudence of venturing within the unknown domain, he strayed from the path. Nor should we blame him too much for seeing the faults and not seeing the good qualities of the Americans. It would seem as though his wonderful apprehension of English character as developed in the middle and lower classes was offset by proportionate inability to understand other classes and races of men. There is no reason to believe that he could have drawn, or could even have acquired the knowledge requisite for drawing, the highest type of real gentlemen and ladies. In travelling upon the Continent he never got beneath the surface in studying the foreigners around him; he had not the slightest understanding of the moral and mental traits whereby Frenchmen and Italians were differentiated from Englishmen and from each other. The same incapacity pursued him in the United States, where, however, he unfortunately saw persons in so many respects like the people whom he did understand, that the differences which puzzled also incensed him. Frenchmen and Italians were different from Englishmen, wherefore he pitied but did not hate them; but an American was an imperfect and debased Englishman, outrageously unconscious of his own degradation,—therefore Dickens loathed him.

Fortunately, we get no touch in these letters of that disagreeable element in Dickens's mind which led him so often in his books to deal with harrowing or hideous scenes. He ever felt a strange and unlovely pride in causing people to weep and to shudder—achievements by no means of the greatest difficulty or highest merit in the novelist's art. There is a little real pathos and a great deal of brummagem emotionalism in his books; but there is none of either in his letters. We can only catch glimpses of the sentimental element whence he was able to extract such material when he desired it. He seems to have had a habit of weeping freely at theatres, and selected rather surprising occasions for such displays; thus, at the classic opera of *Orphée* he actually became 'disfigured with crying' when he beheld Mme. Viardot at the tomb of Eurydice; and the opera of *Faust* affected him so that he 'couldn't bear it, and gave in completely.' He used to get quite heart-broken over his own compositions, and unquestionably fully believed in the genuineness and perfection of his pathetic scenes. A

suggestion that they sometimes verged upon the maudlin character would have seemed to him not only an unjust but an utterly incomprehensible and stupid criticism; yet it has been made by many persons eminently competent to judge. In one of his letters he refers to having seen a young girl in deep mourning burst into a passion of grief while he was reading about Tiny Tim, so that she was taken out. Nor is this a solitary example of his remarks upon such occurrences. Apparently his chief sensation was of pleasure at such a manifestation of his own power. There was little thought of pity for the poor stricken creature whom he had made to suffer so. It never seems at any time to have occurred to him that, even if the power were a true and great one, its exercise involved extreme and frequent cruelty. The pain which he brought to many a heart, the sad, half-healed wounds which he re-opened in many a household caused him no reflection, no remorse, only a sense of gratified vanity at his artistic skill. It was the egotism of the man triumphing over his better nature; for certainly he had a much better nature, and in the case of the poor girl just mentioned he would probably have done her any sympathetic kindness in his power at any other time; but he quite forgot her pain in the flattery which for the moment he found in it. There are letters in these volumes written to friends in distress which are admirably tender and sympathetic, and show excellent tact. For whenever his vanity did not interfere he had a really kindly heart. His best and truest pathos is shown when he deals with scenes of childhood; but even here not at the points which he himself would select. The writer must be a dullard indeed who cannot make a child's death-bed a touching and tear-moving scene. But in his appreciation of the delicate and fanciful sensibilities of childhood he is altogether unequalled. His touch in such matters is wonderfully subtle, and is as fine a display of art as the world of fiction can show. He was writing of that which he knew only too well; and he never penned a description more moving than the true tale of his own early days as told by Mr. Forster, or almost as accurately by himself in 'David Copperfield.' His best, purest, and tenderest sympathies always went out towards children, as the natural result of his own childish experiences. Towards grown men and women he was more apt to be hard; and too often he appears to think that he who has been pushed to the wall in the scramble can be good for nothing better, and is an object for contempt quite as much as for pity.

JOHN T. MORSE, JR.

IX.—OUR MINISTRY.

FROM the formation of the first class of ten members in March, 1810, the Primitive Methodist Connexion has existed for three-score years and ten—what is often called the age of man. What, it may be asked, has been accomplished during these seventy years? To such inquiry it may be answered—the Connexion, despite the smallness of its beginning, the fierceness of opposition, and the inconvenience of its early places of worship during that period, has risen to a church membership of 182,691, the formation of 4,046 Sabbath-schools, conducted by 58,371 teachers, including 372,570 scholars; the value of church property is £2,531,328. In addition to all this the Connexion has five colleges, two of which are for the training of ministers, and one of which will cost about £10,000. It has also a very efficient Book-room, the net profits of which amount to several thousands of pounds a year for the assistance of the worn-out ministers. Taking such a bird's-eye view of the Connexion's progress, it may well be asked, what has God wrought? While we ascribe all the glory to the Divine Being in the language of the Psalmist, 'Not unto us, not unto us, but unto Thy name, be all the praise,' the ministry of such a Connexion cannot fail to be a profitable subject for study, and suggestive of many useful lessons. We shall proceed to consider our ministry in several respects:—

OUR DEPARTED MINISTRY.

Did we possess a complete list of our departed ministry, it must now reach to several hundreds. To attempt but a brief description of each would require more volumes than one. To dwell upon their biography cannot fail to prove a powerful stimulus in the Divine life, especially to young ministers. With what a radiant sunset were many of them favoured; and though some might be dimmed by the assaults of the enemy, it was only for a moment, and then was overpast for ever. They died in glorious triumph, in calm peace, and perfect safety. What a volume would the shortest record of their dying words constitute! Did the religion they had recommended to others fail to give themselves comfort when passing away? By no means. Did the Christ they had preached with such a fervour forsake them at the last? No. The hope with which they had cheered others shed a heavenly fragrance in their own dying chamber. Hugh Bourne, when dying, cried out, 'My mother, my mother, my old companions.'

William Clowes, a night or two before his death, engaged in family prayer with his customary earnestness; and when struck down by paralysis he, being unable to speak, was asked by a friend to hold up his hand if he felt happy, when he immediately raised it. 'If you are very happy,' said the friend, 'lift it up high,' to which he raised his arm as high as his remaining strength would permit. John Verity, one of our very quaint ministers, said, when approaching the black river of death, 'I put Verity into the scales, and to make him weight, I put all the sermons I had preached. Verity was light weight. I then put into the scale all the long journeys I had travelled, the hardships I had endured, all the kind acts I had done; still Verity was short of weight. I then bundled all these out of the scale, and pulled in Jesus Christ by living faith, then down went the scale. Verity was bumping weight.' The time of their departure was varied. Some, after a protracted affliction, which they bore with exemplary patience, passed away; others, in a moment, laid down their body with their charge, and 'ceased at once to work and live.' One of them, when serving efficiently as missionary deputation, in the midst of the week's meetings passed 'through death triumphant home.' Another, after a laborious day at a camp-meeting, laid down his armour and entered into rest. Another, after delivering a most impressive charge to the young ministers at Luton District Meeting, by half-past twelve the same day received the welcome message from the great Father of our being—'Come up hither.' We cannot omit referring here to one of the latest of our departed ministry—the Rev. R. Blackburn, who, in the fourth year of his ministry and the twenty-eighth year of his age, was called to his reward from his missionary labours on the West Coast of Africa. This noble young man laid himself early on the missionary altar. A life of devotion to the missionary work seemed to be before him. His future was full of hope and promise. But, smitten down by wasting fever in a day or two, his mortal remains now rest beneath the luxuriant foliage of Fernando Po awaiting the sound of the archangel's trump. Are not these our departed ministers like the monumental stones on the banks of the Jordan? And do not their dying words cheer us as we approach the black river of death? To every departed minister we say, in the language of Bishop Heber—

Thou art gone to the grave, but we will not deplore thee,
Though sorrow and darkness encompass the tomb;
The Saviour has passed through its portals before thee,
And the lamp of His love was thy guide through the gloom.

Great and glorious was the change which they experienced from earth to heaven. Here they were strangers and pilgrims, having no abiding city, no certain dwelling-place; but now they are at home in the Father's house of many mansions, distinguished for its light, love, purity, and joy. Here they were in labours more abundant. Many of our departed preachers brought to the work a robust constitution, which, in numerous instances, was worn down by long journeyings, fastings and unceasing toil in the Lord's vineyard; but there they are at rest—sweet, unbroken, everlasting rest. Here they were on the battle-field—sometimes assailed with flint stones, brick bats, and rotten eggs for Christ and His Gospel's sake—wrestling against flesh and blood, principalities, powers, and wicked spirits in high places. Here they scaled many a rampart of the enemy, planted the standard of mercy upon many a fortress of darkness, and, by their ministry many a ringleader in Satan's service was led to the Saviour's Cross; but now they have laid down their armour and taken up the conqueror's palm. Here they bravely manned the lifeboat, pushed out to the wreck on the dark, stormy night to rescue the perishing. Fierce and terrific were the tempests they often encountered on the rough sea of life. Now they have reached the shores of which they so sweetly sung, and have been welcomed on the stormless shore. We have heard that when the men of Switzerland had been engaged in a long day of toil, in the evening their wives, and mothers, and sisters would go out to the fields to meet them returning, singing, 'Welcome home, welcome home.' What a welcome would greet these sainted men as they stepped on the heavenly shores. Their body might be borne to the grave without pomp or equipage; no splendid monument might be raised over their dust; but now theirs is the song of victory, theirs are the robes of purity, theirs is the fulness of joy at God's right hand, and theirs are the pleasures for evermore. Men, these, of whom the world was not worthy; for them we cherish the fondest recollections; they are embalmed in our dearest memories; their heroic lives are our most precious heritages. Some of them possessed the gift of poetry, like Edward Foisey, Richard Jukes, and William Sanders. Some of them possessed the gift of eloquence, like John Flesher and William Sanderson. Some of them were distinguished for learning, as John Petty and Philip Pugh. But when we look at them as a whole, what wondrous powers of endurance, what singleness of purpose, what marvellous self-denial, what astonishing force of character they exhibited, what Divine unction rested upon

their ministrations! There is one principle which ran through all their sermons, pastoral or general visitations, and official meetings, namely, a passion for the salvation of souls, a thirst for the conversion of sinners, which nothing could quench but the realisation of their object; hence, over what glorious success they were privileged to rejoice. Some of them left their circuits with a church membership of three or four hundred more than when they entered. Take one example from the records of the late Robert Key. 'It is now nearly four years,' he once said, 'since a kind Providence directed my feet into this part of His vineyard. At that time there was not a member in what is called the Mattishall Circuit of the Primitive Methodist Connexion. Since then God has done great things for us, whereof we are glad. I have missioned a tract of land thirty miles in length, containing forty places, and have planted about forty churches. The station has now four chapels, four travelling preachers, thirty-five local preachers, 715 members, and without costing any missionary fund five shillings.' In his farewell, when leaving the scene of labour and success, he speaks thus:—'My dearly beloved and longed for,—As I am about to leave you, deem it not arrogance in me to say all that I greatly long after you in the bowels of Jesus Christ. I have not counted my life dear unto me, I have spared no strength, I have blanched before no persecution, I have shunned no cross. My love to you has been a constant flood-tide. You are dear to me. Most gladly would I spend and be spent for you. I entered your towns and villages in love to your souls. I have exposed myself to brutal violence on your account. I have repeatedly risked my life for your sakes. You are my present joy, and you will be my future crown of rejoicing in the day of Christ.' Truly Apostolical is the ring in this record of success and farewell discourse.

OUR SUPERANNUATED MINISTRY.

This branch of our ministry is becoming somewhat large, including over 150 ministers who have retired through age, infirmity, or affliction from the pressing responsibilities and arduous labours of circuit work, and yet they are not taken home to their reward. They seem like a connecting link between the departed ministry in heaven and the ministry in full work on earth. For the departed ministry we can cherish the dearest memories, but for the retired we can do more. Those have passed beyond any need of our attention, but these seem to be left among us in part to afford us the opportunity of brightening their evening of life and smoothing their descent to the grave.

These venerated brethren are not confined to any one locality, but scattered over the length and breadth of the Connexion; so the opportunity of caring for their well-being is laid upon all. Beside these some of the departed ones have left widows and orphan children as their representatives to receive the attention of the church. What can the church do to aid this branch of our ministry? Much, we reply, every way. Those who are well-to-do among us, whom Providence has raised to the enjoyment of abundance, may find many methods by which to minister to the comfort of these worn-out servants of the Lord. Should not the church generally charge itself cheerfully with the duty of seeing that these retired ministers are raised above any undue anxiety arising from temporalities?

These men have laboured, they have planted, they have watered, they have borne the burden and heat of the day. It is written up in St. Paul's Cathedral of its great architect, 'If you want to see his monument, look around.' In like manner we say, 'If you want to see the monuments of these retired and departed ministers, look around at the large and capacious chapels which are erected, the churches which are gathered, and think of the tens of thousands who are gathered home.' Fresh in our memory is the vast procession which followed the Duke of Wellington to his last resting-place in St. Paul's Cathedral. The procession lasted for about two hours and-a-half. It included royalty, nobility, the members of the Houses of Parliament, the Corporation of London; but when the old Chelsea pensioners came up, many of whom had fought at Waterloo, with their wooden legs, cork arms, and shattered bodies, even amid all the solemnities of muffled-drum and dead march, the people shouted and cheered these worn-out old soldiers. The feeling seemed to be general that they had endured much and hazarded life itself in the service of the country, and hence flowed the spontaneous cheers. Shall we not cheer these heroes of so many battles, some of whom have been smitten down by some painful affliction in their early ministry, while others bear the marks of age and infirmity, having served the cause between forty and fifty years? Shall we not cheer them, cheer them practically? Shall not the church cheerfully make every necessary provision for their comfort?

Is it creditable, then, may we not be permitted to ask, that such stirring discussions on this subject should be needed Conference after Conference? Is it creditable that so many earnest appeals are needed to the stations? Would it not be a thousand-fold more creditable to

assign to each circuit the proportionate amount required of it and expect it to meet its obligation? Let the care for these retired ministers, widows, and orphans be taken up in earnest. Let the whole church remember the words of the Master: 'As much as ye did it unto mine, ye did it unto me.'

OUR ACTIVE MINISTRY.

We select the term active for want of a better. We wish simply to embrace in this class all who are on the approved list of ministers from the period of their admission on that list to the time of superannuation. This is by far the largest branch of our ministry, and therefore a little attention to it may neither be unadvised nor unprofitable. We can, at the outset, assure our brethren that this article is not penned in any spirit of conscious superiority, but in all lowliness and humility, knowing, from more than forty years' experience, the difficulties to be surmounted, the dangers to be guarded against, the temptations to be resisted, the work to be accomplished, and the ever-abiding sense of ministerial responsibility to be kept alive in the soul. It is upon these several points that we will humbly venture to offer a few suggestions.

1. One difficulty is, amid all the routine of duties in connection with the Christian ministry, to keep alive in the heart a deep, fervent, and ever-growing piety. It will be readily admitted that, without this, no minister can be successful; but when it is remembered how the minister is occupied in the preparation of sermons, visitation of the sick, attendance at funerals, meeting architects, builders, and mortgagees, soliciting financial aid, attendance at official meetings, filling up schedules and reports, friendly and official correspondence, receiving visitors on the ground of friendship and business, to say nothing of occasional fraternisations with other churches—when all these things are remembered and others not named, how difficult it must be to secure sufficient time for being alone in communion with God, without which no true piety can be nurtured.

Although the general duties of the ministry may be regarded as truly religious, and may be always performed 'as unto the Lord,' yet is it not certainly true that whoever is weak in private devotion must be feeble in public exercises?

Another difficulty which besets the ministry is that of harmonising the views and feelings of official laymen. This is not to be wondered at when it is considered that amongst officials there must of necessity be a great variety in the constitution of mind, extent of education,

æsthetic taste, advantages of wealth or drawbacks of poverty, and other circumstances. Every possible allowance should be made—every degree of forbearance should be exercised.

2. As well as difficulties to be overcome, there are dangers to be averted. A minister has the same dangers to watch against as any ordinary Christian, and also dangers peculiar to his office. Like a skilful pilot, he is required constantly to steer between threatening rocks on either hand, on any of which, without great vigilance and care, his barque may be wrecked. On the one hand he may be lax in the administration of discipline, or on the other he may be too harsh in its exercise. On the one hand he may pay too much attention to the man in 'gay clothing,' and on the other neglect the 'man in vile raiment.' On the one hand he may become so familiar with Divine things as to go through his duties like a schoolboy his task, or, on the other, he may leave all to the Divine Being without the use of means, like the farmer leaving all to rain and sunshine without ploughing and sowing. He is in danger of visiting some places too frequently, to the neglect of others, and of preaching on some doctrines and duties to the exclusion of others. These and kindred dangers can only be averted by 'watching unto prayer,' and seeking the bestowment of Divine wisdom.

3. There are also temptations peculiar to the ministerial office to be resisted. As generals on the field of battle are marked out by the enemy, is it to be wondered at that ministers are sharply assailed by the powers of darkness? What may be a temptation to one has no influence over another. Hence, the great enemy of God and man adapts his temptations to different circumstances and various constitutions of mind. One may be tempted to think too highly of himself, to seek human applause, while another is tempted to undue self depreciation. One may be drawn to levity, while moroseness is the weak point of another. One may be tempted to indolence, preaching the same old sermons over and over again till they become dry as dust, instead of keeping a freshness in every discourse, and seeking above all things the unction of the Holy One in every service. These and all other temptations can only be successfully resisted by unceasing vigilance and all-conquering prayer.

4. We further remark on the work that has to be performed. Every minister may adopt the language of Nehemiah, and say, 'I am doing a great work,' great in its magnitude, great in its importance, great in its results. The church is to be built up. The young are to be trained for Christ. Evangelistic work among the masses is to be pushed. The desert of heathenism is to be brought to blossom as the rose.

5. Nothing is more needful for the accomplishment of all these objects than to keep alive in the soul a deep, abiding sense of personal responsibility. It has often been said with truthfulness that the Christian ministry is not like one of the learned professions—to be laid down or taken up at pleasure. Every minister is a watchman upon the walls of Zion, and if he fails in the discharge of his duty and the sword come upon the city, the blood of the people will be required at his hand. Every minister is a steward, and it is required of a steward that he be found faithful. Every minister should watch for souls, as one that must give an account. He, therefore, should say with the Apostle, ‘Woe is me if I preach not the Gospel.’ He should so deal with the truth and with his congregations that he may be able solemnly to affirm, ‘I have not shunned to declare the whole counsel of God; I am clear from the blood of all men.’ How happy if he can add, at the expiration of his term in every circuit, ‘Ye remember that for the space of three or four years (as the time may be) I ceased not to warn every man night and day with tears.’ Is the physician responsible to whom you entrust the valuable life of your friend? Is the pilot responsible to whose guidance is committed the richly-freighted vessel with treasure and human life? Much deeper are the responsibilities of the Christian ministry. These responsibilities exceed all others as much as eternity surpasses time. To keep, therefore, these responsibilities in continual view and never lose sight of them for a moment is of the deepest importance to the success of the Christian ministry.

OUR RISING MINISTRY.

By this term we mean to include all from the commencement to the close of probation. Your present is a period of preparation for the future. You are forming habits, adopting plans, and pursuing studies which shall be beneficial or otherwise to the end of life. Life is before you, everything around you is invested with a tremendous significance and importance. You have only one youth to spend. Lost or misdirected once, it can never be recalled. Every golden hour should be earnestly improved, and not a single moment frittered away in levity, doubtful speculation, or sloth.

You can remember with gratitude your conversion to God. Your true piety, zeal for the Divine glory, and the promising character of your abilities have commended you to the church, and the church has called you into the glorious work of the Christian ministry. You are, no doubt, fully satisfied that the call of the church is the call of

God. Therefore, we hail you as our rising ministry, and we earnestly wish you to advance in—

1. The improvement of the mind and the attainment of necessary and useful knowledge.

By a knowledge of the Bible (which, of course, is your first and chiefest book), its geography, topography, zoology, biography, chronology, and especially its Divinely-revealed doctrines, precepts, and promises, you will be ‘thoroughly furnished to every good word and work.’ By a knowledge of history and a little exercise of imagination, you will be able to live as it were in past ages among the Jews, the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Spartans, Assyrians, Medo-Persians, Grecians, and Romans, beside your own countrymen and modern nations. By a knowledge of arts, sciences, manufacture, commerce, and general literature, you will, like the bee gathering honey from every flower, be able to collect materials for the illustration of your subject to every grade and shade of mind. By the knowledge of logic, you will be able to detect fallacies, arrange arguments, maintain truth, and expose error. By the knowledge of rhetoric, you will be able to speak with clearness, force, beauty, and variety. By a knowledge of mental and moral science and philosophy, you will understand more fully the powers of your own mind and heart, and will, consequently, be able to understand the requirements of those you have to address. We have not mentioned church history, the history of your own connexion, and many other subjects; but we have mentioned enough to show that you have much to learn, that diligence and perseverance are essential, that there is no royal road to knowledge, but it must be gained step by step, day by day; and we trust in this respect your advancement will be like ‘the shining light, shining more and more unto the perfect day.’

2. You will do well to rise in the cultivation of the heart and growth in every Christian grace. By this cultivation of the heart we mean its entire conformity to the mind and image of Christ, so that you may serve Him fully and be most useful to your fellow-men. You may think your studies are so pressing that you cannot pay sufficient attention to the cultivation of your moral powers. If this be a temptation to you, it should not be listened to—no, not for a moment. Upon the state of your heart will depend your progress in study, your influence in the social circle, your success in the public service, and, in fact, your whole character altogether.

Dr. Todd, in his ‘Student’s Manual,’ gives the following rules for

the discipline of the heart. We earnestly commend the chapter on this subject in his admirable work to your prayerful perusal.

First: 'Let it be your immediate and constant aim to make every event subservient to cultivating the heart.'

Second: 'Make it a part of your daily habit to cultivate your conscience.'

Third: 'Avoid temptations.' They will present their solicitations; but listen to them not at all, and trust yourselves not in the way of them.

Fourth: 'Watch over your temper.'

Fifth: 'Be careful to improve your thoughts when alone.' Read the Bible in private. For all practical purposes, use the common translation. Read in a humble, teachable spirit; read under a high sense of responsibility. Of course, this is not the critical reading of the Bible which is here inculcated, but that which is for personal devotion and practice.

Seventh: 'Be in the practice of faithfully reviewing your conduct at stated seasons.'

Eighth: 'Be in the habit of daily prayer.'

3. In addition to mental and moral culture we urge you to careful pulpit preparation. It would be deemed here a waste of time to answer objections against pulpit preparation. You fully recognise its importance, and are, we trust, fully resolved to give to it all that amount of time and attention which circumstances will admit. The most momentous question with you is, What is the most successful method of pulpit preparation? To this anything like a complete answer our space will not permit. We will venture, however, to name three methods. The first is to write out a subject at full length and commit it to memory. The second is to prepare in writing a well-arranged and thoroughly-digested sketch or skeleton of the sermon, and leave the filling of it up to the time of delivery. The third method is not, as some understand it, to leave all to the spur of the moment, but to lay down in the mind the arrangement of the subject, to keep it constantly in view, and gather illustrations from every passing incident and course of reading, thus fully laying down in the mind the order and materials of thought and illustration, but leaving the clothing of thought in suitable language to the occasion. To which of these methods preference should be given may greatly depend upon your particular constitution of mind. Each method has its advantages and drawbacks, which we need not fully point out. To write a sermon

at full length compels closeness of application, and may be very valuable when the delineation of a doctrine or a close-chain of connected argument is required, but would become a drudgery if it were the only method relied on. The second method will be found of great use to all, and will allow more time for reading and other duties. But whoever can fully master extemporaneous speaking as we have already defined it will secure incalculable advantages offered by neither of the other methods. We will not, however, at present enlarge on these advantages, but will offer the following suggestions: Whichever method of pulpit preparation you adopt, commence it with earnest prayer for the guidance of the Holy Spirit in the selection of your text and subject. When selected, seek with equal earnestness Divine illumination. It has been well observed that if you could not make out some words in a letter or understand some ambiguous phrases, the best way would be to apply to the writer; and who, we may ask, can throw such light upon the sacred Scriptures as the Holy Spirit, by whose inspiration they were written? In all your pulpit preparations keep fully before your mind the success of your message—the conversion of sinners to God. What avails all your labour if this object be not accomplished? Let not your preparations be delayed till Saturday afternoon, as we have heard is the case with some. Finally, we urge you to adopt the resolution of Mr. Henry Longden, of Sheffield, who was a Wesleyan local preacher, and whose biography is of a very soul-stirring character. ‘I make,’ he says, ‘as much preparation as if there was no Holy Ghost, and then I depend upon the assistance of the Holy Ghost as if I had made no preparation at all.’ Happy and successful the minister, be he stationary, itinerant, or lay, who can accomplish this.

4. We urge you further to be a rising ministry in pulpit power. To possess and wield power in the pulpit must ever be regarded as the grand end or object of your conversion, your call to the ministry, your education for the work, and the preparation of your sermons. If you do not succeed in this, the whole may be looked upon as a comparative failure. It is quite true that ‘Paul may plant and Apollos water, but God must give the increase.’ Yet, all other things being equal, the increase from God may be certainly expected. To ‘turn men from darkness to light and from the power of Satan unto God,’ ‘to convert sinners from the error of their way,’ to ‘save souls from death and hide multitudes of sins,’ to win souls, ‘to turn many to righteousness,’ is the great work of your mission. What, then, you may justly enquire, are the elements of that pulpit power by which it

shall be accomplished? Can you do better than study minutely the character of the Great Teacher himself, and also listen to those who are most efficient in promoting the extension of His Kingdom in the earth?

William Taylor, the Californian Methodist preacher, who has given great proof of his ministry in America, Africa, and India, as well as in this country, gives the following as the necessary elements of pulpit power:—

First: *Clearness*.—Clearness of perception, and hence clearness of statement, illustration, and application.

Second: *Earnestness*.—Earnestness of thought and feeling burdening and thrilling the soul of the preacher.

Third: *Naturalness*.—Naturalness embracing posture, tones of voice, and everything pertaining to the delivery of the tidings of mercy to the souls of men.

Fourth: *Literalness*.—Literal facts demonstrating the truth and power of the Gospel; and literal figures from real life illustrating the grand principles of the Gospel.

Fifth: *Appropriateness*.—A wise selection and adaptation of truth to the various conditions of the hearers.

These, you will readily admit, are very useful suggestions. Permit us to add the following:—

To possess power in the pulpit the grand instrument to be employed is the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ—not science, philosophy, metaphysics. These may serve to illustrate the grandeur of your theme, but in your ministry Christ must be all in all.

In addition to this your eye must be single to the glory of God. This single eye will make you forgetful of self, regardless of human applause. Like the Apostles, you will feel you must rather obey God than man, and this will give you a power the world cannot gainsay. Whitfield was a striking example of this. ‘I eat and drink but little,’ he said, ‘yet am I continually employed for God from morning until midnight, and my strength is daily renewed. I long to do something for my Saviour. Had I a thousand lives, He should have them all.’ This ruling passion was strong in death. When seized with fatal sickness and submitting to medical advice, he suddenly cried out, ‘Doctor, my pains are suspended. I will go and preach, and then come home and die.’ He went, and said, ‘I preached as a dying man to dying men. The eternal realities of another world lay open to my view, expecting to enter eternity and be with my Master before the

morning. I spoke with peculiar energy, and such were the effects which followed the Word that it was worth dying for a thousand times.'

Another element of pulpit power is melting compassion for souls. One of old says he was willing to be torn to pieces if he could but persuade sinners to listen, repent, believe, and be saved. Another says he should feel amply rewarded if he were the means of winning one soul to Christ. Henry Martyn, when prodigal of life itself, upbraids himself for doing so little. Whitfield was full of this melting pity for souls when it impelled him to go into the Fair at Moorfields among the showmen and mountebanks. He says, 'I was singing, praying, and preaching for three hours. I received notes from about one thousand persons who were under conviction. I retired to the Tabernacle. Large crowds followed, and I received 300 into society.' John Smith, the Wesleyan Minister, prayed, 'Give me souls, or I die.' To read the lives of such devoted men, to meditate upon the value of the never-dying soul, to dwell upon the tears, compassion, and sufferings of Christ must surely fill your heart with tenderness.

Further, we remark, to be powerful in the pulpit, you must feel in your own heart the power of that truth you proclaim to others. Such a strong perception of truth was said by Luther to be like the opening of the gates of Paradise. We have read of a minister who said on the bed of death, 'O, if I had but had the same views of truth and of the eternal world as I have now, what a different preacher should I have been.' President Edwards says he felt the truth he preached to others to be spirit and life, to be life-giving to his own soul. An American preacher says that he felt truth to be a revelation. It thrilled his very being, and a glorious revival was the result. Such a deep sense of truth will make you come forth in the pulpit like an angel of light, preaching the everlasting Gospel to the inhabitants of the earth. These were the views of Baxter, who asks indignantly, 'Shall we preach a living Gospel in a lifeless manner?' These were the views of Augustine, who said he was never satisfied with a discourse unless it brought himself and his hearers to tears. Such is the example of the Great Teacher, who mingled his discourses and even the hosannas of the people with tears. 'You deliver truth as if it were fiction,' said a great actor to a great preacher, 'we deliver fiction as if it were truth.' Let, then, the great and solemn truths delivered by the Christian ministry be but deeply felt, and you will be likely to induce the people to believe the message given and believe in the sincerity of him who delivers it.

We mention one element more of pulpit power, namely, dependence upon the Holy Spirit. This is as needful in the ministrations of the pulpit as it is in preparation for it. However excellent your composition, however eloquent your delivery, however sonorous or musical your voice, however graceful your action, however convincing your arguments, however admired your discourses, let your dependence be upon the Holy Spirit. Let the truth never be for a moment lost sight of, 'Not by might, nor by power, but by My Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts.'

5. If you would be a truly rising minister, you must pay ever-increasing attention to pastoral visitation, the religious instruction of the young, and evangelistic efforts.

One point of pastoral work we would specially mention is the quarterly visitation of the classes. We fear many, both old and young, ministers are negligent here. We very much admire the persistence and constancy of our Wesleyan friends on this subject. We remember the precious seasons we enjoyed even among ourselves in our early days at these quarterly pastoral visitations. We cannot, we believe, too strongly urge the pastoral visitation of members in their affliction. 'Tell me,' said a minister when entering a new circuit, 'if any of the members are sick, and I will visit them.' A woman called upon him one day to inform him (as he had requested) that one of the dear flock was ill, and required his pastoral care. He allowed the thing to pass unattended to. Some time after he enquired how the sick member was getting on, when he was told she had been in heaven for several weeks. What a gentle reproof for his negligence.

We would urge the importance of giving untiring and well-directed attention to the young. Let your Sabbath afternoons, when not otherwise engaged, be given to the Sabbath-school. Seek with all your hearts the enlightenment and conversion of children in early life. You are, no doubt, aware that many who have been eminent for piety and usefulness were saved in early life.

To these duties add increased efficiency in evangelistic work, including open-air preaching and visiting from house to house. By this visitation the rise and progress of our Connexion was greatly promoted. You will gather from such visitations materials for your sermons that no books could supply. Never was there a time when evangelistic work was more needed than now.

In conclusion, what shall we more say to you, the rising ministry of our denomination? We have great hopes of you. You commence the

work where we have to leave off; you seize the colours of the regiment when we have to lay them down. We bespeak for you a magnificent future. Are you resolved to be a rising ministry in every sense of the word—in intellectual worth, in largeness of heart, in breadth of kind and generous sympathies with all other sections of the Christian Church, in general efficiency both in the pulpit, the school, the class-room, the family, and the open-air? Will you rise in holy enthusiasm to do even greater things than your fathers have done? Shall the Connexion rise in your hands more gloriously than ever in the past? Will you, like the immortal Carey, attempt great things for God and expect great things from God? Then we may safely predict that you shall see of the travail of your Redeemer's soul, and He shall be satisfied; 'He shall see His seed, He shall prolong His days, and the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in His hands.'

JESSE ASHWORTH.

X.—THE MYSTERIES OF CHRISTIANITY.

It is not at all unlikely, and, therefore, ought not to be a marvel, that the plan of salvation and the whole structure of the Christian system should be mysterious. The entire range of our knowledge embraces little or nothing but facts. What do we know of the real essence or nature of things? We know them as facts only; their essence is a mystery. The substances in nature, as gold, silver, iron, brass, wood, stone; the atmosphere in which we breathe, water, æriform fluids, as gases, &c., are things in certain forms, conditions, colours, and of certain specific gravities, and to which names have been given that they may be distinguished one from another as so many facts—so many things that are. But if we ask, What are they? we can only answer, We do not know. We denote them by their names, which serve to convey the ideas of distinction and quality that attach to them.

We are in a universe of mysteries. We live under a burden of mysteries, and gaze around on numberless mysteries. We are mysteries to ourselves. Our very existence is a mystery. We cannot explain it, though we are the subjects of it. And yet we know something about the mystery of being, of which we are conscious, and the facts which we apprehend. Though my own existence is a mystery, yet I know I exist. My existence needs no proving, because it is a subject of my consciousness. I am conscious of it, and, therefore, cannot doubt it. I know I am a conscious, personal existence.

Still, life is a mystery, though we are conscious that we live, and are convinced that other beings live. If asked, What is life? we must each say, I cannot tell. It is a mystery. But, notwithstanding, we receive the fact that life is. The lovely flower there has grown from a tiny seed dropped into the earth. Its petals are of a certain shape and of variegated hues, while its beauty and odour regale the senses. How is it that this beautiful, fragrant thing has come from that little deposited seed? We know not. It's a mystery. So we might go on *ad infinitum* with illustrations from unnumbered facts, presented to our cognisance through nature's broad domain. We see wires stretched on poles for hundreds of miles. Their ends are fastened to a trough called a galvanic trough. That trough contains sulphuric acid and water, copper and zinc. Such wires now connect distant cities and

countries, and even continents, through ocean's bed ; and on those wires messages are transmitted at the rate, it is said, of more than a hundred and fifty thousand miles in a moment of time. We ask, How is this ? We do not know, and cannot tell. We know something of the arrangement and chemistry of the matter, and that by these wires, connected as they are, electricity is made subservient to the sending of messages, and that men call this 'telegraphy ;' but the how is a mystery. Yet we cannot do otherwise than believe the fact any more than the fact of our existence.

Now, as in the economy of nature, so in the economy of grace, there are mysteries. God is the author of them both, and He is infinite. His doings are in character with His infinite greatness. The reason and mode of His doings are utterly beyond finite conception, and, therefore, they are mysteries. And ought we not to receive the facts with which we are furnished in the great system of grace as well as those presented in the wondrous system of nature ? To reject them is the height of inconsistency and folly. We are bound to accept the mysterious facts of our own being and of universal nature, and also the well-attested facts of history. To spurn them because they are uncomprehensible is, in that act, to cast away our rationality. Now, the question is, Are not the facts of God's revelation, the facts of the Christian system as patent, as open for the perusal of all, and as evident, as clear as those facts of our conscious being and of God's works in nature, which we must accept if we stand on the basis of rationality ? We must say they are. Yes, the facts of the Christian religion are as patent and as indubitable, and as deserving of acceptance on the ground of their verity as the facts noticed that we must receive or sacrifice our reason. In further remarking on this subject we shall present a few thoughts on God, Man, Law, Sin, and the Atonement.

1. *God is the first great mystery.*—Pantheism says the universe is God, and God is the universe ; that even ourselves and everything we see are parts of God, and that thus universal nature, with its numberless and varied operations and combinations, constitutes all the God there is. By this jumble a personal God is dispensed with. But if we enter into the calm realm of our own natural and indestructible intuitions, and listen to them, they will tell us of God as the necessary, absolute, and self-existent being. Our intuitions are the outgoings of our natural reason. They are the mind's direct seeings of truth at once, without media or process of reasoning.

Now, our intuitions perceive at once that there must always have been something. There never can have been nothing. If there ever

had been nothing there could never have been anything, inasmuch as nothing cannot produce something. As there is no being, no life, no power in nothing, therefore, nothing cannot originate or create something. Hence, something must necessarily ever have been or there would be nothing still, and always nothing. Our natural reason dictates, too, that the first something must have been absolute existence, independent, self-existent being, from whom, through whom, and to whom are all things. This is God, the greatest mystery; but though the profoundest mystery, nevertheless, my mind at once sees and acknowledges the great fact. And that God is, we have also as a revealed truth. He is the eternal 'I am;' so my intuitions and the Bible agree.

Again, our intuitions tell us that this first something is a conscious, intelligent, personal Being. We are conscious, intelligent beings. Whence did these powers of consciousness and intelligence come? They could not have been the product of something that was not conscious and intelligent. It must require a conscious, intelligent something to produce intelligent existence, otherwise we should have a cause producing what was not in itself and for which it has no power. Our natural reason disowns this, seeing at once that it cannot be; therefore the Creator must be a conscious, intelligent, and personal being; and whatever exists that is conscious and intelligent must have its origin in Him who is the Independent, Self-existent Intelligence.

Also, our intuitive perceptions take hold of other aspects of this first great truth—God, viz: that He is a Spirit, and has a moral nature. We are more than matter, we can think. The tree, the stone, the watch, the wondrous printing press cannot think. I am conscious that I can think and reason, and am assured that my true being is a spirit. My body is the mere casket in which my true self dwells. My inner and higher being is an immaterial something. And the product of this human soul or spirit cannot be otherwise than spirit, for cause must be equal to effect. Effect is not always commensurate with cause, but cause must certainly be commensurate with effect. Then God is the great Self-existent Spirit. This the Bible confirms, 'God is a Spirit.'

Further, we have said, God has a moral nature. If it is asked, What is moral nature? we answer, It is consciousness and discernment of moral right and wrong, and the possession of free moral powers. 'God's moral nature is perfect, He being all-intelligent and all-powerful.' The true and full ideal of God is, that He is infinitely good and holy. The

question arises, How are we possessed of moral nature? How is it that we have inherently the inner light of a revelation, and that we possess a natural consciousness of moral good and evil? It is not super-induced by circumstance or created power, but is a natural, inherent part and parcel of what we have been made. Whence, then, this element of conscience, which is a constituent of our very being, and which, notwithstanding what is said of inherent depravity, approves of and praises what is good, and blames and condemns moral wrong? The only legitimate answer that can be given to such an inquiry is, that He who made us gave us this moral nature, and that it must be a reflection of Himself—His own image and likeness in us. ‘God created man in His own image, in the image of God created He him.’ Again, the Scripture coincides with and confirms these intuitive conclusions. He is pronounced ‘The holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come.’ We see, then, that God is an infinite moral personality, distinct from His works.

Now, this doctrine of God, the Independent and Eternal Being, who exists of Himself and gives existence to others, who governs by His Almighty power, wisdom, and goodness, and has said, ‘I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty,’ is specially the *ineffable mystery*. ‘Canst thou by searching find out God? Canst thou find out the Almighty to perfection? It is high as heaven, what canst thou do? deeper than hell, what canst thou know?’ Yet, the fact that God *is* comes to us from all within us and from all around us, while that testimony grandly harmonises with His own more than trumpet voice from the written Word of revelation.

2. *Man*.—In respect to the doctrine of man, we see him in the same aspect as God with regard to distinct moral personality, because he has a moral nature. We behold him linked to God by ties of duty, and also linked to his fellow-beings by similar ties. Hence, he has to do with duty and with the claims of justice and righteousness, possessing free-will power and choice of moral action. We are sometimes referred to traces of reason in the lower animals; but those traces are scarcely rudimentary, inasmuch as they lead to no progress. The bee, for instance, does not advance in the science of geometry. By it there has ever been built the same structure of cells, always the same, without the least improvement. And in any of the lower creatures instinct does not develop into reasoning powers to cultivate land, build houses, make railways, and carry forward the arts and sciences. And they have no moral nature, and, hence, cannot be responsible. Man is the only progressive being and moral agent upon earth.

Moral nature in God and man imply *government*—God, the creator and sovereign governor, and man, the responsible creature and agent. And this implies perfect freedom of will as the basis of all morality and responsibility. Man has been made the occupant of a rational, moral, and responsible platform, on which he stands erect in the Divine image, with an appointed sphere of moral action; and to him attaches the responsibility of such action, whether right or wrong. Deny the perfect freedom of the human will, and all moral agency ceases. Declare the will necessitated, bind it with the adamantine fetters of cause and effect, and what becomes of duty, obligation, responsibility and award? They have no basis on such an hypothesis, and, therefore, no existence. If the will is not free, then nothing is free; nothing is free in us, nothing is free without us. All human action is necessitated, like all natural agencies, as wind, ocean, and tempest, or the sun and moon in their courses. All character is necessitated, and all sin necessitated; and God, the one efficient agent along the whole line, is the *author of sin*. But we may go farther, and say there is *no sin* if the will is not free, for necessitated sin is an absurdity and a contradiction. And we advance farther still. On the hypothesis in question there can be no God, for a sin necessitating God cannot be the all-wise, holy, and good God of the universe and of the Bible. But we have a key to the subject of *will-freedom* in our consciousness, as much probably as we have a key in it to the doctrine of God's existence. We *know* we have the power of voluntary action. Consciousness affirms the truth as a matter of experimental knowledge, and whatever creed-bound speculators may say, the verdict of consciousness claims our acceptance of its testimony.

3. *Law*.—An essential element of moral nature and moral government is law. In one form or other law covers all nature and pervades all being. It reigns everywhere with unbroken constancy. It rules the smallest atom, the tiniest insect, and the greatest revolving worlds and systems. All things, animate and inanimate, own its power. And God-like man, made after the Divine image, in spirit and moral nature, could not be exempt from law. God has put law in the human bosom. It is written on man's heart and enthroned in conscience. It is *within* us behind the fleshy veil, as the revealed law of old, deposited in the ark, was put within the veil of the Holy of Holies. Thus, moral government, in miniature, is placed in man's very nature. Yea, we may affirm that the Divine Sovereign, in a sense, is enthroned in the human soul, as Lord and lawgiver, as judge and administrator. His voice is heard there giving judgment, passing sentence, and administering award—the award of blame, and shame, and remorse for incurred

guilt, and of satisfaction, peace, and blessedness for obedience and love. This inward law is the counterpart of the positive and definite command that was first given, when man came fresh and new from God's creating hand, as the test of human conformity to His will. And the whole moral law, contained in God's revelation, the sum and spirit of which is to 'love the Lord with all the heart, mind, soul, and strength, and our fellow-men as ourselves,' is but a practical copy or synonym, truly fitting the moral sense that is deeply inlaid in our moral constitution.

4. *Sin*.—The Scripture saith sin is the transgression of the law, and conscience affirms the same. Here, then, the question is answered, What is sin? But if it be asked, What is transgression? the answer must be, It is wrong volition, wrong decision of will and choice, and wrong act. The dog or horse cannot transgress moral law. They have no moral nature, nor can the idiot or the unconscious babe, because they have no perception of moral right and wrong. The hungry dog takes the meat the master intends for his own dinner, but the dog knows nothing about theft. A similar act in a fellow-being brands him as a thief. Why? Because the act is dishonest, and he knows it. It is a selfish act, in violation of the rights of another. There is no meaning in sin, except as voluntary wrong-doing—the guilty use of will-power. To say that sin is the product of circumstances is opposed to the verdict of consciousness. Sin is not an inevitable act, for such act cannot be wrong, because in it there is no element of will and choice; but it is a voluntary act, and, therefore, inexcusable. Now, let us think of sin being a violation of the law of the infinitely holy and good God—the wilful transgression of that law of goodness and love which is the outcome of His holy and benevolent heart. The sad fact is, we have 'sinned and come short of the glory of God.' Our sins have been deliberate insubordination to and wilful rebellion against Divine authority and love. Law must have its penalty, or it is without force. God said at first, when speaking of the consequences of transgression, 'Thou shalt surely die.' Then, how can the sinner live? He cannot live by law. He has broken it and, therefore, the law dooms him. If he live, it must be by some expedient, some just and righteous plan of grace. When law has been transgressed, nothing but death awaits just and righteous moral administration. And the righteous God will administer rightly. Sin has been heinous and manifold—a dark track of wrongs rising, like mountain peaks of terrible enmity and defiance, against the majesty and holiness of heaven. Sin's imprint, black as night, covers the world-wide page of human history. Sin has shocked

the moral universe, and made a gulf, deep as hell, between man and God. What could be done? Repentance could not avail anything. Repentance cannot make wrong right, or offer an equivalent for the moral debt of refused obedience. The bitterest tears, the deepest agony of grief cannot cancel sin, nor any possible self-inflicted painful penalties expiate it. If we look to the law, we only hear its thunders; if we look to ourselves, we can only sink into helpless despair. Human means and efforts touch not the evil sin has done in God's empire of righteousness and love. Humanity is baffled, while the tremendous curse of sin still remains.

5. *The Atonement.*—Provision for man's great moral exigencies can only be found in God's mysterious plan of saving grace through the Atonement of Jesus Christ. We have this as a subject of revelation, and can only have it in that way. And revelation itself is a mystery; for we do not know how the Divine Being inspired holy men of old to make known His will, and speak all down the ages of Redemption's work through the woman's promised seed. That promise was given from the foundation of the world of mankind, when there were no others of our race but the first sinning pair. And we should look at the harmony of expression as to the incarnation of Christ intimated in the first promise, and as contained in New Testament phraseology. The promise speaks of the woman's seed, and when the Eternal Word was about to be incarnated, the angel said to Mary, 'The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore that Holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God.' And Paul, in Gal. iv. 4, says, 'God sent forth His Son made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that are under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons.' His humanity was made of a woman, and His Divinity joined to human nature by the power of the Highest. Thus, God sent forth His Son. Hence, Jesus was a Divine-human person—'God manifest in the flesh.'

He became such a person to meet the moral needs of humanity. One who was no more than ourselves could not have met the requirements of man's case. The great want of our nature was and is to be brought into union with the Divine. We want a personal consciousness of a present God, and that we are at peace with Him. Nature provides no way for us of union and fellowship with God. The soul wants somewhere to rest the sole of its foot—a source of repose; it longs to realise satisfaction, assurance, peace. And where and to whom can we look that we may know God, the great mystery, but to one who

Himself can show us the Father, one in whom dwelt the fulness of Godhead, and in whom it pleased the Father that all fulness should dwell ; and one also who, as God, can lay His hand upon God, and as man, can lay His hand upon man, and, therefore, is qualified to be our days-man, mediator, reconciler, the at-one-ment maker. Jesus preached the Father through Himself, saying, ' No man hath seen God at any time. The only begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared Him.'

What an amazing mystery this is—Christ the Son of man and the Son of God. In it are heights we cannot scale, breadths we cannot measure, and depths we cannot fathom. It behoved Jesus to have the nature of God, and, at the same time, be partaker of flesh and blood, that He might perform the work which alone belongs to God ; and that, as God-man, in the stoop and grasp of an Almighty power, He might save to the uttermost.

The principles of moral government, justice, honour, and righteousness required an equivalent as reparation equal to the vast injury sin had done. That equivalent was to be sacrifice. We cannot see the meaning and design of the Divinely-appointed sacrifices under the ancient Jewish law, or many of the sayings of prophesy respecting the promised Messiah and His work but on such ground. The needed grand sacrifice was to be more than the offerings of lambs and beasts, which were ceremonial and typical. It was to be the Lamb of God provided in the Divine-human person of the woman's seed. The required sacrifice could not have been effectual without the Divine-human element in it. This element made it available, and evidently gave it the needed value ; for Jesus, through the Eternal Spirit, ' offered Himself without spot to God.' He made His soul-life an ' offering for sin,' and we are redeemed with the ' precious blood of Christ.' But it may be asked, What gave the special vast preciousness to His sacrificial blood ? Why not the hecatombs of bleeding victims offered through long centuries before the Son of God appeared in human flesh sufficiently precious ? Or why not some of Adam's sinning race be made an offering for sin ? Because such a poor insignificant price could not possibly suffice to meet the high demands of Divine moral government. Nothing less than the blood of the Lamb of God could take away the sins of the world ; otherwise it, doubtless, would have been done. It was God's plan. He sent His Son ' to be the propitiation for the sins of the world.' The intrinsic value of the sacrifice of Christ was in His essential Deity. He was the living God manifest in the flesh ; and He stamped a Divine glory and

value upon the propitiation He made for sin. Not that Deity suffered and died in the person of Christ. Pain and death in Him could only attach to His human nature. Divinity cannot be susceptible of suffering and death. Very injudicious language has sometimes been used respecting the Deity of Christ dying to the prejudice of Scriptural truth. All that was in Christ capable of suffering did suffer and die, namely, 'the finite nature which He took on Himself by Incarnation.' Jesus was mediator in His whole person—Divine and human—acting for the salvation of man; yet it was impossible for the Divine nature to die. But the essential Deity of Christ stamped infinite dignity and worth upon His whole mediatorial work, and therefore constituted His sacrifice an offering of infinite value.

The Atonement, as well as the Incarnation, is a profound mystery. 'It is the wisdom of God in a mystery, even the hidden wisdom, which God ordained unto our glory.' (1 Cor. 2-7.) It is utterly impossible for us to comprehend all that is included in the Atonement, and so it might be expected. When the philosophy of nature is entirely beyond our grasp, how can we expect to fathom the profounder and sublimer wisdom contained in the unsearchable riches of Christ, and the mystery which from the beginning of the world has been hid in God? Says Milton—

Heaven is for thee too high
To know what passes there; be lowly, wise,
Contented that thus far hath been revealed,
Not of earth only, but of highest heaven.

We cannot explain the Atonement any more than we can explain other supernatural facts. It is the grandest and sublimest fact in the universe. We can reason and speak about the principles of moral government, but cannot understand why the Atonement of Christ was chosen and appointed to be the ground of forgiveness. But, though perplexed, we are charmed with its effective results. That Deity should assume our flesh and take a servant's form; that the Prince of Life should yield to crucifixion at the hands of men, and that this should involve Atonement to reconcile the Divine attributes and government with forgiveness of sins is indeed profoundly mysterious.

There was difficulty in the way of forgiveness that neither human nor angelic power could remove. It was this: how could sinning man be pardoned and held just? How could a way be opened to the Divine forgiveness and to the life forfeited by sin? What wondrous scheme could bring together and reconcile the two great extremes of sin and justification? An answer to this could come from no one but God.

A scheme of grace came up from the depth of the infinite resources. In this terrible crisis the Atonement appeared, adumbrated in the promise of the woman's conquering seed, and thus implanted immortal hope in the human heart when condemned and helpless. Still, we instinctively ask, How can this be? We do not know the how, and cannot know it. However, we know the fact, and that it is God's plan and God's doing, and that should suffice. There is a connection between the Atonement and forgiveness, though we see it not. There is connection between the vegetative life and growth of the tree and the precious fruit it bears, though we see it not. The little seed sown germinates, and from it springs the lovely flower. We do not see the connection between the seed and the flower, and cannot explain it; but there is one. We know the fact, and that is enough. And we equally know, on the testimony of God Himself, that there is connection between the Atonement of Christ and salvation from sin and its awful curse. 'Who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died.' 'He died for our sins and rose again for our justification.'

The Christian faith is openly and plainly declared a *mystery* by the pen of inspiration. The Apostle, speaking of the knowledge of Christ as experienced by the saints at Ephesus, said, 'In whom we have redemption through His blood, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of His grace; wherein He hath abounded towards us in all wisdom and prudence, having made known unto us the mystery of His will.' The same Apostle, alluding to his own call to the Gospel ministry and his knowledge in the mystery of Christ, said, 'Unto me, who am less than the least of all saints, is this grace given that I should preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ, and to make all men see what is the fellowship of the mystery which, from the beginning of the world, hath been hid in God, who created all things by Jesus Christ.' Paul desired the church at Ephesus to pray 'that utterance might be given him, and that he might open his mouth boldly to make known the mystery of the Gospel.' And, writing to Timothy respecting those who were engaged as ministers of the Gospel, he speaks of them 'holding the mystery of faith in a pure conscience.' Paul, also referring the Corinthians to his own preaching among them not being with the enticing words of man's wisdom, &c., said, 'We speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, &c., which none of the princes of this world knew; for had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory.'

The mystery of the faith of God and Christ and of salvation for lost man in God's appointed way is ever to be proclaimed and main-

tained, notwithstanding all that bold Infidelity and subtle Scepticism may say and do. Receive the unbeliever's system of faith, and what would be the state of things? Blot out the Christian system, bury the Word of God, treat the Gospel as a huge complicated myth, and annihilate all Christian institutions, and what then? Let lands and peoples testify where the Christian religion is not known. The habitations of cruelty, the darkest superstitions, the foulest ignorance, and the worst of human passions holding unbridled sway bear witness. Christianity is the great conservator of almost all that is ennobling and good where it prevails; and could Christendom be sunk into nothingness to-day, its countries would present ere long one great abyssmal scene of seething evils. The history of the world substantially proves this. Let Christianity cease operation and wait a generation or two till its influence and principles have fallen into disuetude, and the results would be most terrible; for human nature unrestrained, unguided, unenlightened by truth and law from heaven, would not show itself in much better phases, if any better, than in the past. Though a large amount of wrong still abounds in nominally Christian lands, yet who can tell the awful consequences if the restraining and modifying influences of Christianity against evil and its propagating and conservative power for good were withdrawn, and if the whole place it now holds in the world were a total blank?

But the great verities of the Christian faith, though wrapped in mystery, are absolutely certain. The foundation for immortal hope standeth sure. God has laid it in infinite wisdom, power, and love. His word is firmer than the pillars of heaven. With Him is no variableness, nor shadow of turning. His truth is eternal and immutable. Its mysteries do not invalidate it. The love of God, the uplifted cross, and the glorious plan of salvation must continue to be presented to the world's gaze, that the Divine purposes of mercy and love may be accomplished in the well-being of universal man.

Canada.

T. CROMPTON.

XI.—WESLEY & THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

JOHN WESLEY was an evangelist, one whose great business it was to proclaim the glad tidings of salvation to men. Viewed in this aspect, it is scarcely possible to overestimate either his character or his labours. But while this was the great work of his life, he interested himself to some extent in secular affairs, both social and political. He had a respectable knowledge of history, philosophy, science, politics, and other general subjects. The correctness of his religious teachings and his zeal for God and the purity of his motives are freely acknowledged, but one may dissent from many of his opinions on other subjects, and especially in respect to politics. The halo thrown around him by some of his earlier biographers, though sometimes concealing and sometimes justifying his mistakes, has injured rather than elevated his reputation. Men of the present generation desire to know the man as he was, not as he may be represented by partial biographers. And to be known as he was, is to assure his good name to the end of time.

The American Revolution with its precedent disputes occurred when Wesley was in the maturity of his years. As the differences between the Colonies and the home government caused an intense agitation in England, it was natural that Wesley became interested in them. Early in the struggle it is well known he arrayed himself on the side of the English Government, and attempted to use his influence over his American followers in favour of the government. This was greatly regretted by them at the time, and they have since tried to apologize for it as well as they have been able, but they have always felt that the action was quite indefensible. A recent writer, however, contends that Wesley was in favour of the Americans at the commencement of the conflict, was misled by Johnson so as to write his 'Calm Address;' but ere the year closed saw his error, repented of having written the pamphlet, and would have recalled it could he have done so, and during the continuance of the contest remained firm on the American side. Is this a correct view of the case? Let us look into the matter.

As a preliminary point it may be proper to remark that on the accession of George III. to the throne of England there was a revival of the old contest between royal prerogative and popular rights. The king resolved to increase the royal power. There were men in England who saw the initial steps taken to promote this end, and were prepared

rigidly to oppose them. The contest produced a turmoil in English politics such as had not been seen for a century. As the cabinet, under the instigation of the king, proceeded to grasp more and more authority, the attempt was met at every step by a powerful opposition. It was during this agitation that Wesley wrote the earlier of his political tracts, decidedly in favour of the king. His 'Free Thought on Public Affairs,' published probably in 1770 (*Works* vi, 247), and his 'Thoughts upon Liberty' (vi, 261), published in 1772, give no uncertain sound. The principles laid down are all in favour of the king, and, with one exception, in vindication of the acts of the government. Had Wesley's principles been carried out, England would have commenced a retrogression towards the arbitrary measures of the Stuarts. His 'Thoughts Concerning the Origin of Power' (vi, 269), are of the same character.

The exception Wesley made in vindicating the acts of the government had reference to America. He said, 'I do not defend the measures which had been taken with regard to America. I doubt whether any man can defend them, either on the foot of law, equity, or prudence.' This is very strong. We find nothing more in Wesley on the subject till the commencement of hostilities in 1775. In February of that year Parliament voted soldiers and supplies to compel the Colonists to submit to British rule. This act Wesley deprecated. He hated war, especially between England and America. He was afraid the cause of religion would suffer, that the Colonies would be lost to England, and further, that this might lead to the overthrow of the English Government. Hence, he urged upon his friends everywhere to pray that the conflict might be averted.

The elements of strife, however, were not to be checked. The battle of Concord and Lexington was fought on April 19, and the intelligence reached England near the close of the following month. Wesley was in Ireland at this time, and did not receive the intelligence till a week or two later. According to Bancroft, he waited but one day after receiving the news before he wrote his celebrated letter to Lord North, sending a copy to Lord Dartmouth, the Colonial Secretary. In this letter Wesley took the part of the Colonists upon every point. He said, 'An oppressed people asked for nothing more than their legal rights, and that in the most modest and inoffensive manner the nature of the thing will allow,' and proceeded to show the impolicy of going to war with them. The letter is remarkable for the foresight evinced in reference to the contest should it continue, and scarcely a word in the prediction need be altered to harmonise it with history. Well would it have been had the Ministers of the Crown heeded the warning.

This, however, the King had determined not to do, and his obsequious Ministers echoed his wishes. George wrote, 'All men feel that the fatal compliance of 1766 (the repeal of the Stamp Act) has increased the pretensions of the Americans to absolute independence.' Again he wrote, 'The die is cast. The Colonists must either triumph or submit. If we take the resolute part, undoubtedly they will be very meek.' Against such views and resolves on the part of the King, Wesley's letter proved powerless. Still, it shows his opinions at that time. And as late as August in this year, 1875, we find him recommending a pamphlet written in defence of the exclusive right of the Americans to tax themselves.

Thus far Wesley was on the side of the Colonists. Still his position was anomalous. The political party opposed to the King favoured the Americans, the party which sided with the King opposed them. Wesley was on the King's side generally, yet favoured the American cause. Upon this point he was opposed to his own party and acting with the opposite one. He must have felt this, his inconsistency, keenly, and probably was not indisposed to change his views. We know that about this time he withdrew his patronage from Pine, the Bristol printer, because Pine, in a weekly paper, opposed the King and his measures.

He very shortly went further than this. Samuel Johnson published a pamphlet against America, entitled, *Taxation no Tyranny*. This converted Wesley to the author's views. Let it be distinctly marked that this was a change in Wesley's opinions. He speaks of it as such repeatedly. When reminded of his former statements, he frankly acknowledged them, but said he now thought differently. Johnson's tract had taught him better. Yet it was surprising that a tract so feeble should have convinced such a logician as Wesley. The whole affair seems to show a willingness to be convinced, that he might again fall into line with his party.

Johnson's pamphlet, written in his high-flown style, was not adapted to the popular mind. Wesley immediately wrote a tract presenting Johnson's arguments, or fallacies, in his own every-day, nervous style, and without any intimation that for its substance he was indebted to Johnson. This tract he designed for circulation in America, hence entitled it 'A Calm Address to the American Colonies,' and evidently with the hope that it might induce the Americans to return to their allegiance. Before, however, he could send it, he learned that the ports were closed by the Colonists, hence the tract could not reach them. Its sale in England, however, was immense. Wesley speaks of a

hundred thousand copies being published. Tyerman tells us that the Government caused copies to be distributed at the church-doors in London. Wesley refused compensation when offered by the ministers, but was induced to accept fifty pounds for charitable distribution.

In reading the 'Calm Address,' we see how thorough was the change that had taken place in his sentiments. He had before said that the measures of government towards America violated law, equity, and prudence. Now, he contended those measures were lawful, and had numerous legal precedents for the past hundred years. They were just; for the Americans to reimburse England part of the expenses of the French war, and, further, the right of taxation was involved in that of supreme authority, such as England held over the Colonists. They were prudent; for the 'Colonists were the dupes of certain men in England, not courageous enough to carry out their own principles, and beyond this the success of the Americans would lead only to immense complications, resulting in grievous tyranny. Instead of being an oppressed people asking for their legal rights, as he had told Lord North in June, he now asserted that they had as great a degree of liberty as any people, and had no such rights as they fancied they had.

But we are told that Wesley soon saw he had been led into error by Johnson, and returned to his former views. Two sentences in a letter to Rankin, his superintendent in America, written October 20, 1775, are supposed to indicate this return. Speaking of his 'Calm Address,' he said, 'I had written a little tract before I knew that the American ports were shut up.' Again he said, 'Indeed, it is provoking; I suppose forty thousand of them have been printed in three weeks, and still the demand is as great as ever.' On the ground of these two sentences it is said Wesley repented writing and publishing the pamphlet under consideration, and, further, that 'had he not sold the copyright he would have stopped the circulation at once.' It may be said in reply, (1) That Wesley did not sell the copyright of his pamphlet. In a letter inserted in his works (iv, 443), he says he did not publish his 'Calm Address' to get money. 'Had that been my motive, . . . I should have entered it at Stationers' Hall,' that is, have copyrighted it. (2) That Wesley, at the time he wrote the letter to Rankin, was preparing a new edition for publication. Eight days later, that is, October 28, 1775, he wrote to his brother Charles these words, 'I am just getting into the press a new edition of the 'Address,' corrected, in which my change is accounted for;' and in another letter, six days latter, he says, 'In the Preface to the new

edition of the 'Address,' there is, I think, a sufficient answer to Mr. Evans's letter.' Now, we submit that Wesley could not be sorry for having written the pamphlet, and desirous of stopping its publication when he was preparing a new edition. The meaning of the quoted sentences is easily seen. In 1777 Wesley said, 'About a year and a half ago I wrote a little tract, entitled 'A Calm Address,' etc., but the ports being then shut up by the Americans, I could not send it abroad as I designed.' (v, 328.) This explains the first without any implication of regret for having written the pamphlet. The provocation arising from the rapid sale is explained by the context: 'Many are excessively angry, and would willingly burn me and the tract together. Indeed, it is provoking. I suppose about forty thousand of them,' etc. (viii, 12.) It thus appears that the rapid sale was provoking, not to Wesley, as the garbled extract implies, but to his enemies, who would willingly 'burn him and the tract together.'

It is said, however, that the effect of the 'Address' was 'to postpone the war.' But how so? The English Parliament voted soldiers and supplies in February, fighting commenced in April (Concord and Lexington), was renewed in June (Bunker Hill), and the British army, though increased as rapidly as possible, was rigidly blockaded in Boston. In September, when things were in this position, Wesley wrote the 'Address.' How then was the war postponed by it?

But the great proof that Wesley did not from this time favour the Americans is found in all he subsequently wrote in regard to the conflict. He continued his writing until the close of the war, yet with one questionable exception, to be hereafter noticed, he said not another word for the Colonists. His declarations are so numerous we can quote but a very few of them. On November 7, 1775, he wrote a sermon, in which, speaking of the Americans, he said: 'Reason is lost in rage. Wisdom is fallen in the streets. They have in their wild cry for liberty, lost liberty, both of the press and speech, and none must dare to utter one word, either in favour of King George, or in disfavour of the idol they have set up, the new illegal, unconstitutional government utterly unknown to us and our forefathers.' (ii, 517-8.) On November 11 he wrote, 'Have we a right to tax, or no? If we have, they are rebels and accountable to God and man for all the blood that is shed. Will they allow that right, or can we give it up?' (vi, 792). The same month he wrote, 'I see many pouring oil into the flame by crying out, 'How unjustly and cruelly the king is using the poor Americans, who are only contending for their liberty and their legal privileges.' Now, there is no possible way to put out this flame, or

hinder its rising higher and higher, but to show that the Americans are not used either cruelly or unjustly; that they are not injured at all, seeing they are not contending for liberty (this they had even in its full extent, both civil and religious); neither for any legal privileges, for they enjoy all that their charters grant. But what they contend for is the legal privilege of being exempt from Parliamentary taxation. This being the real state of the question, what impartial man can either blame the king or commend the Americans? With this view, to quench the fire by laying the blame where it is due, the 'Calm Address' was written.' (iv, 443-4.)

In another letter, dated December 9, he says that five months ago he doubted 'whether the measures taken with respect to America could be defended either on the foot of law, equity, or prudence.' He acknowledges that probably he had said 'the Americans were an oppressed, injured people,' and had 'recommended an argument for the exclusive right of the Colonies to tax themselves.' To all this he adds, 'But I am now of another mind.' (iv, 445).

In 1776, Wesley published two pamphlets, one entitled, 'Observations on Liberty,' a reply to a tract written by Dr. Price in favour of the Americans—the other, 'A Seasonable Address to the Inhabitants of Great Britain.' It has been asserted that Wesley's parents taught him the principles of civil and political liberty. Without showing the fallacy of the arguments by which it is attempted to prove this, we quote his own words upon the point: 'I was bred up from my childhood in the highest notions of passive obedience and non-resistance.' (Tyerman iii, 198.) The 'Observations on Liberty' show that he had not outgrown those notions. He contends that power is delegated from God to rulers, and in no proper sense derived from the people. Because America was peopled from England, King George was the lawful sovereign of the Colonists, and, therefore, the quarrel was unrighteous on their part. The Americans had all the liberty he himself had, and all any reasonable man could desire. The imposed tax was not an infringement of their liberty; neither was the transfer of the trials of accused persons to England, for American juries would not convict. England had undertaken the war very unwillingly, after trying all methods she could devise to secure the proper ends without violence. Not one-fourth of the adult Americans desired a change in government, but a few pretended patriots, for selfish purposes, had urged and persuaded the people. He denied that England was employing Indians to fight, or attempting to hire Persian troops; but he says not a word about the

Hessians. So much for the animus of the first pamphlet. The second, written with a decidedly religious purpose, endeavours to avoid all partisanship. Yet it says, 'What God hath joined together (especially such powerful people as we and the Americans now are) for the mutual support, comfort, and defence of each other, should not be put asunder by any means whatsoever, as it would undoubtedly frustrate his gracious design in this well compacted body' (vi, 326). This may be considered as Wesley's reply to the Declaration of Independence. It would thus seem that in 1776 he was not in favour of the Americans.

At the commencement of 1777 we find him rejoicing over the intelligence that all the Methodists in America were firm for the government, though on that account persecuted by the rebels (vii. 78). In February he published a 'Calm Address to the Inhabitants of England.' In this he speaks of the good accomplished by the 'Calm Address to the American Colonies,' in opening the eyes of the English adherents of America to the delusions they were labouring under. He asserts that the British Government had treated the Colonies with unparalleled lenity, had allowed perfect civil and religious liberty, had taxed them very little, and had paid them large bounties. Hence, the Colonies had become wealthy. And now, guided by a few selfish leaders, they were striving to overthrow this kind power. The New England men in particular had begun to propagate those Republican notions their fathers carried over the ocean. By the rebellion America had lost her liberty, while England had all the liberty men could conceive. Therefore she ought not to be embarrassed in her dealings with America. He complains of certain Englishmen who were so wonderfully tender of the Americans that they would not in any wise term them rebels, though they were in open arms against their lawful sovereign. In this pamphlet he charges the Americans with cowardice. 'Whatever they will do, they will not fight. I believe they cannot, for the hand of God is upon them' (vi. 332). But the valiant warriors from England had driven 'the rebels out of their almost inaccessible forts, though defended by strong intrenchments. They took Fort Washington and Fort Lee, which a handful of men might have defended against a numerous army' (vi. 332). He has not left upon record his thoughts when, towards the end of the year, he heard of the brave soldiers under Burgoyne surrendering to these God-stricken, cowardly rebels.

When Wesley wrote this pamphlet more than two years had passed

since war was declared, and, the promises of an easy and speedy victory not being fulfilled, the English people were becoming dissatisfied. To meet this feeling, Wesley did two things in this 'Address:' 1. He decried the state of society in America to the lowest degree. 2. He taught that no religious man ought to speak against the king and government. On the first point he asserted there was no liberty in America. A man's goods were not his own, his tongue was not his own, his body might be imprisoned, he might be deprived of everything, either by Congress or by their friends, the mob, who were always ready to do the bidding of Congress, even to cutting throats. (vi. 333.) He complains that his preachers were not allowed to teach men 'to be subject to principalities and powers,' meaning, of course, the English Government, or 'to honour the King,' that is George III. On the other point he taught that a religious man should carefully abstain from speaking evil of the ruler of his people, ought not to espouse the cause of those who were in open rebellion against their 'lawful sovereign;' should not extenuate their crime or scruple to call them 'rebels,' should not speak of them with tenderness rather than resentment. In his journal for August 1st he says, 'I desired as many as could to join together in fasting and prayer, that God would restore the spirit of love and a sound mind to the *poor deluded rebels* in America.'

The commencement of 1778 found England in great agitation. The war which was to have been so easily ended in a few months had continued three years without any advantage to England. A few thousand soldiers, it was said, could march through the Colonies; but Burgoyne, trying this feat, was captured with his army. The British were unable to hold the ground they had taken. Boston had been surrendered, and now Philadelphia must be vacated too. All tended to show that the Colonies could not be conquered. The Government seemed to have embraced this opinion, for Parliament, at the suggestion of the Cabinet, repealed all laws imposing taxes upon the Colonies, and promised never to tax them again if they would resume their allegiance. The country became highly irritated against the ministry, who, for the sake of a few thousand pounds per year, had plunged the country into an unsuccessful war. But the chief anxiety arose from another source. It would probably be difficult now to tell how the opinion originated, but of its existence there can be no doubt, that the independence of the American Colonies would be the ruin of England, and since that seemed likely to be achieved, England was

supposed to be near her ruin. A strange, and almost an insane, depression seized upon the people. Government found it necessary to meet this, and again Wesley stepped to the front. The Dean of Gloucester had written upon the subject; and Wesley did as he had done for Johnson, condensed and published widely the tract as 'A serious Address to the People of England.' Nothing is said about the war, but the whole purport of the tract was to encourage the people by showing them that they were not in the road to ruin. This was issued in February. In May he sent out a shorter tract, 'A Compassionate Address to the Inhabitants of Ireland,' designed, of course, for circulation through Britain as well. In this he endeavours to encourage the people by stating that the American armies were small and rapidly declining; that the French could not help either by ships or soldiers, both of which, if sent, would be defeated by the English. Neither was anything to be feared at home, either from France or Spain; and insurrection, if attempted, would surely be put down. In short, God would not desert England, for she had not filled the measure of her iniquities, and had within her borders thousands of praying men and women. Besides, God would never destroy a nation during the progress of a great religious revival.

It was during this year that he wrote his sermon, as it is called, on 'The Work of God in North America' (1, 498). This was simply an account of the origin and growth of the rebellion, as he termed it. The original emigrants were Republicans, and had a great dislike to the English Government; still, they submitted while feeble, though with an ill grace. All the kindness England showed to them failed to remove this dislike. An increase in wealth led to pride, luxuriousness, indolence, and wantonness. And here he quotes from an American letter, and by quoting indorses the statement: 'You think the women of England (many of them, I mean), do not abound in chastity, but yet the generality of your women, compared with ours, might pass for vestal virgins.' Their wealth led them likewise to desire independence. In acting thus they were helped by the devil, who hoped in this way to eradicate at one stroke true religion and British rule. But the attempt had reduced the Americans to poverty; they were forsaking their sins, and eventually all would be brought right, the plans of the devil defeated, and true liberty established. This is as much as the sermon will justify us in saying. Tyerman, however, says that the sermon declared that the independence of America would be a heavy curse. This is not now in the sermon. Perhaps Wesley expunged the

statement in the revision of his later sermons in 1787, perhaps some later editor did it. There is nothing, therefore, in this, the fourth year of the war, to indicate Wesley's return to his first views.

The longer the war continued the greater became the distress and anxiety of the English people. Their soldiers could only hold in America the ground they stood on. The Colonial leaders refused to treat with England except on the basis of independence. France and Spain, uniting their navies, threatened a descent on Great Britain. The national debt was rapidly increasing; soldiers, sailors, and taxes were imperiously called for. Little was now written on the war, as it was seen by all that the sword alone could decide the matter. Wesley relates in his journal two conversations with gentlemen from America in a manner which clearly shows his dislike of 'the rebels.' He preached several sermons to encourage the people; instituted weekly meetings for the special purpose of praying for the King and country; held with his conference a fast day, in which special prayer was made for the nation; resolved that no one should become a Methodist preacher who spoke evil (that is, opposed the measures) of the King or prophesied evil to the nation, that is, doubted the success of the Royal cause in America. The decrease in the number of members in his societies he attributed partly to speaking evil of the King and Government, thus making an agreement with official political measures a religious duty, the neglect of which led to backsliding.

The war lingered through 1780 with little hope of success for England, and Wesley's efforts were still directed to raise the people from their despondency. We learn from Tyerman that during this year Wesley published a 12mo pamphlet of ninety-six pages, on the 'Rise and Progress of the American Rebellion.' This tract is not inserted in his works (which, by-the-by, are poorly edited and very defective), and we know not how to procure it. This we regret, as the pamphlet would give us information we very much want. Still, we notice that the title calls the opposition to British rule 'Rebellion.'

In 1781, when the surrender of Cornwallis depressed England exceedingly, Wesley continued his efforts to keep up the drooping fortitude of the people. In 1782 Boardman, one of his first preachers to America, suddenly died. Wesley supplied an epitaph for his tombstone containing these lines:

'Soon the bloody waste of war he mourns,
And loyal from rebellion's seat returns.'

In his 'Circular Letter' to the American Societies, September, 1784 (nine years after he wrote his 'Calm Address,'), he acknowledges that,

by 'a very uncommon train of providences, many of the provinces in North America are totally disjoined from the mother country, . . . and we judge it best that they should stand fast in the [ecclesiastical?] liberty wherewith God has so *strangely* set them free.' Success seems to have convinced him that the change was of God, not of the devil.

These given are only a few of the expressions in Wesley's writings of the same tenour, and it should be remembered that there are none on the other side. During several years preceding the contest, and for several months after its commencement, Wesley pleaded for the Americans. In August or September, 1775, he suddenly became their opponent. As the years rolled on he added bitterness to his opposition, circulating views and statements calculated to inflame the English mind. After September, 1775, the only sentence we find in his writings looking favourably to the Americans is the following, written December 26, 1775, 'I say, as Dean Tucker, 'Let them drop.' Cut off all other connection with them than we have with Holland or Germany, Four and thirty millions they have cost us to *support them* since Queen Anne died [1714]. Let them cost us no more. Let them have their desire, and support themselves.' (vi. 792.) The Americans would have been pleased with just this treatment. Yet Wesley's way of putting the matter utterly precludes all idea that he was friendly to the American cause. And this is all we find till 1784. To say, therefore, that Wesley favoured the Colonists in their protracted struggle for independence and freedom shows either determined prejudice or great ignorance.

It has not been a pleasant task to exhume these facts. We would rather that they lay still, quietly ignored. But when men attempt to falsify history, even in reference to John Wesley (and several such attempts have been made lately), we think the truth should be set forth. John Wesley's character, of all others, needs no help of this kind. He was a man of strong convictions, always sincere and intensely conscientious, and not absolutely above the influences of prejudices. Over these the real friends of his good name would throw the veil of charity, and willingly allow them to be forgotten. They who, by their false or careless statements, are compelling an examination of these points are inflicting injury on his memory by directing attention anew to these defects in his character. Thank God for John Wesley! Notwithstanding his human imperfections, he was one of the noblest of men, and his character will shine more resplendently the more it is studied through coming ages; and why attempt to conceal the patent fact, that

his political opinions were not on the side of the largest liberty? He believed in a strong government, and of authority *juro divino* in State and Church ; and it is unjust to his memory to attempt to show him as he was not. His influence for good, as a religious teacher, will extend through all time, and his character certainly needs no false colouring from his friends.

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PRACTICAL HOMILETICS.

GOD VINDICATES HIMSELF.

'What could have been done more to my vineyard that I have not done in it? Wherefore, when I looked that it should bring forth grapes, brought it forth wild grapes.'—Isaiah v. 4.

FOR the frequent use of this favourite representation of the covenant people we find a sufficient reason in the fact that vineries were very common in the East. Men are instructed best by allusions and references to familiar things. The situation selected for this vineyard was 'a very fruitful hill,' or, idiomatically expressed, 'the horn of the son of oil.' The geographical position and mountainous nature of the country made it like an elevated horn, and its fertility is happily set forth by the son of oil. It was fenced with a wall, shut off from the common world by covenant. The stones were gathered out—the troublesome Canaanites—so some interpret. The tower was, doubtless, the temple, where priestly sentinels kept guard, and the wine-press signifies the altars to which the fruits were brought. After such attentions and outlay it was reasonable that the proprietor should be repaid with choice fruit. We sympathise with his complaint. We would exclaim against the Jews as a perverse people, but that we might be uttering our own condemnation. As the *chosen* people, we wonder what could be the ground of preference. Not moral character, certainly, for subsequently to their adoption there is abundant evidence that they were not 'better than' others. If there must be a special people, there was not much *choice* when all were degenerate. The complaint brought against them may be renewed against others equally favoured. So, without confining our discourse to the people in question, we will deal with a doctrine which the text suggests—that *God has done for men whatever was necessary, and even possible, to put them in the way of obedience and salvation.* The proposition involved in this interrogation is, not that all was done for the vineyard that was needful, but all that was possible. It is asked, not what more should have been, but what more could have been, done, as if the owner had been prodigal of expense, and studied how to be lavish in his outlay. We will treat the leading proposition in two particulars, which it includes.

I.—EVERYTHING POSSIBLE HAS BEEN DONE FOR MEN AS RESPONSIBLE AGENTS, CONSISTENT WITH MORAL FREEDOM.—Of a few items necessary to constitute responsibility we name, first,

Conscience, or the *knowledge of right and wrong*. By those who write on moral science it is variously defined as ‘the moral sense,’ or ‘self-knowledge,’ or ‘self-consciousness,’ or ‘the faculty by which we discern the moral quality of actions.’ Lacking this power of discerning the distinction of right and wrong, no man could bear blame, or be approved, for any part of his behaviour. His actions would be neither good nor bad, but simply void of moral quality. He could no more be cited to a court of law, or dealt with as a criminal, than the turf-grazing quadruped. On this matter we only need to appeal to the consciousness of each individual. Every full-grown person, yea, and many a child of tender years, has this inborn sense of the difference in actions. It is not the offspring of education, nor the result of experience, though it may be educated and improved. It is an original faculty, inwoven with our very constitution. Its offices are wholesome and kind, though in some instances severe. It operates prospectively as well as retrospectively. Upon anything good which you mean to do it smiles approval. Upon any bad action which you have in purpose it frowns forbiddingly. It never stings you after any action which it did not beforehand protest against. Is not this kindly? If conscience let you alone till you fell into the snare of an evil deed, and then lashed you, you would owe it less thanks. And, further, this kindly monitor is always near, and offers its services gratuitously. It is an ever-burning, inward light. ‘The spirit of man is the candle of the Lord, searching all the inward parts’ (Prov. xx. 37). A much-neglected poet says—

Heaven gives our very blood a moral flow.

This is true. The bare thought of certain actions brings the blood to your cheek in a burning blush. What more could be done without trenching on our moral freedom? Another requisite to moral action is,

The presentation of suitable motives. Motive power is an element in our nature. We have about us hope and fear, a desire of happiness, a dread of misery, and a sense of obligation for favours received and enjoyed. To these appeal is made. To move at the bidding of naked authority, and execute orders recommended by no reasons, nor enforced by any moving considerations, would be unnatural. But we are not so dealt with. Reason, passion, conscience are all enlisted. We are drawn with cords of a man, with bands of love. We

are bidden to consider. There is scope offered to our understanding. Deterrent considerations are brought to bear on us, striking at our fears, and alluring promises are offered to our hopes. And, if we boast of nobler sensibilities, less liable to the change of self-regard than hope and fear, the bounty and goodness of our Supreme Benefactor touches us even at that point. Unless we are disingenuous to an extreme, there is a sufficiency of motive to engage us to right action. It seems as if more would be compulsion. To conscience and motivity we may add—

The power of choice. To be responsible we require to have liberty of action—power to forbear, or to perform things which are respectively forbidden or commanded. If some dire necessity restrains us from right action, or some chain of circumstances impels us to evil deeds, so that we have no alternative but to do what we do and be what we are, then we are somehow most fearfully abused. We can trust this question to individual consciousness. Let each man say whether, after the performance of certain deeds, he does not feel self-approbation, and after some others self-displeasure. If the said actions were not at his choice, why should he cherish the sense of blame in the one case, or nurse the self-complacency in the other? Prove to me that I am just a tool, or the dupe of circumstances, and I solemnly promise never to be either pleased or vexed with any of my future actions. It would be dishonest in me to take any credit for good actions, and gratuitous simplicity to torture myself with the feeling of blame. In vain we try to reason ourselves out of the conviction of our free-will. The voice within us protests against the validity of any argument which sophistical ingenuity can fabricate. This places us in a serious position. As we have liberty of choice in particular actions, so it comes that we have the choice of our final condition. Concerning this we are pushed to a decision. We feel it to be a weighty matter to decide upon. But as it is not doubtful where the balance of good lies, we cannot be perplexed. And surely it is best that it lies in our own choice. No one else ought to choose for us. Nothing ‘more’ or better could be done.

To enable men to meet the expectations and demands of the proprietor of the vineyard, there are several

Affections and capacities needful. Assuming the code of duty which the Bible prescribes, men should be endowed with love and fear, and with the capacity of remorse, since they are asked to exercise in these. Love is the first and chief commandment: ‘Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with

all thy mind, and with all thy strength.' The rectitude of this claim depends on our having or not having such a thing as love in our constitution. If we have love to bestow on other objects, as our kindred, father, mother, wife, or husband, or even domestic animals, we cannot deny His anterior claim who endowed us with that power. We are bidden to fear God. Very proper it is that we should. To Him 'doth it appertain,' clothed as He is with majesty and power. The claim can only be denied by proving that we are void of the capacity. But we have feared our fellow-creatures, who are but feeble clay. He bids us repent of our offences against Him. And we put off the duty by saying we cannot repent. But our behaviour in social life gives us the lie, for we have sometimes at least, if not often, by a penitent bearing, recovered the favour of some we had offended. There are other demands made upon us, but nothing which we are short of ability to render. Thus furnished with conscience, motivity, a self-determining will, and affections and capacities, man is a vineyard that ought to yield.

It will be said that thus far we have ignored a serious matter that materially affects the argument. The first created man had all these faculties and powers in a state of purity, but we are in a lapsed state, corrupt passions warping our judgment, our consciences loaded with guilt in early life, and our wills inclined to evil; and all this the result of an act not our own, but which was perpetrated by the progenitor of the race. If he, perfectly constituted, and with God's image impressed on him, went wrong, how are we, with a deteriorated nature, which we inherit by generation, to go right? We reply to this by our second proposition--

II.—EVERYTHING POSSIBLE HAS BEEN DONE FOR MEN, AS FALLEN AND SINFUL, TO RESTORE AND SAVE THEM.—A system of grace was brought into operation immediately subsequent to the fall whose provisions are such as to reach all the necessities of man's condition. What the alternative would have been if remedial measures had not been taken we do not choose to discuss. It suffices for us to deal with what has in fact taken place. Mercy has taken action in a way that surprises the universe and meets the wants of a guilty world most amply. One great problem to be solved was, how pardon could safely and honourably be granted to guilty men for violations of a law confessedly holy, just, and good. Men's offences must not be condoned on the false idea that the law was withal too exacting upon them and disproportioned to their ability. That would be an unworthy reflection on the Lawgiver. Nor was it eligible for mercy to be bestowed by prerogative, ruthlessly pushing aside the consideration of the claims

of justice. That would be equivalent to saying that the severe sanction was needlessly attached to offensive violation. And truth would be sacrificed in the dishonour of justice. The exercise of naked mercy, irrespective of anything compensative, would have operated disastrously on the moral universe. Moreover, guilty men are so constituted that they could not have accepted a pardon so groundless. The whole difficulty was met by the sacrifice made on Calvary. In the Cross of Christ mercy and justice are reflected with equal splendour, and the combination makes mercy awful, and renders justice lovely and tender. 'If we confess our sins, He is faithful and just to forgive us our sins.' To make pardon safe and receivable and to commend it to our acceptance, 'what more could have been done?'

Besides a provision to touch man's guilt, the counteraction of his depravity was urgent. According to theological dogma, all Adam's posterity commence their probation under the disadvantage of an inborn proneness to evil. This doctrine, so obviously true, needs no laboured proof; but, like other Scriptural dogmas, it is liable to abuse from false inference. Men regard it as a palliative, and speak of it as a necessitating influence to sinful action over which they have no power either to augment or diminish. They will even go into despair of amendment, and cast the blame on hereditary evil. Even the holy people did so. 'If our transgressions and our sins be upon us, and we pine away in them, how should we then live?' (Ezek. xxxiii. 10). 'There is no hope; for I have loved strangers, and after them will I go' (Jer. ii. 25). Thus, men who love sin still argue and ignore the remedy. Is there no fountain opened for sin and uncleanness? Is there no motive-power in the system of grace to melt our hardness and encourage us to abandon evil practice? Besides, is there no Holy Spirit to strive with and convince men? or has His mission reached its period? 'Is the Spirit of the Lord straitened?' What more could have been done to check and cure our sinful tendencies?

Much has been done, too, to meet the intellectual necessities of mankind. Instruction was requisite to preserve the knowledge of the true God, and especially to make known the way of salvation. This was done in feeble outline at first, and with increasing fulness afterwards. When a growing degeneracy threatened to extinguish the light, a particular man was selected and a special people formed, to whose custody religious truth was committed. Thus the world was never left without witness. A state of maturity came at last, of which we have the benefit. The means of knowledge are within reach of all, even the simplest. A book, originally in another tongue, but rendered

easy by translation, contained the sum of Divine truth. To this is added a staff of living ministry to give forth the truth in audible expression, with the aid of exposition and comment and the advantage of earnest oratory. This is sufficient, in reason, for all purposes. But it may not prevent scornful cavil and careless neglect, nor conquer prejudice, passion, and invincible unbelief. What then? It is not necessary that it should. In the face of this simple provision, 'If any man be ignorant, let him be ignorant.' What could have been done more?

As sinners, our guilt, depravity, and ignorance are all provided against. As responsible agents, we have moral discernment, a determining will, and a susceptibility of motives, with all the affections to constitute us capable. Is anything else possible? or, would something else be preferable?

Would miracles be efficacious to conversion? We have the record of them, which, if we receive as true, should influence us. But would not the sight of them affect us more favourably? We must concede that some who saw Christ's miracles became His disciples. Equally true it is that some who saw them continued obdurate, and many who never witnessed them have been saved. And who are we that something must be done for us which others have been saved without?

Would supernatural appearances be more effective than the regular system of means? (Read Luke xvi. 27, 31.) The written word is better than voices or ghostly visitations.

Is the exercise of irresistible physical power, compelling conversion, a possibility? We answer reverently, it is not. It would be violence done upon our will.

This, then, is the conclusion we arrive at, that the blame of failure in this great affair must be for ever at the door of him who fails.

THOMAS GREENFIELD.

THE TRUE CIRCUMCISION.

'For we are the circumcision which worship God in the Spirit, and rejoice in Christ Jesus, and have no confidence in the flesh.'—Philip. iii. 3.

MAN has a capacity for religion. Concerning that there can be no reasonable doubt. In a remarkable degree his nature is susceptible of influences emanating from the unseen and spiritual world. He wants to extend his knowledge beyond the limits of the visible and tangible, and so his attitude is often one of desire and expectation. He is ready to worship and trust in something that he can neither

see nor handle, and he longs for a joy that has its fountain in the immaterial and the heavenly.

Now, if there be truth in this part of human nature, there must be a spiritual world open to man, with its doctrines, services, and enjoyments; or, in other words, there must be a system of religion in which he may find help for the deeper yearnings of his heart, and light which, if truly and fully followed, will lead him into the ineffable Presence. What is religion? To this question there can be but one answer that is right in its essential principles. There may be many religious forms, each having some element of truth in it, and so saving it from the sweeping condemnation that falls on systems altogether evil; but there can be only one faith that is complete and all-sufficient. That is set forth in the inspired Scriptures. But even those who are agreed that Christianity is the true religion are not at one among themselves as to what the religion of Jesus really is, and hence they give different answers to the query, What is religion? and continue to discuss the subject with considerable vigour and some amount of bitterness. Whatever we may say of the vigour, the bitterness is very much to be regretted. In the text before us St. Paul gives his judgment on the matter, and states it in three divisions. We will consider these, and then notice the conclusion of which they are really the ground. We shall thus reverse his order, for he states the conclusion first, and then names the premises on which it is based. Consider—

I.—THE APOSTOLIC PRINCIPLES OF PRACTICAL RELIGION.—‘Which worship God in the Spirit,’ &c. There is—

1. *The rendering of spiritual worship to God.* Here two points may be noted, namely, the object and nature of true worship.

(1) *The object.* This is *God*. The Divine existence is the fundamental fact in religion, and is regarded by some as a necessary truth; it, therefore, very properly leads the way in Paul’s description of the true faith. Jehovah is the all-perfect One, being infinite and eternal. It is needful for us to have such a being as the object of supreme worship. We may not be able to comprehend either infinity or eternity; but our soul is to be so constituted that if a limited god were set before it as the being it was to serve and trust, it would not be satisfied, but long for something above and beyond—in fact, unbounded—as alone sufficient to meet all its wants. In the everlasting, omnipresent, omniscient, and almighty God there is room enough for the soul to exercise itself in all directions. The Lord has revealed Himself to us in nature, providence, and redemption, not fully, so as to be understood by us in His essence, perfections, and purposes, but

sufficiently to enable us to know His disposition and attitude towards us, and the way in which we may approach Him both for service and enjoyment (Ex. xxxiv. 5-7, John iii. 14-18, Acts iii. 19, Rom. x. 10, Heb. xi. 6).

(2) The *nature*. 'In the Spirit.' This is in harmony with the Saviour's words (John iv. 23, 24). There are two features in this spiritual worship. First, it is *by our own spirit*. That was well known under the law even (Psa. ii. 17, Ish. lvii. 15, Mic. vi. 6-8). We may be sure that it is not overlooked in the Gospel (Rom. i. 9, ii. 29, 1 Cor. xiv. 14, 15). Without thought and feeling, our worship is but empty, useless noise. We may assume the most abject bodily postures, or put forth the most energetic action, or use the most gorgeous and imposing ritual, and yet be nothing better than fanatics and religious showmen, performers and not worshippers. On the other hand, there may be a quiet and silent waiting that our fellow men do not perceive, and it may be very acceptable to God, because it is the looking up of the heart to Him. Forms are useful when kept in their proper place. They may deepen the impressions made upon the soul, and even sometimes serve as wings to the spirit, to help it in its heavenward soaring. It is, however, needful to impose some restraint here, lest the form distract the thoughts, and the spirit of true worship be smothered in its robes. If we choose a ceremonial for its ornateness, we are almost sure to find a snare in it. We shall run great risk of being like men who, when invited to a royal feast, are so taken up with the gold and silver plate, as to forget the dinner. Second, it is *with our spirit rooted in the Holy Spirit*. The doctrine of the Spirit is one of the prominent features of the Gospel. This Gospel is His dispensation. He convinces us of sin, thus showing us our need of God. By Him we are regenerated, and thus fitted to worship God. Our new life is said to be in the Spirit. The Spirit dwells in us to teach, quicken, comfort, and sanctify us. He also helps us in our worship by His inspiration. Moreover, all those desires and affections which prompt us to serve the Lord, and those heavenly virtues which adorn our Christian life, are the product of this blessed Agent. As the plant has its roots in the soil, and thereby draws nourishment from the earth, so our soul has all its life in Christ by the Spirit. Thus we have fellowship with the Triune God. Worship has nothing deterrent or irksome about it, but is rather a delight to the soul, inasmuch as while it thus waits in the presence of the great King, it also looks into the face of its Almighty Father to read there reconciliation, lovingkindness, and assurance

that there shall be given to it every good thing now and evermore. There is—

2. *Rejoicing in Christ Jesus.* Remembering that Paul is giving a summary of godliness, and carefully noting his use of terms, we are to conclude that, by the statement now under consideration, he sets forth that personal union with the Redeemer which gives to the soul a knowledge of the great salvation. The state spoken of is no mere bearing of Jesus, or desiring Him, or having expectation of help from Him; it is one of joy in Him. The heart has found repose in Him after its long and weary striving to get rest in the creature. It has taken possession of the Promised Land, and is now enjoying its beauty and abundance of blessing. If disposed to particularise the things pertaining to this experience, both as to preliminaries and contents, we might mention the following matters: knowledge of the Saviour, approval of Him, surrender of self to Him, realisation of Him, and a trusting and glorying in Him as the soul's only but all-sufficient portion for time and eternity. There is—

3. *Renunciation of the flesh.* What is meant by the 'flesh?' As used in the Bible, the word bears more than one meaning. Sometimes it signifies human nature as a whole, and without regard to moral quality or condition, as in Gen. ii. 23 and Rom. ix. 5. Very often it means the sinful principle in man, as opposed to the Divine life of religion (Rom. viii. 1-8, 12, 13, Gal. v. 19-21). In this latter view it is a prolific seed, and brings forth a fearful harvest of guilt and misery (Jas. i. 14, 15). In the text, if we may judge from what immediately follows, Paul uses the term flesh in a somewhat narrow and peculiar sense, meaning thereby human nature working in the sphere of religion, and gathering to itself matter for glorying in connection with nationality, and other earthly things which some have labelled with the name of godliness, and boasted of as the best (Philip iii. 4-6). Natural descent, national privilege, religious rites, sectarian strictness, faultless obedience to external law, and zeal for his own faith are all mentioned by the Apostle as being, in his case, things of the flesh. How significant is this sweeping declaration! What havoc it makes of some men's crotchets and darling idols! What multitudes of Christian professors are to-day glorying in a religion of the flesh! Would to God they were all in Paul's school, that they might learn a more excellent way.

We see how the Apostle in each of these three matters of practical godliness strikes at the very core and root of the thing in hand. There is nothing uncertain or half-and-half here. It is worship in the

Spirit, form or no form. It is rejoicing in the Saviour, as in one whose work and words the soul has realised. It is an absolute discarding of the flesh, even when the flesh turns religious, as it sometimes does. Nothing can pass here but the real thing, and that in its whole length, breadth, depth, and height, covering, as it were, the entire distance between earth and heaven. Consider—

II.—THE APOSTLE'S DOCTRINE CONCERNING THOSE WHO ADOPT THESE RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES IN THEIR INTEGRITY. 'We are the circumcision.' From this teaching we are warranted to infer—

1. *The abolition of all national distinctions in religion.* Paul's doctrine is, that all are Abraham's true seed who have his faith, and the rest are not, though descended from him as to their natural life. Faith is the one door into God's household, and all who will may enter in (Rom. iv. 11-13, ix. 6-8, 30-33, x. 12, 13, Gal. iii. 26-29). Just now there is a great babble in some quarters about the return of the Jews to the Holy Land, certain persons appearing to think that that event will shortly happen, and that the temple, with its priests and ancient ritual, will be restored to Jerusalem. I do not so read the Word of the Lord. To me the thing is monstrous. I say nothing as to whether the Jews will or will not go back to Palestine; but I am persuaded that they will not go back as Jews merely. They were cast out for unbelief, and God will not stultify Himself by bringing them in in the same state of spiritual blindness (Rom. ix. 20-23). The great point is their conversion to Christ, whether that shall be in order to their returning to Palestine, or to their being God's people elsewhere. Their true restoration is their being grafted into Jesus, Abraham's heir and David's Son and Lord (Rom. xi. 24-27).

2. *That no outward rite or ceremony is necessary to salvation.* Faith stands before all external services, being the one great instrument of salvation. It was always so, though not always taught with the emphasis now given to it. Abraham was justified by faith before he knew anything of circumcision. Paul has settled the thing, once and for ever, that religion is not a matter of outward relationships and observances (Rom. ii. 25-29). Such things are but 'beggarly elements' and 'carnal ordinances.' Circumcision was the seal of the old covenant, and confirmed to the Jews those privileges peculiar to them as God's chosen nation, established in Canaan, with the ordinances of the true religion in their midst; but, as the parchment with its contents, and the seal that is upon it, are two distinct things, so were the blessings of religious life, and the circumcision that was in the flesh. The same holds good of baptism, the seal of the new covenant.

As a dedication to Christ's service, it is of great moment; but as a substitute for the consecration of the soul to Him, it is a delusion and a mockery. Baptism, in connection with a heart full of unbelief, is no better than a seal upon blank paper. Faith, not baptism, makes us heirs of salvation.

3. *That all mere Church regulations, as matters of authority in the salvation of men, are utterly void.* These things may exclude persons from particular religious organisations, which is really a comparatively harmless affair; but we can afford to laugh at the notion of their shutting souls out of the kingdom of heaven. It is not admission to the visible church, so called, that gives membership in the true body of Jesus. The one may take place without the other, and either may be first in the order of time. The former depends on the suffrages of fellow-creatures, the latter on personal faith in Christ. That would be a sad day for mankind which saw the two admissions inseparably linked together, for then the soul's participating in the supreme joys of life would depend on the will of creatures open to all manner of corrupt influences, and frequently swayed by pride, selfishness, spite, and the spirit of despotism. We have ample proof of these things in the history of Popish rule. Under that, ignorance, poverty, and mental and moral serfdom prevail. That stamina from which true manhood grows is almost unknown. It must ever be so in the nature of things. If you have a class, call them by what name you like, priests or anything else, who are regarded as having authority to determine the religious interests of all other men, then you inevitably divide the human race into two portions, namely, the rulers and the ruled. You rear between them walls of adamant, that reach up to heaven; and no power on this earth can prevent there being the most fearful tyranny on the one hand, and the most abject slavery on the other. Let us always have an eye to these matters. The principles laid down in the text are our safeguard. It is no wonder that despots hate the Gospel, and Paul as one of its greatest teachers. Let us praise God with our whole heart for both the man and his message. But, above all, let us have as our priceless heritage the religion which he so emphatically commends. It is ours by right. May it be ours by possession. Amen.

THOMAS NEWELL.

THE GREATEST IN THE KINGDOM.

‘Whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant.’—Matt. xx. 26-27.

THE disciples were looking for a kingdom constituted of earthly elements. Israel, as a nation, was to be restored; and when we remember their times, and the teachings of the ‘Masters in Israel,’ we shall not be surprised that this was so. The whole Jewish nation was anxiously expecting the Messiah; the prediction of the Old Testament had drawn largely upon the material world for illustrations of the greatness, extent, and happiness of His kingdom, and these predictions had been interpreted in a material sense. Besides, it was natural and reasonable that Jews, whose patriotism was most intense, should long for the return of the glories of Solomon’s reign. Hence, the Messiah was to be their earthly King as well as heavenly, their national ruler as well as spiritual Saviour. And Jesus Himself at times seems to encourage this materialistic view of His kingdom: ‘Ye which have followed Me in the regeneration, when the Son of man shall sit on the throne of His glory ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel.’ And it will probably lead us to excuse the disciples if we remind ourselves how many there are who, in this spiritual dispensation, largely, if not almost exclusively, materialise the ‘kingdom of glory.’ It seemed, therefore, to the disciples that they were justified in thus expecting an earthly kingdom of God, and also in hoping that they would have the chief positions in it. They had been the first to follow Christ. They had ‘forsaken all to follow Him;’ they were His immediate circle of friends, and, therefore, they expected to be nearest to Him and His chief ministers when He should come into His kingdom. But, unfortunately, while all expected to be great, each was seeking to be greatest. They were ambitious and jealous of each other, the sons of Zebedee no more so perhaps than the others. James and John only sought to obtain by a *coup d’état* what each was secretly longing for in his heart.

The manner in which this request was urged was very significant. Matthew says that Salome interceded for her sons, while Mark puts the prayer into the mouths of the sons themselves. The two accounts supplement each other. The children prompted the request, and the mother sympathised with their desire. Salome came, and, falling down before Him, worshipped Him. She was probably the first to acknowledge Jesus as Messiah the King; and, according to a frequent custom in Eastern Courts, she entreats His unconditional consent to

what she is about to ask ; but the reply of the Lord obliged her to express her wish.

Christ's answer was one of pity and rebuke, mingled with commendation. 'Ye know not what ye ask.' Their view of the nature of His kingdom was erroneous, therefore their request had a different meaning from that they intended. They intended to ask to sit on each side of Jesus in His kingdom ; but they were really asking for the place of the thieves on the cross. Jesus Himself must be perfected through suffering, and to be nearest Him in His perfected and glorified condition they must also be nearest Him in His sufferings. This they did not see. Hence, said Christ, 'Ye know not what ye ask.' How different is the view of man from that of God ! Where we see thrones Jesus sees a cross, and often where we see a cross Jesus sees a crown. When we are asking for what we think would be helpful and glorious, we are really asking for what would be injurious.

And yet these two disciples were not exclusively worldly, there was an admixture of noble heroism in this ambitious spirit. They had a vague presentiment of impending evils, and, when asked if they were able 'to drink Christ's cup and to bear His baptism ?' they answered, 'We are able.' And it is evident that though they over-estimated their strength, still, they were the most courageous among the disciples, as appears from John going into the High Priest's palace without denying his Master, and from the fact that James was the first martyr of Christ. Jesus perceived this heroic spirit, and commended them for it, and predicted that they should be honoured with near fellowship with Him in His sufferings, 'Ye shall, indeed, drink of My cup.' And so it was. James was the first to shed his blood for Jesus ; and although John died a natural death at a very advanced age, in a spiritual sense his was the longest and deepest martyrdom among the Apostles ; and, although Jesus did not promise them the first places in His kingdom, we are certain they are among the first. James has a martyr's crown, and John became the prophet of the glories of the perfected church, and saw and described those celestial visions which have been the delight and enigma of every succeeding age ; and when the Master shall return and dwell among His own, we may be sure he will not be far from his old position, Jesus's breast.

Seeing that by the burst of indignation the other disciples manifested the same disposition of ambition and jealousy, Jesus saw that this was a fitting opportunity to teach them the principles of humility and charity. He gave them, therefore, the important lesson contained in the narrative, viz. : 'Who are the chief among the saints, and the

greatest in the kingdom of God.' This position is not given on the principle of favouritism, but according to strict impartial justice, to those most worthy of it.

'It is not mine to give,' that is, 'I cannot from mere arbitrariness or caprice give it; but it is to be given to those for whom it is prepared.' Position in the kingdom of God is not bestowed on account of physical or social relationship. Salome, probably, thought that, because she was sister to Jesus's mother and James and John His cousins, she could secure these chief places in the kingdom. But preferment in the kingdom of God is not on that principle. In ecclesiastical organisations, inefficient and, at times, impious men have been elevated to high office because they have had relatives who were near to and had some influence over the appointing authorities. But it is not so in the true church. Every man is dealt with fairly: one is not favoured because Isaac was his father; neither is another slighted because Ishmael was his. 'Even if we have known Christ after the flesh, yet, henceforth, know we Him no more.'

The position is not given to us for merely asking and praying for it. Salome presented her request with worship; she prayed sincerely, but selfishly. There must be something more than mere fruitless prayer. We fear there is a great deal of this. We desire to have a high place for self-aggrandisement. Jesus Christ gives the chief places in His kingdom on different grounds altogether. There is no favouritism; one cannot steal a march upon another; the prize is placed before all, and he who wins it shall have it.

In the words of Jesus Christ in this text we have the true characteristics of supremacy in His Church. It is in direct contrast to that of the world. *There* we see ambition and jealousy; but *here* it is not so. We must go down to rise up, serve to be served, deny ourselves to save ourselves, and in proportion as we sacrifice ourselves for others' good shall we be considered great. 'He that is great among you let him be your minister, and he that is chief among you let him be your servant.' There are two elements of this greatness which the Lord enumerates in these words.

Self-abasement.—'Minister,' 'servant.' Let him be willing to take not the seat at my 'right hand,' but that of the meanest slave. A true Christian is humble: he has a keen, and at times an overpowering sense of his littleness; he knows how sinful he was and is; how merciful God is to give him a place in His kingdom at all; he remembers how God has to bear with his shortcomings; he feels his inability to serve God as that service ought to be performed; he knows that

position in the church brings with it responsibilities, and from these he shrinks ; and, comparing himself with his brethren, he knows his own *internal* defects and sin, and sees only their *external* excellences, and believes himself to be more unworthy than they ; therefore he deems the lowest place in the church is his proper position, and is not grieved when others are preferred before himself.

Self-sacrifice for others' good.—To be a minister or a servant is to be of service, and he who would be chief is to be willing to become the 'slave' of all. Christianity is self-sacrifice. 'Pure religion and undefiled before God the Father is this: Visiting the widow and the fatherless in their affliction.' Said Paul, 'I could wish myself accursed of God for my kinsfolk according to the flesh.' This is the object of our salvation. Said God of Saul, 'He is a chosen vessel unto me, to bear my name before the Gentiles and kings and children of Israel.' This is the evidence of our salvation: barrenness was a sign of death, therefore the trees must be cut down. The chief element of a godly life is sacrifice for others. A Christian cannot think solely of himself and continue a Christian ; his life must be spent for others. Christ is his example, and 'He was rich, but for our sakes He became poor, that we through His poverty might become rich.' In these words of the Lord we think we can see also the law of proportion : to be *great*, man must be a minister ; but to be *chief* he must be a 'slave.' To rise to the top, we must go to the bottom. Our elevation will be according to the degree of our humility and usefulness. Thus, each will receive his worth ; and he will have the chief place who has earned it by character and service.

Why are they considered the greatest ? Because of a hard and fast law of righteousness,

1. *In Christian character and worth.*—They have within them the elements of the kingdom of God in greatest degree ; they love God the best, and their brethren ; they have more gentleness, patience, charity than others. Theirs is truest godliness, and, therefore, they are the most worthy. A man shows how little he is by self-seeking and aspiring to high position and power, and by 'taking offence' because his name is passed over, as though the church did not see his worth. He is correct ; it does not see his worth, but his worthlessness ; and better for him if he could see it too. God weighs men as we weigh gold, and he who has the best elements of the kingdom within him, and these in greatest degree, is esteemed the greatest.

2. *They stand highest in the estimation of the Master and the brethren, and have the greatest influence in directing the affairs*

of the church. The best honour a man can have is the respect of God and man ; and the humblest and most useful have this honour in greatest degree. Their word is believed ; their judgement relied on ; their rebuke is taken kindly ; their prayers prevail with God and men. And, although no great demonstration of esteem is made respecting them, it is evident they are deeply loved, and in times of crises come to the front and are willingly followed. Abraham was honoured of God in an infinitely higher degree than Lot, and his name in every succeeding age has been held in greater reverence. So is it always. Every man has his reward ; he is esteemed as highly as he deserves. Who are the men in the church we respect the most ? Not the self-seeking, complaining, jealous professor ; but the humble, loving, self-denying, useful Christian.

3. *They stand first in the happiness and glory of the kingdom.* Humility and usefulness are the secret of our happiness in this world. God dwells with the man who is 'humble and contrite.' He also blesses those who are serviceable to others. We thus earn our joy. If we bear others' sorrows, God will bear ours ; if we wipe away others' tears, God will ours ; if we divide our cake in times of famine, God will multiply our meal.

Is thy cruse of comfort failing ? rise and share it with another,
And through all the years of famine it will serve thee and thy brother ;
Love Divine will fill thy store-house, or thy handful still renew ;
Scanty fare for one will often make a royal feast for two.

Whereas the self-seeker is never happy nor satisfied ; he cannot enjoy what he has because he sees others having more ; he defeats his own purpose ; he 'seeks to save his life, and loses it.' And in the next life these principles will be in full operation. They who shall have been the humblest and most self-sacrificing shall be the best rewarded. All our works will then return to us. What we have done for others, or given for Christ's sake without expectation or desire of return, shall be given back to us together with a rate of compound interest that only God can pay. 'Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these My brethren, ye have done it unto Me.' In a certain churchyard in the South of England is this epitaph :

'What I gave, that I have ;
What I spent, that I had ;
Thus I measure all my cost,
What I saved, that I've lost.'

Jesus Christ's name is above every name, because He humbled Himself from the highest position to the lowest, and sacrificed His infinitely

valuable life for the world's salvation; and the names that will be next to His will be of those who have followed Him the most closely in the work of self-renunciation for others' benefit.

Happy is that society where these principles universally obtain. It is a peaceable church. James and John sought the first place, and the other disciples were immediately indignant; but when each is wishful to help his brother forward rather than himself there will be no carnal rivalry, but peace, love, and prosperity. And yet it is right and necessary that each Christian be ambitious in a holy sense. Jesus does not forbid that; but He purifies that ambition of unchristian elements, and explains what true rivalry in the Church ought to be. Let each man seek to be great in Christian character and useful work—in 'love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance:' against such there is no law. Do not mind office for office sake. It is not position which gives a man credit, but the manner in which he fills it. Let us be *thus* ambitious, and we shall have our true place in the kingdom of God, the place 'prepared for us of the Father,' and 'no man shall take our Crown.'

CHARLES RUMFITT.

THE HEAVENS AND MAN.

'When I consider Thy heavens, the work of Thy fingers, the moon and the stars which Thou hast ordained, what is man that Thou art mindful of him, and the Son of Man that Thou visitest Him?'—P'salm viii. 3, 4.

THIS is one of King David's 'night thoughts.' One may imagine it to have been a grander night than usual. The heavens had put on a sublimer majesty, inviting the thoughtful attention of the royal contemplator.

They meet his look,
And brighten, like the star that shook
Betwixt the palms of Paradise.

Sitting on his house-top, strolling amid the perfumed zephyrs of his palace garden, or pacing the ramparts of Zion, he turns his face upwards, and sees once more the great sight of the heavens, which, if seen but once in a millenium, would stand in human record classed under the category of the Divine and miraculous. Familiarity can breed contempt even of the stars. No man is a hero to his valet, and no star is a Shekinah to the ordinary observer. The eye sees what it brings with it—the power to see, not an iota more. King David's eyes, purged with the 'euphrasy and rue' of thought, saw in stars the glory of God.

I cannot here refrain from quoting the following grand words of

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Emerson. He says, 'If a man would be alone, let him look at the stars. The rays that come from the heavenly worlds will separate between him and vulgar things. One might think the atmosphere was made transparent with this design to give man, in the heavenly bodies, the perpetual presence of the sublime—seen in the streets of cities, how great they are. If the stars should appear one night in a thousand years, how would men believe and adore, and preserve for many generations the remembrance of the city of God which had been shown. But every night come out these preachers of beauty, and light the universe with their admonishing smile.' An Oriental sky, from the transparency of the atmosphere, is always a splendid sight; but at the hour in question we supposed it to have been more splendid than ordinary. The night seemed as if made of stars, whilst the earth was robed with the heavens as with a garment; and, 'ringed with the azure world,' the great Psalmist sat, or stood, or walked, breaking the 'expressive silence' of the scene with the sublime words of the text: 'When I consider THY heavens, What is man?'

The order of the psalmist's words shall be the order in which we shall treat them on this occasion.

I.—WHEN I CONSIDER.

1. *We can consider.* And we of all creatures only. We alone, in this world have the faculty. Call it what you like—spontaneous reason, acquired habit, 'evolved' instinct, or what not. Say it comes of soul, of brain, or of both. Call it a moral power resulting from voluntary mind, or a molecular force, resultant from involuntary mechanism. Say there is a spirit in man which enables him to think; or a 'protoplasm,' which makes him think he thinks. Adopt what theory and use what terms you choose, the fact all the same remains that man considers. To the manner born, he alone of all the creatures that move about on God's earth can give reflective heed to what he is doing, to what he has done, and to what he is going to do. The mere animal is the creature of circumstances; whereas, in virtue of his power to consider, man is the master of circumstances. He bends them to his will and purpose. He wants to cross the ocean, and forthwith he builds a ship. He wants to travel fifty miles an hour, and forthwith he looses the steam-engine and lets him go. He wants many things, and he gets them all, because he can consider the situation, and knows how to bend or to break the power of circumstances to his interests and ends. From the beginning the cunning monkey and the sagacious elephant have never invented anything. All creatures but man do precisely the same things in exactly the

same way as the first Adams of their several races. Man alone progresses because man alone considers.

To consider, What is it? It is to think into things and round about them. Man is spoken of as a being that looks before and after. He looks into the past, and learns wisdom from experience. He looks into the future, and prepares for the contingencies that lie before him. In short, he considers, and he has nothing but the 'before' and the 'after' to consider, for the present, which can never be more than a moment, is too slippery to be got hold of—is, in fact, a vanishing quantity, a virtual nonentity. Our sole heritage, therefore, is the lessons of the past and the hopes of the future. It is by well considering these—

That men may rise on stepping-stones
Of their dead selves to higher things.

2. *We ought to consider.* I need not say how great a thing it is to be endowed with the faculty of consideration. But it may sound somewhat strange when I observe that a being who is great enough to consider is, for that very reason, great enough not to consider,—that is, great enough to be free; free, for example, to prefer the way of sensuous pleasure to the way of moral duty. Lest gratification of taste and second nature of habit should be interfered with, how frequently do we put away from us all consideration of what we are becoming and of whither we are drifting. 'What will ye do in the end thereof? In all our doings we ought to consider tendency and consequence. Had the pupil of Seneca done so, he would have escaped from becoming 'bloody Nero,' first hated and then destroyed. How well to consider—to consider in time; for, when Habit gets us thoroughly bound in her chain, or opportunity withdraws from us her ways and means, it is then too late. And throughout the entire vocabulary of human speech there is not to be heard any sound half so fraught with dolor and with despair as that of 'too late!' 'And the door was shut.'

3. *What we ought to consider.* A wide field this! But there are simply two aspects of the immense theme to which I can at present call your attention. They are these: What we are preparing for, and Where we are going to. First, preparing for. It is an axiom in the philosophy of man that there is no such thing as being morally stationary. Life and motive imply perpetual motion and perpetual movement somewhither. We are all the while growing better, or we are all the while growing worse, in the moral condition and character of our selves. The 'process of the suns' ripens, and the process of the suns rots. This holds no less in the sphere of mind than in the sphere

of matter. And the final end comes at last and does not tarry, when 'they that sow to the flesh shall reap corruption, and they that sow to the spirit shall reap life everlasting.' Thus, we are daily and hourly preparing; preparing ourselves for spiritual death everlasting, or for spiritual life everlasting. In the nature and necessity of things this is so whether we will 'consider' it or no. Secondly, going to holiness leads to, and 'in due season' arrives at, heaven. On the other hand, unholiness, of whatever degree, leads to, and, in the long-run, which may be a very short-run, ends with hell. The law of continuity applies to our moral character no less than to our personal existence. 'He that is unjust, let him be unjust still; and he which is filthy, let him be filthy still; and he that is righteous, let him be righteous still; and he that is holy, let him be holy still.' Like goes to like the world over, and all worlds over. The law of affinity necessitates this. We are as surely going to some final place of abode suited to us, or *en rapport* with us, as we are preparing for some final condition of being or character evolved from the nature and fixed by the necessity of things. We are going, for 'every beating pulse we tell leaves but the number less;' and we are going to our 'own place.' Our Heavenly Father would have us all to be saved and to land finally in heaven; but not omnipotence itself can make a man holy and meet for heaven apart from his own free will and free choice. Some one says that it is their freedom of will which binds the lost in hell to their sad condition and fate. Both heaven and hell are prepared places for prepared people. God prepares the places, the people prepare themselves. Natural law carries us to, and moral law positions us in, the other world. Character is destiny throughout the universe, and our character is not made for us, but by us.

II.—THY HEAVENS, THE WORK OF THY FINGERS; THE MOON AND THE STARS WHICH THOU HAST ORDAINED.—King David, in all probability, was no astronomer in the scientific acceptation of the word. Inspiration does not extend to physical matters, but confines itself to subjects of spiritual import and of practical importance. God never does for us what we can do for ourselves. The science of astronomy dates from a period far other and later than the time of the great Psalmist. The true science I mean. For a science of astronomy existed long before David's time. Man is, by excellence, a theoriser, and, in the absence of facts, he can always find plenty of imaginations. 'Imagination rules the world,' and too much the world, even of science itself. We may safely say, I think, that it was not the mechanism, but the magnificence, of the heavens which this Hebrew monarch of yore

‘considered.’ It was the Divinity that stirred in the heavens, and not the laws that regulated or the science that measured them, which touched the soul and elicited the admiration of this ‘sweet singer’ of Israel.

The world of to-day is greatly other than the world of three thousand years ago. We of these later centuries stand on vantage-ground, from which, if we cannot touch the stars, we can do something almost as wonderful. We can analyse their chemistry, we can weigh their densities, we can compute their distances, and we can estimate their magnitudes. To a Carlyle the stars may be ‘a sad sight;’ and to a Comte ‘the heavens may declare no other glory than that of Hipparchus and of Newton;’ but such views will always be exceptional. Common sense has not yet left the world; and Theism is still the belief of the many. The heavens still ‘declare the glory of *God*,’ and the firmament still ‘showeth His handiwork.’ It is still ‘*Thy* heavens;’ it is still ‘the work of *Thy* finger;’ it is still ‘*Thou* hast ordained.’ No, science has not yet banished *God* from His universe. On the contrary, it has intensified the perception of His power and His wisdom. ‘Nature never wears a mean appearance,’ for she is everywhere Divine. ‘Neither does the wisest man extort all her secret and lose his curiosity by finding out all her perfection,’ because she is the work of Him ‘whose understanding is infinite.’ What beauty of adjustment and what sublimity of mystery are suggested to us in the following paragraph from Herschel’s *Astronomy*: ‘We have a real spherical surface within our eyes, the seat of sensation and vision, corresponding, point for point, to the external sphere. On this the stars, etc., are really mapped down on the imaginary concave of the heavens. When the whole surface of the retina is excited by light, habit leads us to associate it with the idea of a real surface existing without us. Thus we become impressed with the notion of a *sky* and a *heaven*, but the concave surface of the retina itself is the true seat of all *visible* angular dimension and angular motion. The substitution of the *retina* for the *heavens* would be awkward and inconvenient in language, but it may always be mentally made.’ Well may it have been said—

‘We half-create what we behold!’

And when Bishop Berkeley said there was no matter (apart from the percipient mind), he, perhaps, touched further into the nature of things than he gets credit for. But to proceed—

I care not how the stars came to be—whether by gradual evolution or by immediate creation—they could not come without the will, and skill, and power of an adequate Cause. There is, self-evidently,

'mind among the spindles' that weave the heavens: to this effect—day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night showeth knowledge. The fool may say in his *heart*, There is no God; but if he said it with his *head*, he would show himself more a fool than I take him for. Among the stars there are 'goings-on,' as Wordsworth says. And what goings-on? See how they turn on their axes and revolve in their orbits; and yet with what exactness they keep their places in the heavens and their relative distances among themselves. The Seven Stars to-day are precisely where they were when the old Chaldean shepherds watched their flocks by night; and Arcturus—which we call the Great Bear, is still leading forth his sons just as he did and just where he did when contemplated by the patriarch Job. See how the Nebulæ are breaking up into worlds and universes! Look with the eyes of science, and you will see how the whole heaven of stars is rushing along its pre-ordained orbit, around some mighty centre, which is possibly the metropolis of the universe and throne of the Great King. Truly, the stars in their courses fight against Atheism, and equally against Pantheism; the burden of the 'spherical music' being, 'The hand that made us is Divine.'

'What are Suns,
Systems and worlds, but mighty thoughts of God,
All waiting to become the thoughts of men?
Have we already not appropriated
Wide fields of the grand empire of all things?
Where is the rainbow that has never spann'd
An arc of some man's mind? Where is the cloud
That has not enter'd in the dreams of some—
The humble flower that never hath been hallow'd
To one poor heart? Where is the landscape which,
Like a dumb man, hath never utter'd aught—
The atom, or the season, or the hour
That hath not gone into the soul of man,
And come out thence a thought? And that—out there—
Out at the window—yonder infinite,
Hushing around us now with all its stars—
Say, what are they and it but images—
Ideas made objective—and held out,
Night after night, between the outstretched arms
Of God, to mirror forth His thoughts to man,
And show the recreant how and what to think?'

'What are Stars
But God's thoughts indurate—the burning words
That roll'd forth blazing from His mighty lips
When He spake to the breathless infinite, .
And shook the wondrous sleeper from her dream?
Thus God's thoughts ever call into man's soul
To rouse itself, and let its thoughts shake off
The torpor from their wings, and soar and sing
Up to the sunny azure of the heavens.'

III.—WHAT IS MAN?—There was no such philosophising about

man in King David's day as there is in ours. Now-a-days almost everybody philosophises more or less. This is because now everybody has ideas. Knowledge is abroad, and the many read, no less than the few. The printing press is a new power—the greatest the world has ever known. 'Men run to and fro, and knowledge is increased.' In the olden times they used to stay at home, and had to rest contented with the A B C of things. If anyone pretended to be wiser than his grandmother, he was not tolerated. Fine times those for kings, for priests, and for prime ministers! The few knew next to nothing, viewed in the light of the nineteenth century, and yet the many had to sit down with the little which the few chose to teach them. No one must think for himself. If he did and blabbed it, his doom was sealed.

King David, of course, belonged to a people which was better off than the rest of the world, for it had committed to it 'the oracles of God.' And yet the oracles of God taught those people little else than their moral and civil duties. These constituted in the main their religion. The olden Hebrews, we must admit, knew a good deal; but the 'great greed, great need, and restless faculty' of men in these later times impel them to 'intermeddle with all knowledge.' I do not know that King David possessed any philosophy, properly so-called, of man. Moses had taught him none, and inspiration did not profess to teach that kind of thing. God reveals facts, not philosophies. God tells us to the proper extent what is, not how it is.

Thoughtful consideration of the heavens subjects us to two impressions. The one is of man's littleness, the other of man's greatness. His littleness is the obvious, or surface, idea. His greatness is seen, among other things, in the fact that he can consider the heavens, he being the only terrestrial creature that can. Surely a creature whose mind touches the stars, whose thoughts wander through immensities, has something of the godlike and immortal in him. We do not, however, know whether it was the sense of man's insignificance, or the impression of his much-significance which predominated in the Psalmist's mind on the occasion of his uttering the words of the text. Does he mean what is man? or does he mean what is man not? At all events, with two facts in his knowledge, namely, that God had made the great heavens, on the one hand, and little man on the other, he asks, 'What is man that Thou art mindful of him?' The following, in all probability, was the Psalmist's idea: What is the nature of man, or in what does his importance consist that Thou, the great heavens-maker, should'st esteem so small a creature worthy of Thy

sympathy and Thy mindfulness? Two thoughts suggest themselves at this point. They are these: On the one hand, that man is possibly greater than he seems, and, on the other, that he seems probably great enough to be made something of.

1. *Man is possibly greater than he seems.*—He *seems* to be insignificant enough. He is crushed before the moth; he cometh forth as a flower and is cut down; he fleeth as a shadow and continueth not. How atom-like he seems amid the grandeurs of physical nature! But we should not always judge by appearances. Man is possibly, nay, probably, greater than some of his seemings appear to indicate. Probably, I say, for several analogies favour the supposition. Look at the little seed. You would never have thought beforehand that so puny a thing would one day become ‘a bright consummate flower,’ or a majestic oak, in whose branches many centuries find a home. Look at the unpromising egg. It *seems* as if it had no life in it. Would you have thought that a mighty eagle lies *in posse* there? See the creeping caterpillar on its lowly leaf. Would you have believed, though a man declared it unto you, that a winged glory, which will revel in the sunbeams and live among the flowers, has its incipient being in so unsightly a creature? See that piece of animated flesh, called an infant, ‘muling and puking’ in the nurse’s arms. You might suppose it to be a sort of larger tin whistle if you did not know. Well, that muling thing will one day be called Sir Isaac Newton. See! for the first time in the world’s history, this man takes hold of the chain which binds together the orbs and the systems of space, and says, This is *Gravitation*. Would you have thought that that ‘muling’ thing could arrive at a consummation like that? See another specimen of this same sort of ‘larger tin whistle.’ It will one day become a trumpet, which will call to battle the great nations of the earth. They will call it Alexander, or Cæsar, or Napoleon. See! the mighty one ‘stamps his foot, and nations feel the shock.’ Who could have thought it? Then judge not by appearances. Man is possibly, man is probably, greater than he seems.

2. *Man seems to be probably great enough to be made something of.*—Has he not a soul? Nay, *is* he not a soul? I do not profess to know *what* the soul is; but I do profess to know *that* the soul is. It is something which can be conscious, which can reason, and imagine, and love. This is more than matter can do; therefore, the soul is not matter. The body is the shell, the soul, the kernel. The poet Young said, on his death-bed, to one who enquired after his health, ‘Never mind how the shell is, the kernel is all.’ Yes, the ‘inner man’ is *the*

man: and he *may* never die. 'He that liveth and believeth in Me *shall never die.*' If we are great enough, my friends, to love God, to follow after holiness, and to set our affections on things above, then we may be great enough to become heirs of eternal life, heirs of God, and joint heirs with Jesus Christ—heirs of all things. If humanity is great enough to have been made the basis and medium of Divine incarnation, who shall set limits to the possibilities of its nature? We may soar to the highest heights, or we may sink to the lowest depths. 'The man Christ Jesus' stands forth to the world a living demonstration that man is great enough to be made something of; that is, to be at length 'crowned with glory, honour, and immortality.' Christianity is the kingdom of God on earth; and the kingdom of God on earth prepares for the kingdom of God in heaven. 'A Christian is the highest style of man,' and the highest style of man implies personality made divine and immortal. 'Know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost *which is in you?*' 'A living dog is better than a dead lion. Find me if you can the equivalent to a living man. I know nothing that you can bring into the scale in comparison with the value which God Almighty sets upon a human being, whether in the heaven above or in the earth beneath.'

IV.—THAT THOU ART MINDFUL OF HIM, AND THE SON OF MAN THAT THOU VISITEST HIM.—If *the powers that be* and preside over the destinies of the universe have not mind in them, how comes it to pass that so much mind is put into the works of those powers? The Bible calls those powers *Elohim*. We say of a man that there is mind in his face, and character in all his movements. Look at creation, then, and say whether there is not mind in its face, and character in all its goings. The man who says 'No' is not worthy of being ranked among rational beings.

Now, if God has mind in Him, who shall put limits to the measure of His mindfulness? Can you limit His power? Can you limit His presence? Can you limit His attentiveness? 'I am poor and needy, yet the Lord thinketh upon me,' says a Psalmist; and who can gauge the extent of His thinking? Who can say how mindful the Lord is in regard to the children of men? 'Mindful' means to have the 'mind full.' To be mindful of a thing is to have the mind full of it. To be mindful of means to be attentive to. To be mindful is to be mentally occupied. If I am mindful of anything, I have it in my mind. I give my attention to it, and, as far as possible, I know all about it. God is said to be mindful of man and to visit him. How is this shown? God's mindfulness of man is exhibited in two general

ways—to wit, in His natural laws, and in His supernatural manifestations.

1. *In His Natural Laws.* The laws of nature are neither more nor less than the rules or methods by which God makes the things of nature to proceed. By the things of nature we mean, of course, the sequences, or phenomena, or facts of nature. The farmer, for example, cleans his fields and sows his seed. This is all he can do. He wants a crop. But well-tilled fields and well-sown seed will not bring it. There are many things beside these to be taken into account. There are air, and light, and heat, and electricity, and gravitation, and power in the seed to develop itself. There are, in short, the forces and the laws of nature. These are steeped in God's mindfulness and God's omnipotence, and they come forth into operancy warm with Divine love and straight from the hand of personal Providence for man's behoof; and they never stop working, working, working till the last sheaf is reaped and 'Harvest home' is shouted to the skies. It is a remarkable fact in natural history that the cereals—wheat, oats, barley, &c., will not grow where man is not. They are nowhere to be found in the state of nature or wild. They are an absolute necessity of civilised man. What, then, created them? What was so mindful of man as to give him them? 'In the beginning God;' in the beginning God created the cereals; if not He, what?

There is not a want of man but there is a nature's bounty and a nature's law to supply it. He opens His hand and satisfies the desire of every living thing. How? By nature and nature's laws. His tender mercies are over all His works, and He maketh His sun to rise and His rain to fall on the just and on the unjust. As regards the bountifulness of nature and the immutability of her laws, God is no respecter of persons. The great white throne of judgment is not set in this world, but in the other.

We talk of the forces and the laws of nature. But how could these act of themselves any more than they could create themselves? It is God who energises the forces; it is God who guides the laws. Where 'modern thought' finds nothing but chance or necessity the Bible and common sense find the living God. Yes, beyond the forces and the laws of nature is God. Hear the suggestive words of the prophet Hosea: 'Saith the Lord, I will hear the heavens, and they shall hear the earth; and the earth shall hear the corn, and the wine, and the oil; and they shall hear Jezreel.' Had there been no God there would have been no nature.

Had there e'er been naught, naught still had been,
Eternal there must be
And if a God there be, that God how great!

2. *In His Supernatural Manifestations.*—In these does God more immediately, as we speak, display His mindful goodness and His visiting grace. Nature is a splendid volume, but nature does not tell us all we want to know. To change the figure, nature is a stream which never runs dry; but the soul of man needs to drink of a river which does not rise among the hills of time, needs the ‘fountain opened in the house of David for sin and for uncleanness.’ Nature tells us a little; revelation tells us much more. Nature does much for us; grace much more. As one truly says: ‘Philosophy can do nothing for us which religion cannot do better; and religion can do much for us which philosophy cannot do at all.’ God has ever spoken to men from beyond the frontiers of nature. ‘God, who, at sundry times and in divers manners, spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by His Son.’ And in this Divine Son we have ‘the wisdom of God and the power of God.’

By what means does God visit men? He visits us by His Spirit; He visits us by the ministry of angels; ‘in dreams and visions of the night He sealeth instruction upon men;’ and in many other ways does He visit us in the outgoings of particular providence. If He has created us, why should He not also be mindful of us and visit us? The natural is that which acts *in* the line of cause and effect. The supernatural is that which acts *on* the line of cause and effect. Why, we ourselves can do this much, more He who has made us. Strictly speaking, God’s creation is ‘one stupendous whole;’ but relatively it is divisible into natural and supernatural. In a word, the supernatural is the natural out of sight and experience; whilst the natural is the supernatural within sight and experience. The Bible is full of recorded touches and comings-down of the supernatural. The supernatural is the soul of Christianity.

God has done all for us He could have done, and is doing all He can do; and He expects us to do our part—to be ‘co-workers together with Him.’ Let us ‘consider.’ Amen.

JABEZ COLE.

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND POLITICS.

LITERATURE.

DESPITE the persistent assertion that the influence of the pulpit in modern society is waning, and as a kind of silent but effective rebuke of that assertion, volume after volume of sermons continues to be published, and not only published, but eagerly bought and read. And unquestionably one of the most valuable of recent contributions to English sermon literature is a volume of *Sermons preached before the University of Oxford, and on various occasions* by J. B. MOZLEY, D.D., late Regius Professor of Divinity, Oxford, and Canon of Christ Church (Rivingtons). Although we have no positive information on the point, we should say, from the evidence furnished by these sermons, that their accomplished and thoughtful author belonged to the Moderate High Church School of the English Establishment; and in harmony with the general tone of the discourses, we find that they are dedicated to the present Dean of St. Pauls, Dr. Church, 'in grateful recollection of a long friendship.' But perhaps we are wrong in seeking to identify Dr. Mozley with any particular ecclesiastical party, for there are not wanting in these sermons indications of considerable sympathy in thought with both the Broad and the (so-called) Evangelical schools. But to whatever section the preacher belonged, his discourses are most certainly of a high order both from the intellectual and the spiritual point of view. The subjects are various. There are sermons on Ecclesiastical questions, such as that on the Roman Council; on educational subjects, such as those on the Principle of Emulation and the Influence of Dogmatic Teaching on Education; on theological themes, such as those on Eternal Life, the Atonement, and the Ascension; and on secular practical topics, such as those on the Pharisees, War, Nature, and our Duty to Equals. It will thus be seen from the sample we have given of the contents of this volume that the sympathies of the preacher are not at all restricted. He evidently considered everything which had any relation to the religious welfare of the individual and of society as fit and proper to be treated of in the pulpit. As to the form of the sermons, they are delightfully unconventional in their freedom from mechanical artificial divisions and sub-divisions; and yet there is a clear, unbroken sequence

of thought in every one of them. The logical arrangement is not obtruded ; but it is there, nevertheless. There is not one of these masterly discourses in which there is not some profound philosophical analysis, some subtle clear distinction, or some striking original presentation of both old and new truth. At times we are reminded of the solid thoughtfulness of Bishop Butler, and then, again, of the subtle insight and literary felicity of John Henry Newman. The sermons we like best are that on Eternal Life, a fine specimen of the true mode of dealing with the Comtist theory of the future life and the Comtist standard of morality ; that on War, which, though somewhat pessimist in its estimate of the probabilities of the eradication of war from the system of the world, is yet courageously appreciative of its moral character and effects ; and that on Nature, in which the preacher considers the religious bearing of the new modern passion for the beauty of the external world. We cannot say that we are quite satisfied with the discourse on the Atonement, for while it rejects a sacrifice of mere substitution and insists on Christ's work as a mediation—'the influence of one person upon another for mercy'—there is by no means any clear or convincing statement of the mode in which that mediation avails either for the fulfilment of justice or the appeasement of conscience. To our mind, this is the weakest sermon in the volume. We feel bound also to say that here and there we detect a certain objectionable churchiness of tone, and a disposition to try all questions rather too frequently by mere dogmatic and ecclesiastical tests. But let these things be overlooked or put aside, as they easily may be, and there remains a solid body of strong, wholesome, practical religious teaching, which it were well for us, in these days of so much sensational pabulum, to appropriate and assimilate.

To those of our younger readers who have studied, or are engaged in studying, the French language and literature, we would cordially recommend a *Primer of French Literature* by GEORGE SAINTSBURY (Clarendon Press, Oxford). It is a small handbook of 138 pages, and, of course, in such a space there must necessarily be severe brevity and condensation ; but Mr. Saintsbury seems to possess, in considerable degree, the rare faculty of saying much in few words, and saying it, too, with great clearness and vigour. The object of the primer is to present to the learner such a general view of the outline of French literary history as he may afterwards fill up for himself from larger works or his own independent reading. The book is divided into ten chapters, and covers a period of a little more than eight centuries. Mr. Saintsbury's account of French literature before A.D. 1200 is

exceedingly clear and interesting. And what helps the interest in this period is not only the extraordinary richness and variety of its productions, but also the fact that its most characteristic literary monument—the *Chanson de Roland*—can be just as easily read by a modern Frenchman, or by any one who has acquired a fair knowledge of modern French, as the poems of Chaucer, which are four hundred years later in date, can be read by the Englishman of to-day. There seems to be a continuousness in the history of French literature which differentiates it from the history of ancient and modern literature among other peoples, and this characteristic comes out fully in the primer before us. French literary history does not show gaps of sterility and stagnation as other literatures do, and thus, to use Mr. Saintsbury's words, 'we have spread over a period of nearly eight hundred years a complete picture of the thought, the character, and the history of the nation.' Even in what is called (chap. 3) the period of the decline of mediæval literature—a decline due in large part to the rapid decay of the feudal system—while the poetry, with some brilliant exceptions, got worse and worse, the prose grew better and better; witness the brilliant historical chronicles of *Froissart*, and the less popular but more philosophical memoirs of *Philip de Comines* (1445-1509), a book which has been called the first philosophical history of modern Europe. In his fourth chapter Mr. Saintsbury reaches the period of the Renaissance, which was principally distinguished for a reverence for classical antiquity and consequent strong tendency to shape French poetry and the French language on classical models. To this period, though representing its religious and philosophical side, belonged Rabelais, Calvin, and Montaigne. Of these three men, Mr. Saintsbury gives a clear discriminating account. Then come chapters on the Beginning of the Classical Period, which included Descartes, and Pascal, and Corneille; the age of Louis XIV., which Mr. Saintsbury considers has had to pay the penalty of exaggerated and uncritical admiration, and which he says produced only one of the very greatest names—Molière; and the Eighteenth Century, in which five great names emerge, viz., Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, and Buffon—a century characterised by a spirit of restless and irreverent innovation in all departments of literature and mental activity except in matters of literary form. 'Distrusting artificial forms of government and traditional beliefs in religion, these men accepted unquestioningly the most arbitrary and artificial forms of poetry and the drama that have ever prevailed.' The three last chapters of this suggestive little book are entitled respectively: From the Revolution to the Restoration, The

Romantic Movement, and Contemporary French Literature. The Romantic Movement—a new birth or return to nature, similar to that initiated in our own literature by Cowper, and Coleridge, and Wordsworth—is finely sketched, and the principal names associated with it passed quickly but cleverly in review—Hugo, St. Beuve, George Sand, Gautier, Balzac, Musset, &c. A short characterisation of living French writers concludes a little work which deserves to be carefully studied by all who are anxious to have a succinct and lucid guide in a course of French reading.

THERE are few questions of deeper interest than that of inspiration. What is meant by inspiration? In what sense is the Bible an inspired book? These are questions often asked, and those who feel an interest in the subject to which they relate will find *The Inspiration of the New Testament*, by W. R. BROWN, M.A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge (London: C. Kegan Paul and Co.), of some service to them. It is only a small volume on so great a subject, but it is well worth the study of all who have any desire to know to what extent and in what way the Spirit of God has operated in inspiring the writers of the Scriptures. Mr. Brown writes as a believer in inspiration, and, by a careful examination of all that in the Scriptures themselves relates to this matter, he seeks to establish the theory that in his judgment best explains the facts. The 'Natural Theory,' which denies all objective inspiration, and maintains that the whole operation is subjective, and that, as a matter of fact, inspiration is nothing distinct from the religious consciousness, is carefully and exhaustively examined in this volume, and meets with a full refutation. This theory strikes at the foundations of any supernatural disclosure of the will of God to man. If inspiration be nothing more than the intuitional faculty gazing upon realities, there is no need for any specific influence to be exerted upon the mind of man from without by the Spirit of God in order that he may see and declare the truth so needful for himself and his fellows to know. A large space in Mr. Brown's volume is devoted to the consideration of this theory; and the more thoroughly the objections it contains and the constructive elements it offers are examined, the more baseless appears the one, and the more unsatisfactory the other. The 'Literal Theory'—the theory which refuses to recognise any human element in the composition of the Bible, is also set aside as insufficient to explain the facts of the case. The writers of the books of the Bible were something more than amanuenses, putting down not only the thoughts which God deemed it necessary to communicate to men and the events making

known His will, but the very words of God in which the thought had to be expressed and the occurrences narrated—losing all personal peculiarities, and being, but for the time, simple instruments or machines. Diversities of style are precluded by such a theory as this, and yet, as a matter of fact, diversities of style exist among the writers of Scripture. The latter part of the volume is devoted to an exposition of the author's views in relation to the extent and limits of inspiration, with special reference to the New Testament and inferentially to the Old Testament. Mr. Brown is an advocate of the 'Dynamical Theory,' which regards the Holy Ghost as influencing the minds of the writers of Scripture, and guiding their activity without obliterating their peculiarities or at all interfering with their general culture and style. He recognises a genuine human element in the Bible as well as a Divine element; and certainly this is more in agreement with the facts than a Monistic theory, which recognises only a human element, as does the 'Natural Theory,' or only a Divine element, as does the 'Literal Theory.' The difficulty in the case of the 'Dynamical Theory' lies in determining which is the Divine and human elements respectively; and here, we presume, much will have to be left to a man himself and the guidance of that Spirit by whom the Word was inspired. Canon Norris, in a preface to the volume, furnishes some interesting information concerning the opinions of the early Fathers on the subject of Inspiration; and, perhaps, the work might have been improved had some space been devoted to the history of the doctrine of Inspiration. The prevailing views of the church are not to be held in light esteem in considering questions of doctrine. But the work as it is will repay a careful study.

A VALUABLE contribution to the history of the United Kingdom in the early part of the present century is furnished in the enlarged edition of *The Life, Times, and Correspondence of the Right Rev. Dr. Doyle, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin*, by J. W. FITZPATRICK, LL.D. (Dublin: James Duffy). There are few Irishmen in this century who have exercised a more powerful influence over the political and religious destinies of their countrymen than Dr. Doyle. O'Connell was not more deserving of the title of Liberator than was the Roman Catholic Bishop of Kildare, for the great agitator contributed no more, if indeed as much, to the deliverance of his countrymen from the oppression of penal laws and the injustice to which adherence to Roman Catholicism exposed them. Dr. Doyle combined in himself the culture of the scholar, the breadth and comprehensiveness of the statesman,

the persuasiveness of the orator, the vigour and directness of the expert controvertialist, the accommodatingness of the man of the world, and the earnestness of the priest. He was unquestionably an exceptional man, and would have made his mark in any country and in any age. None of the Romish ecclesiastics who were contemporary with him were anything like equal to him, and none of his successors in the Irish Roman Episcopate have proved themselves to be his peers. He not only surpassed them in mental endowments, but the ideas by which he was governed and the policy he adopted were opposed to what has been the common Romish tradition in the sister isle, and of which the late Cardinal Cullen was a typical exponent. Bishop Doyle cherished the idea of a possible reunion of Christendom. He saw no difficulties in the way of inter-communion between the churches of England and Rome but what he conceived a mutual explanation would remove, and he went even beyond this in his views of possible union. It might be all idealistic this, and possibly it was, but at any rate it was a lofty idealism that indicated a large and generous nature, and that could not fail to exert a refining and elevating influence upon his character, removing him far away from the exclusive bigotry that has unfortunately been too characteristic of Romish ecclesiastics in Ireland. Dr. Doyle was a resolute champion of his countrymen against every grievance under which he held them to labour, but he was the determined foe of all violent and illegal agitation, and was never afraid to speak out strong and plain words when Irishmen manifested a disposition to disregard law and order in their efforts to win the rights and liberties upon which they had claim. A bold, fearless, and independent man, he rebuked breaches of law and order on the part of the oppressed as sternly and vigorously as he protested against the action of the oppressor. Born at New Ross, Kilkenny, in 1786, he received his early education in his native country, but finished his studies at the University of Coimbra, in Portugal. He saw some service during the Peninsular War, and might, had he been so disposed, have held a high office under the Braganzas; but his heart was with his countrymen, and his supreme anxiety was to render them service. In 1808 he returned to Ireland, and the year after he was ordained priest. He was, however, destined to remain for a short time in obscurity, for his independent spirit was not at all admired by his ecclesiastical superiors. In 1813, despite efforts to prevent him coming to the front, he became Professor at the College of Carlow; and six years after, at the age of thirty-two, he was appointed Bishop of Kildare. He addressed himself at once with vigour to the duties of

his office and made short work of many abuses which had grown up in the church through the laxity of his predecessors. At the same time he threw himself into the agitation for the enfranchisement of the Roman Catholics, and contended stoutly against long established oppression for the rights and liberties of his people. In 1825 Bishop Doyle visited England to give evidence on the theological questions involved in the proposed Emancipation Act; and the attitude he assumed in relation to this question considerably facilitated the passing of the measure. After the Act passed, in 1829, Dr. Doyle still laboured for the removal of the grievances of which he deemed his countrymen had right to complain, and none fought in the great battle of Parliamentary Reform more vigorously than he. His work finished in 1834, when he died at the early age of forty-seven, worn out with the labours that had made him one of the most prominent men in Ireland. Those who desire to know something of Irish history during the three first decades of this century and of the struggles of Roman Catholics to secure for themselves some of the rights of citizenship, and who wish to form the acquaintance of a noble-minded man, cannot do better than consult these volumes of Dr. FitzPatrick, for Dr. Doyle, during a considerable portion of these years, was quite a central figure in Irish history, and exercised a unique influence in shaping its course, and few have excelled him in large-hearted and self-sacrificing labour for the good of others.

PALESTINE west of the Jordan is a country that has been more or less familiarly known to Europeans for years. It is, in fact, a neighbourhood of which modern excursionists have to some extent taken possession, and the recent labours of the Palestine Exploration Fund have given greater accuracy and greater breadth to our knowledge of it. But the district east of the Jordan is to a large extent an unknown land. Dr. Tristram has seen a little of the land of Moab, and told, in a remarkably interesting way, the story of his wanderings, and furnished evidence of the rich reward awaiting explorers in that region. And in relation to an adjoining locality, a valuable contribution has been made to our knowledge in *The Land of Gilead with Excursions in the Lebanon*. By LAURANCE OLIPHANT (London: Blackwood and Sons). Mr. Oliphant has formed a scheme for colonising certain districts of Palestine by Jews from Europe. The region of the Upper Jordan and low-lying land stretching away to the south in the Trans-Jordanic district, together with the more elevated districts to the east, in his judgment afford peculiar advantages for the execution of such a purpose as his scheme contemplates. The Turkish Government has,

of course, to be taken into the reckoning; but judicious management, Mr. Oliphant thinks, might accomplish much even at Constantinople. We fear that any confidence placed in arrangements with the sublime Porte will be doomed to disappointment. The Pashas will probably take any amount of money that may be offered, and promise almost anything that may be desired; but the fulfilment of the engagements, unless we are mistaken, will be found another thing altogether. Still, the scheme has its fascination and romance, and there has some good result sprung from it already, for it has led Mr. Oliphant to visit northern and eastern Palestine, and write a book that, for charming and agreeable narrative, will be difficult to surpass. Mr. Oliphant and his friend who accompanied him discarded the usual adjuncts of travel in Palestine, as they also avoided the old beaten tracks. They engaged no dragoman and they carried with them no tents, and little in the way of supplies, but resolved, as far as possible, to mingle with the people and trust to them for hospitality and such guidance as they might need. It will be obvious that by such a method as this more could be learned of the condition of the inhabitants of the district through which they travelled, and of their customs and habits, and also of the resources of the localities, than could possibly be ascertained by the course usually adopted by travellers. The route pursued turned aside from the ordinary line of travel in Palestine to the south-east of Sidon, and lay through the romantic district watered by the Litany and Upper Jordan, and the high lands stretching away southward along the eastern side of the Jordan valley. At some places visited by the travellers the Crusaders appear to have occupied strong positions, and traces of them are to be found upon many of the hills commanding more or less the way of advance into the country to the South. The part of Palestine through which Mr. Oliphant and his friend wandered appears to possess a richly-varied scenery; the valleys are well watered, the land is fertile, and in places clothed with fine forest. The elevation of the district renders the climate temperate, while the lower-lying lands are capable of producing almost every variety of sub-tropical plants and fruits. It was the fruitfulness of this locality that attracted the attention of the tribes of Reuben and Gad, when they asked Moses to grant them their inheritance there, and the district retains its ancient characteristic still. It is in Gilead, north of the Jabbok, that Mr. Oliphant desires to plant his colony, but his wanderings extend into southern Gilead as well, and both localities are rich in historical association and interest as well as admirably suitable for purposes of coloni-

sation. The district, too, has remained comparatively undisturbed since the hand of desolation first struck it; and here may be seen the underground dwellings of the Rephaim, smitten by Chedorlaomer. Here, too, much as it was in patriarchal times, is the locality where Jacob served Laban; and probably in this neighbourhood is to found the home of Job and his friends. Rabbath Ammon, the great stronghold of the Ammonites, against which Uriah the Hittite led a forlorn hope and lost his life, lies in southern Gilead. The account of this place given by Mr. Oliphant throws a vast amount of light upon the Old Testament narrative of its siege and capture. The place which shared in the splendour of Egyptian, Israelitish, Roman, and Byzantine rule in the palmy days of these monarchies is now the home of a few Circassian refugees, of whom, in their occupation of it, Mr. Oliphant gives an interesting description. The Saracen invaders did not settle in the neighbourhood, and it has been left for centuries in a desolation that has helped to preserve the rich and abundant ruins that tell of its historic past, and that promise so rich a reward to the explorer. The Palestine Exploration Fund purpose doing for this Trans-Jordanic district what they have done for Western Palestine—accurately survey and carefully explore it, when our knowledge of it will be greatly enlarged. In the meanwhile this excellent work gives welcome information respecting a land covered with mystery and shadow. The excursions in the Lebanon district are described in a very pleasant manner, and much may be learned from what Mr. Oliphant writes concerning the friendly people who dwell there and the splendid scenery amid which they live. He has strong sympathies with the Druses, and supplies, from sources with which few have any acquaintance, an account of their religion, which appears to embrace Persic and Buddhistic elements. The practical observations on the resources of the districts visited, the animated and lively descriptions of scenery, the topographical speculations, the accounts of personal adventure, and the reflections so plausible, and yet so original, combined with the relation of the whole to Old Testament history, and our comparative ignorance of the country to which it relates, invest this work with an interest and value far beyond what belongs to an ordinary traveller's narration.

THE canonicity of the Scriptures is a question that has engaged the attention of learned men for generations, and in discussing it quite a literature has grown up. But beyond works specially devoted to the subject are numerous references and testimonies relating to it, scattered, many of them, through works that are rare or otherwise difficult to

consult. To those who take an interest in this question, *Canonicity, A Collection of Early Testimonies to the Canonical Books of the New Testament, based on Kirchofer's 'Quellensammlung,'* by A. B. CHARTERIS, D.D. (London: Blackwood and Sons), will be a welcome volume. Professor Kirchofer, nearly forty years ago now, collected and published the ancient testimonies having reference to the New Testament canon. The compilation did not come down later than the times of Jerome, that is, about the beginning of the fifth century. Dr. Charteris has taken this work of Kirchofer's as the basis of his volume. He has added to, altered, and otherwise used the original work as best suited his purpose. In an introductory chapter he discusses at some length particular aspects of the internal side of the evidence that can be adduced in support of the New Testament canon, characterising the leading authorities he quotes in subsequent pages, and carefully weighing and discriminating their worth. This chapter will be found of great service, and it is evidently the product of cautious and patient thought, guided by scholarly attainment and more than an average knowledge of the whole question. The four sections that follow are devoted to an elucidation of the testimonies to the canon from ancient and modern orthodox sources, testimonies that are to be found in heathen writers, testimonies furnished in the writings of heretics, and testimonies contained in the extra-canonical Gospels. The work does not profess to be anything more than a compilation, and it deals, of course, with only one side—or, at least, mainly with one side—of the important question of 'canonicity;' but it is written with diligence and care, and will be found of no slight service to students, ministers, and others. It is an advantage to have within small compass and easily accessible the various testimonies on this question that can be gathered from all sources; and this advantage the volume of Dr. Charteris supplies. There are, of course, many points relating to this deeply interesting question that are touched at most incidentally, and some that are not touched at all. The external evidence in favour of the New Testament canon is what the volume professes to give. The introduction goes a little beyond this limit; but how the canon was formed, on what principles, and by whom, are matters with which this volume does not directly deal. Within its purpose Dr. Charteris's work may be consulted and studied with advantage, and will be a valuable acquisition to any library upon the shelves of which it may find a place.

LITERARY JOTTINGS.—As the last number of this *Review* was passing through the press one of the most gifted literary women of

this or any other age—George Eliot—passed away into the land of shade, leaving a gap among living English authors which there is none to fill. For accurate and searching analysis of the inner workings of human hearts, for logical consistency and constructive skill in the delineation of character, for deep insight into truth, a comprehensive grasp of it in its varied relations, and a terse, penetrating expression of it, George Eliot occupies a proud pre-eminence among English writers. The moral tone of her works is, on the whole, healthy; but, religiously considered, they are cold and frigid. Her position in relation to the great verities of religion is considered by many to have been an intensely sceptical one; but on this we pronounce no opinion. Her views upon an important social relationship were out of harmony with those generally entertained; but we regard her memory with charity, and refrain from all judgment within a sphere where men have no right to judge one another. Her works will live, and afford instruction of no mean order to generations yet unborn. The present year had not advanced far before another of the masters of English prose, full of years and honour, was called to his rest. Not many have exercised such an influence over the thought of their times as Thomas Carlyle. Of comparatively obscure parentage, he won his way, by sheer force of intellect and character, to an influence and power greater and more permanent than coroneted or crowned personages held. A resolute lover of goodness, an intense hater of all shams and unrealities, a determined foe of tyranny either by the multitude or the individual, a despiser of all trickery, and meanness, and low cunning in whomsoever seen and wheresoever practised, holding in contempt the incessant chatter and talk of frivolous-minded men, a firm believer in the virtue of silence, Carlyle laboured to influence his age in favour of truth and righteousness, and to inculcate the love of humanity and the love of God, and he succeeded; and as the years roll on he will succeed still more. His personal presence is no longer with men; but his personal influence lives with them, and will live. The revised version of the New Testament is expected to issue from the Oxford and Cambridge University presses about the middle of May this year. It will be published at a cheap rate, so as to be easily within the reach of all classes. Arrangements are being made by the club bearing the honoured name of Mr. Cobden to re-publish the essays on the land question, which were written some time ago by gentlemen well acquainted with the subject and circulated in a cheap form. It is reported that this step has been determined upon at the suggestion of Mr. Gladstone. Messrs. Macmillan and Co. are about to publish a

volume on the *Physics of the Earth's Crust*, by the Rev. O. F. Fisher, M.A., F.G.S. The work will contain, along with matter not before published, a selection of papers, carefully revised, which have appeared from time to time in the *Transactions* of the Cambridge Philosophical Society and other scientific publications. In relation to a question now occupying a large share of public attention, and likely to do so for some time, our readers may take some interest in consulting a couple of volumes recently issued by eminent London houses. *The Irish Land Laws*, by A. G. Richey, Q.C. (Macmillan and Co.). The design of this volume is, in a brief and popular way, to set forth the principles of the Irish land law, to indicate how it has grown, and to point out wherein it differs from the English law. It will be found an opportune, learned, and reliable treatise. *The Parliamentary History of the Irish Land Question and the Origin and Results of the Ulster Custom*, by Barry O'Brien (Sampson Low, and Co.), is the other volume to which we refer. Mr. O'Brien's book contains more than a person, merely thinking of Parliamentary proceedings, might anticipate, for efforts at legislation and actual legislation on the Irish Land Question involve much of the general history of Ireland for some years past. *Rabbi Jeshua: An Eastern Story*, is the title of a small work published by C. Kegan Paul and Co. The book, in purpose, is similar to 'Philochristus' and 'Joshua Davidson.' 'Rabbi Jeshua' is Jesus Christ, and the volume is simply an attempt to write the life of the Saviour as a modern Jewish Rabbi might be supposed to conceive it. Christ is, of course, reduced to the level of a wise teacher, though not occupying a position much higher than has been occupied by hundreds who have undertaken to teach their fellows. There is a sharp contrast instituted between the teaching of Rabbi Jeshua and those who claim to be his disciples and give body to his instructions in their lives.



SCIENCE.

To persons who are connected with buildings that, on account of the height of certain parts, or for some other reason, are peculiarly exposed to the stroke of lightning, the area which a lightning rod protects is a matter of considerable moment. Mr. W. H. Preece claims to have determined this question with a very near approach to accuracy. The conclusion he has reached is, that the rod protects a conic space, whose height equals the length of the rod, the base being a circle, having its radius also equal to the height of the rod. This conclusion is substan-

tially the same as was reached by Sir William S. Harris when engaged in fixing his protectors to the masts of ships, and may be accepted for all practical purposes.

LATTERLY the planet Jupiter has been an object of unusual interest to astronomers. Nearly three years ago now a dark elliptical spot was observed on the surface of Jupiter. It was of a striking character and assumed a reddish hue. This spot has faded in colour, and is not so vivid as it was, though it remains much the same in size, and is as conspicuous as ever. Recently it has undergone further change and exhibited traces of a woolly texture, which are regarded by many observers as the incipient signs of its disappearance. A considerable number of white spots have also made their appearance in the dark red equatorial belt. Some of these are round, and resemble satellites in transit, while others are of a more irregular shape, and present a woollier aspect. Both the red spot that has been visible for some time and these white spots move with considerable rapidity, though the motion of the white ones is more rapid than that of the red one. More recently still a number of round dark spots, occasionally almost of a deep black colour, have been observed in the northern hemisphere of the planet. Towards the end of last November these spots increased greatly in number, and formed a regular dark belt. Most of them were observed to move quite as rapidly as the white spots, though there was some variation in their velocity, and a few of them did not seem to equal the motion of the white spots. A pale greyish spot has also appeared and a whitish streak: these move with a velocity equal to that of the red spot. The origin of these spots is not known. They are generally supposed to be due to stupendous changes in the atmospheric envelope of the planet; but it is remarkable that they should so long have escaped the frequent and vigilant scrutiny to which Jupiter and its atmosphere are from time to time subjected, for there does not appear to be any reason to conclude that these curious appearances are of a rare or recent character and peculiar to our own times. Much may be expected when recent observations of these remarkable appearances come to be discussed, and it is not improbable that by means of them much may be learned concerning the singular phenomena occurring on the surface of the planet.

THE extinction of fire is a question of considerable interest to civilised society. An agent so destructive commits sad havoc among property massed together under the conditions of modern civilisation. It is said in proverbial speech to be a good servant but a bad master. A method by which it can be effectually and speedily checked when it

threatens to become masterful will be a decided gain and advantage, and contribute largely both to the saving of life and property. Recently some comparative experiments have been conducted on a plot of ground in the vicinity of the Strand with water and sodium silicate. Two piles of timber, seven feet high, nine feet long, and four feet deep, were filled in with straw, well saturated with petroleum and benzol in equal quantities, and set on fire. They were allowed to burn for about five minutes till they were thoroughly and completely ablaze, and then efforts were made to extinguish them. A hand pump was brought into requisition, and water was poured on the one pile, and sodium silicate on the other. In little more than a minute the fire in the pile upon which the sodium of silicate was thrown was completely put out, while that upon which the water was cast was not extinguished till about four minutes had elapsed. In the experiment twelve gallons of the sodium silicate solution were used in extinguishing the fire in the one pile, and twenty-four gallons of water in doing the same thing in the other. It required as much more water as sodium of silicate and four-fold as much time to produce the same result under similar conditions. The result was regarded as satisfactory, and decidedly in favour of sodium silicate as an agent for the rapid extinction of fire.

In these days, when war is conducted scientifically, and when explosives are also largely used in connection with industry, it is of the greatest moment that the conditions under which explosions take place should be carefully observed, so that the completest preparation can be made for contingencies, and loss of life by accident reduced to a minimum. In the case of the rocket that exploded a few weeks ago in the Royal Arsenal, Woolwich, the missile was fully charged, and the maximum pressure had been applied without any explosion occurring in the process. It seems, however, that after the charge is fully lodged it is usual to leave the pressure on rockets for about a minute after reaching the maximum; and in this particular case the maximum had been reached and the pressure continued for three quarters of a minute before the explosion happened. The usual conjecture is, that accidents of this kind occur owing to the friction of the tools used, or the chance introduction of some improper material, and that, of course, the danger of accident in the manufacture of explosives lies in the process of making, and afterwards in some carelessness in the using. It has not been thought possible that the maximum pressure in the manufacture of explosives could be reached, and that after this, without any fault or carelessness in the using, an explosion might

occur; but the recent case at Woolwich shows that there is something yet to learn respecting the origin of explosions.

GEOGRAPHICAL science is largely the product of travel, and, under the title of *The Expiring Continent*, a work published by Allen and Co., Mr. A. W. Mitchinson relates his wanderings in Senegambia, and the journeys he made up the rivers Senegal and Gambia. The work possesses considerable scientific value, and its pages are full of speculations and reflections on all kinds of subjects relating to Africa. Mr. Mitchinson carefully notes all that he saw during his journeys in the districts he visited, affording a full and fair view of the condition of the country through which he travelled. His views may be gathered from the title of his book. Africa, in his opinion, is rapidly turning desert, but surely it is too much to infer the fate of the whole continent from what is taking place within the limited area visited by Mr. Mitchinson. It contains, undoubtedly, its desert places and, probably, in some localities, the desert is spreading, yet the bulk of the 'dark continent' is tolerably fertile and capable of great industrial development. Still, the drying up of the waters and the diminution of moisture and the spread of the sand indicate directions in which scientific examination and careful observation may be pursued probably with some advantage. While the views Mr. Mitchinson propounds are, on the whole, too desponding, he does invite attention to phenomena that have, perhaps, been overlooked, and he adds not a few particulars to our stock of geographical knowledge.

POLITICS.

MORE than two months of the Parliamentary Session have passed, and scarcely anything in the way of real legislative work has been done. The Government found it necessary to take steps immediately on the opening of Parliament to obtain additional power for the maintenance of law and order in Ireland. The leaders of the Land League received words of caution and warning in the addresses of Ministers during the recess, that, if they had been wise and prudent men, would have led them to keep their agitation within bounds and prevent, so far as they could, disorder and lawlessness. But there is too much reason to fear that the Parnellite party have not been exactly masters of their own actions. Recently it has become evident that there has been, and that there is still, a close connection between them and the older Fenian organisation, and that Fenians in America have, in the main, supplied the funds of the League; and hence the men

whose policy is to promote rebellion in Ireland have necessarily had much to say in determining the action of the League, and by this means a lawlessness and violence were promoted that compelled the Government to ask for additional power and to propose measures of a repressive tendency, and to do this before any Land Bill or other remedial proposal was introduced into Parliament. Irish members, as was to be expected, opposed this course ; but they have carried their opposition to such unreasonable lengths that the old rules of debate and the traditional usages of the House of Commons were no longer adequate to secure a due and expeditious despatch of business, and the privileges of minorities have had to be restricted and new rules of a stringent character framed in order to get the Parliamentary machine to move at all. The Irish members began their course of obstruction by moving that in several ways the Speech from the Throne with which Parliament was opened should be amended, and they succeeded in prolonging the debate over a week. Then came weary weeks of talk in opposition to the Government proposals for protecting life and property in Ireland. Scores upon scores of amendments were framed, and the same arguments and the same speeches were repeated again and again with a wearisome iteration. Indeed, the first reading of the Protection Bill was only carried by the interposition of the Speaker, who arrested the continuity of mere talk, and declared, after a sitting of the House which lasted over forty hours, that the question should be put. 'Scenes' and suspensions became of somewhat frequent occurrence, and at one sitting some thirty-six Irish members were banished from the House for the night. The Parnellite party have really gained nothing by their policy of obstruction in any way advantageous to Ireland. They have not prevented repressive measures being carried—indeed, it has been the policy they have pursued in Ireland that has made these measures necessary. They have compelled an unwilling Ministry to resort to coercion. They have largely alienated from sympathy with Ireland the other parts of the United Kingdom. They have prevented for weeks the introduction of measures designed to relieve them and their countrymen from the grievances of which they complain ; they have blocked legislation much needed for the good of the people of Great Britain generally ; they have done all this by their senseless obstructiveness and unreasoning use of the forms and customs of the House. They have indulged in talk day after day, while all the argument they had to advance could have been stated in two or three hours. If these tactics are continued, it will be necessary for some steps to be taken in order to prevent, not merely the degra-

dation of Parliament, but the abolition of all chance for fair and deliberate debate. The Protection Bill has become law, and now in proscribed districts persons reasonably suspected of treasonable practices, or who have been guilty of meeting to do violence in any way, may be apprehended and lodged in gaol while the Act lasts—that is to September, 1882. A number of arrests have been made already, and not a few of the agitators who have disturbed Ireland have deemed it prudent to seek change of air and place themselves out of the reach of this new Act. An Arms Bill has also been passed, prohibiting persons in proclaimed districts from carrying fire-arms, or having them in their possession except under license, and giving power to search, between sunrise and sunset, any house in which it may be suspected arms are concealed. These Acts, up to the time we write, are the work of the Session, and for this result the country is indebted to the small knot of irresponsible, noisy men who parade themselves as the friends of Ireland and the champions of its rights and liberties, but who are, in fact, its worst foes. The Government intend to deal with the Land Question in Ireland, but there is not much prospect of the measure being introduced before the Easter recess. The utmost reticence is observed respecting its provisions, though Mr. Bright has declared that it will be found a good and substantial Bill, that will satisfy the Liberal party and be no dishonour to the Government that introduces it. Fixity of tenure will, we presume, be given, and some tribunal be established for determining the amount of rent in disputed cases, and provision will be made for tenants to sell what interest they may have in their holdings, for nothing short of reforms like these will satisfy the Liberal party, who, notwithstanding the action of Mr. Parnell and his associates, are anxious to see justice done to Ireland. A Bankruptcy Bill, which has been already brought in, and which, if carried, will do much to check commercial dishonesty; the Ballot Bill, which it is proposed, with some amendment, to enact permanently; a measure for repressing corrupt practices at Parliamentary elections—an end devoutly to be wished—and a few other measures of less importance, are among those promised during the Session; and we only wish the Government may be able to carry them through. The national finances are in a healthy state, and a surplus of nearly £3,000,000 is expected when the Budget is brought in. Whether there will be any reduction of taxation is problematic, since heavy expenses are to be met owing to Tory meddling in Afghanistan and the policy of annexation pursued by the late Government in South Africa.

IN the speech from the Throne Her Majesty declared that her

Government were on friendly terms with all foreign powers, and recent events show that this is not mere rhetoric. The glory of the Empire has not waned, as some Conservative journals intimate, and nowhere on the Continent is there indifference or disrespect shown to English influence and opinion on matters relating to the peace and welfare of Europe. The Turk shirks his obligations and shuffles off his promises as heretofore, and some of the great Powers hesitate to apply much pressure to him on the question of the Greek frontier; but even in relation to the at times unpromising and threatening aspect of affairs between Turkey and Greece the influence of Great Britain is felt for good and in all probability will be. The dignity of the country has not suffered in the hands of the Gladstone Government. Afghanistan has to be left to the Afghans, and the troops have begun to move from the district of Candahar to India. It will be a few months before the evacuation of the province—the only part of Afghanistan where our soldiers now are—is complete; but the southward march of the regiments will continue until we are fairly within our own borders again, to go beyond them no more, let us hope, in a wicked and wild-goose chase after a scientific frontier. Despite all that has been said by Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Lytton and their supporters about wanting a strong and friendly and independent Afghanistan, published papers show that early in Lord Lytton's Viceroyship the annexation of the whole of Afghanistan up to the Hindu Kosh was the project by which his policy and action were shaped, and that in all his negotiations with Shere Ali he played a most deceptive part not only towards the Ameer, but towards the people of England, who, had they known what was really going on behind the scenes, would have repudiated with the utmost indignation both the Viceroy and his policy. It is likely to cost this country £20,000,000 before all the bills of the Afghan campaigns are paid. The papers found at Cabul, and about which so much was heard before the late Government left office as revealing Russian intrigue, have been published, and they simply show that when the Government of Lord Beaconsfield engaged in intrigue against Russia, Russia engaged in intrigue against the Government of Lord Beaconsfield. But Shere Ali did not listen to Russian proposals until he felt convinced by the evident tendencies of the policy of Lord Lytton that the Viceroy intended to reduce him to vassalage. There is more in these Cabul papers to the discredit of Lord Lytton than of Russia. The Government have an inheritance of evil in South Africa, that has led to the loss of much life and the expenditure of much treasure. The Boers of the Transvaal have risen in arms and have defeated the Queen's soldiers in three

several engagements, mostly over-powering them by the force of numbers, though it is admitted that they are not wanting in personal courage and the qualities of good fighting men. They say they have been deceived by the action taken by the agents of the late Government in the matter of annexation, and they claim within certain limits their independence. The men at the head of the rising in the Transvaal know that they have no chance against the power of Great Britain; but they have some confidence that the men who now guide the counsels of the British Empire will do them justice. This the Government have shown every disposition to do, and, as we write, an armistice has been agreed to between Sir E. Wood and the Boer commander with a view to ascertain if terms of peace can be decided upon and the war cease. The Boers are willing, it is said, to accept a British protectorate if they are allowed the power of self-government. How far this may be correct remains to be seen; but the present Government are anxious to terminate this unfortunate war, if terms at all consistent with the dignity and honour of the Empire can be agreed upon. General Colley and several hundreds of men are already buried in African soil, victims of a policy condemned at the elections last April, but from the effects of which the country cannot escape in a day. The difficulties between the Government of Cape Colony and the Basutos are not yet settled; but Sir H. Robinson, the new Governor, who has gone out, has instructions to afford what friendly office he can in promoting a settlement of this sad and unfortunate war. It may be that the Home Government may have to interfere directly after all, and perhaps this would be the best course. The natives will not have to be treated with injustice.

THERE has been a change of Government in Spain that may, perhaps, have a favourable influence upon the destinies of that country. The Government of Canovas Del Castillo had become almost unbearable, and, taking advantage of the general discontent, the Moderate Liberals under Sagasta combined with Martinez Campos, the popular General-Marshal, had prepared to rise in arms. Their purpose was, it is said, to dethrone Alphonso, who was considered to be altogether under Castillo's influence, and to proclaim his mother—the Queen Isabella—in his stead. By some means or other the King was warned of the danger, and probably alarmed at the powerful combination arrayed against his Minister, and very likely wearied with the control of Castillo, he dismissed him, ostensibly on the ground of disapproving of a plan relating to the debt of the country. Sagasta was made Premier, and Campos Minister of War, and a complete change initiated in the officials and policy of the State. The new Govern-

ment, it is expected, will be more favourable to France, not so violently Ultramontane, and more disposed to allow liberty to the Press. Already many press offences have been pardoned. Spain is a splendid country, full of resources, but it has been cursed for generations by unwise and incapable government.

THE United States of America have concluded a treaty with China, which indicates some intentions of the latter country that may have considerable influence ere long upon the finances of India. The emigration of Chinese labourers to the States has been a growing difficulty for a few years past. The Chinese are a thrifty class, and work for small wages ; and the American labourers have no fancy for their competition ; and localities to which they have found their way have been scenes of riot and disorder. By the treaty recently signed, the Chinese Government grants to the Government of the States the right to limit or suspend the emigration of Chinese labourers whenever it is deemed expedient to do so ; and in return for this concession the Government of the United States agrees that its subjects shall not import opium into Chinese ports, nor deal in imported opium in Chinese towns or villages. This indicates the direction in which China is moving in relation to this opium question, and probably at the first opportunity a similar regulation relative to opium will be pressed upon England ; and we don't think there is much probability that the people of this country will sanction a war to compel the Chinese to take opium from India, as has been done in the past. The Indian Government had better look ahead and prepare for contingencies. President Garfield has taken possession of the White House, and for the next four years will hold supreme authority in the States. In his address he congratulated the country on its prosperity, intimated that the Civil Service not only needed reform, but that reform would be attempted, and that the rights of coloured citizens should be fully recognised in every part of the Union and their possession and exercise secured. And President Garfield will be in a better position to carry these views of himself and his party into effect than his predecessor was. He will have a majority in both Houses, and his election is what no one questions.

THE triennial Municipal Elections in France have gone very decidedly in favour of the Republic. Extremists, Socialists, and Monarchists have alike been rejected in the main, and an immense majority of the people have pronounced for the Republic as it is. The clerical party raised the question of the religious orders, and endeavoured to damage the government ; but it was all in vain. France is pros-

perous under the Republic ; and the people are not disposed to any change.

PRINCE BISMARCK is moving along curious lines just now. It is difficult, if not impossible, to divine what his ultimate intentions are. New taxes are to be introduced in the Empire, the product of which is to be applied to better the lot of the working classes by reducing their burdens. An Accident Insurance Bill is also proposed, under which persons of the same trade may be organised in corporate societies for mutual benefit. Insurance against accident is to be compulsory in the case of masons, miners, factory hands, and some others who are engaged in employments more or less dangerous. Half the premiums are to be paid by the masters in any case, and in the cases of workmen whose wages are under 15s. a week the masters have to pay two-thirds of the premium, and the poor-rate will provide the other third. The premiums paid are to secure sick allowance while disability through accident lasts up to two-thirds of the regular wage received, and in case of death from accident, each widow and child has to be pensioned. This measure, it is intimated, will be extended till all Germans are insured against sickness and old age, and probably against periods of enforced idleness for want of work. It is also proposed that the Budgets shall be biennial instead of annual. There is a conviction that such proposals cover some ultimate design. They are in the main like deliberate bids for popular support, and Prince Bismarck will not want the people with him and disregard the opinions of his own class without a purpose. Is he preparing the way to reconcile the masses to some large demand for military ends ?

THE
PRIMITIVE METHODIST
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1881.

I.—JOHN B. GOUGH'S 'SUNLIGHT
AND SHADOW.'*

THIS book, the long title page of which we give below, will be welcomed by the hosts of Mr. Gough's friends in this country as well as in America. It appears to have been written for the benefit of, if not addressed to, his Transatlantic friends. Its *raison d'être* lies not only in its contents, but in the eminence and large experience of the writer in public life. For more than thirty years his name, as the first of temperance orators, has been public property. His eloquence has appealed to the refined, the cultured, the rougher, and the unlettered alike. He has many of the highest qualities of the orator, but the most prominent quality, the secret of his influence and unrivalled success, is his dramatic power on the platform. He has, as every one knows, and no one admits more readily than himself, no learned acquirements; he studies no refinements of speech or elocutionary tricks; nor is he a great thinker, stirring the mind with profound, subtle, philosophical questions. He does not so much reason as persuade; he carries his hearers along with him in a noble enthusiasm for what they see and know to be right. Nor is this power a vanishing quantity, a 'flash in the pan,' a 'nine days' wonder, or a comet soon lost in the surrounding gloom.' His name and the influence of his oratory have stood the test of thirty years. There is a fitness and propriety, after having visited Great Britain for the third time, in his

* *Sunlight and Shadow: or, Gleanings from my Life-Work*; comprising General Experiences and Opinions, Anecdotes, Incidents, and Reminiscences, gathered from Thirty-seven Years' Experience on the Platform and among the People at Home and Abroad. By JOHN B. GOUGH. With full page illustrations and steel plate portrait of the author. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 27, Paternoster-row.

desire to give the world some memorial of his visit, of his labours, and his observations of men and things. Judging from the book itself, we should say that it is the contents of a well-kept note book and a retentive memory. We are glad to be able to commend the get-up of the work : paper, type, binding, are all excellent. The pictorial part is worthy of special mention, the twelve illustrations being truly artistic in style and fine specimens of the engraver's skill. They are not only good as pictures, but illustrate and make more vivid the teaching of the book. If our surmise be correct, it is another instance of the wisdom of keeping a well-arranged note book. We fear, however, that in these days of fast-living, the practice is going out of vogue. We could wish that some mentor would whisper to our young friends the old-fashioned advice, to keep pen or pencil ready to hand to preserve for use, thoughts, observations, and facts of value and importance. The variety and number of the subjects dealt with in this work makes any review of it appear miscellaneous if that review be at all adequate. But, miscellaneous as the book is in its contents, it will be a valuable repertory for those who are interested in the advocacy of social and temperance subjects. In some of the anecdotes we recognise old acquaintances, who have done duty on public platforms for many years, and whom we had thought had been relegated to a well-earned oblivion. We can only refer to one, that is, of the preacher who boasted that he never prepared his sermons, and who, on one occasion, took as his text, 'Awake, psaltery and harp,' &c., and not knowing what to make of this, but not to be beaten, this ingenious, if ignorant, public teacher said that the 'psaltery' was a tree, called the 'pesaltery tree,' growing plentifully where David lived. After descanting upon the tree and how David rose and sat in the 'pesaltery tree' and played upon his harp, the preacher launched out into a discourse upon early rising. We do not care to say how many years it is since we heard this story first. Of another impromptu preacher Mr. Gough cites this fact as within his own knowledge. When this man had no 'ideas,' which was generally his condition, he always took to incoherent shouting to the full extent of his voice. On this occasion, having nothing to say, he began, as his wont was, to shout and gesticulate furiously in this way—'There were the patriarchs; yes, the patriarchs, my friends. They were patriarchs. Who were the patriarchs, I ask, who were they—these patriarchs? Again, I ask, who were they? Why, my friends, Jacob was one of them—Jacob was; yes, Jacob was a patriarch, was a patriarch, and he had twelve sons, and every one of them was a boy, my friends.' In our

young days we were accustomed to hear wild and ridiculous utterances, but hardly anything so extravagant as this. Mr. Gough's book proves that he can handle the pen as skilfully as he can use his voice on the platform in eloquent speech. Many of his descriptions of both men and scenes are exceedingly well done, and show not only the power of an observant mind, but the possession of a facile pen. As we have said, Mr. Gough has crossed the Atlantic three times in furtherance of the temperance cause. His first visit was in 1853-5. During this tour he delivered 438 lectures. In 1857-9 he came among us again; this time he delivered 737 lectures. The third visit was the recent one, which we all remember. His first visit the writer of this paper can recall, and some of the scenes he will never forget. We can see now his slight, slim figure, his closely-shaven face, his long dark hair, his lithe quick movements, notably his rapid pacing of the platform, his mobile features, expressing every shade of emotion; indeed, his command and use of his facial muscles we have never seen equalled except by the late Charles Dickens in his readings. His voice was not striking, but was tuneful and flexible, and he so trained it that the farthest person in the largest room could hear with ease. He had the greatest facility in adapting himself to his audience. This was done by first of all laying down some general principles, which was mostly followed by a droll story, which generally put him and his auditors at perfect ease. His stories were irresistible in their humour, drollery, or sarcasm, and so perfectly were they told that we have seen large companies of sober-looking people in a prim fashionable city convulsed with uncontrollable laughter; then, as if with the skill of a magician, the current of emotion was turned into an opposite direction by some pathetic or tragic recital, during which the stillness was breathless, so that you could hear the proverbial pin drop, and, on looking round, you saw nearly every eye moistened with tears; then, again, he would mimic, in an inimitable way, some oddity or peculiarity of manner or speech, which, by its perfection of execution, showed the possession of great dramatic skill. He was not theatric, but was truly dramatic. His orations were generally wound up by rolling out with sonorous voice some splendid peroration, which was a trifle too fine—too American for us. It is no small feat, let scoffers and wise people say what they will, to hold audiences of several thousands of people spell-bound night after night with no abatement of interest or power. For wonderful descriptive power nothing could surpass his account of his own attack of *delirium tremens*. In the mimetic manner we have heard nothing to equal his production of the broken English and pantomimic gesticula-

tions of a Frenchman during an omnibus journey between Edinburgh and Dunfermline, if we remember aright; while, as a peroration, what could excel Paul Denton's apostrophe on cold water, or the boat on the Niagara rapids.

In the work before us Mr. Gough takes his readers into his confidence and reveals his *modus operandi*. He tells us that he never writes a lecture, but stores his mind with facts, anecdotes, and similes. He has, on rare occasions, taken a slip of paper in his hand, with a few figures or passages of Scripture which he could not trust to his memory, in case he might want them. Thus we see that, whilst his arrangement and use of material was extempore, he was always well prepared, and drew from his stock of materials whatever the exigencies of the occasion required. He says, 'For seventeen years I was constantly on the look-out, in travelling, conversation, strolling the streets, or in society, for illustrations, incidents, or facts that I could use for temperance lectures; not exactly storing them in my mind, but letting them float on the surface, ready at the moment when required.' We quote an interesting paragraph as showing us his particular way of, what we may call, manipulating an audience. 'Many questions are put to me in reference to my experience of public work; 'Do you see your audience as individuals in detail, or in the aggregate?' When I rise there is an involuntary selection of the persons to whom I shall speak; my will has nothing to do with it. Glancing over the assembly, my eye rests on certain individuals in different parts of the house, and to them my speech is largely addressed, and to no others. The rest of the people are in the aggregate; these are the individuals. If I move these, I move the rest; if they are sympathetic, I feel it; if they are unmoved, I am distressed. I have more than once talked for some minutes exclusively to one person who seemed stolid and indifferent, trying all methods to move him. One occasion has its vivid recollections. A very stolid man sat before me, one of those I had selected; but he was so very obtuse, apparently, that I soon concentrated all my energies upon him. The conviction impressed me, 'I must move that man to an interest in my theme, and until I can move him I shall accomplish nothing.' I well remember the sensation of relief I experienced when, at a funny story, I saw a slight twitch of the mouth and an almost imperceptible twinkle of his eye as he passed his hand with a rapid motion over his face. My thought was, 'Now I have you.' Sure enough, at the next story, which came very quickly, he laughed. I felt a positive friendship for him, an interest in him, and would have been pleased to shake his hand.

During the rest of the speech, after that laugh, 'he appeared to be the most interested auditor I had. All this I cannot explain, but so it is. I have no control over the selection of these individuals, and when once chosen I have no power to change them.' It is no uncommon thing to hear the depreciating remark that Mr. Gough is only a mere 'story-teller.' This is his avowal and defence:—

It has been said, 'Gough is a mere story-teller.' That may be true in a certain sense so far as my temperance speeches are concerned. I have no wish to defend myself from such a silly charge as that. When I first began I only told a story; I had no literature, no scientific knowledge, no beautiful thoughts clothed in beautiful language; I had a story to tell, and I told it. It was a story of privation, of suffering; a story of struggle and final victory; a story of gloom and brightness; a story of life; a story of hope and despair; a story of God's mercy; a story every word of which I felt in the depths of my own soul. Yes, I am a story-teller! I have related the stories of other experiences than my own. I have tried to tell the story of the cross; and I thank God to-day with my whole heart that there are so many who have been moved at my story to make the remaining chapters of the story of their own lives better, nobler, brighter; I am content to be a story-teller if I may win a soul from vice to virtue, warn the unwary, encourage the desponding, or strengthen the weak. And I have the cheering evidence, by letters and personal interviews, that my story has been harmful to none and helpful to many. Yes, but 'Gough is only a retailer of anecdotes—that's what we mean.' I have a keen sense of the ridiculous, and when I find a good story I appropriate it and use it. Some of these I make by putting a funny thought into a narrative or dialogue, some I find in newspapers, some are related to me by others, and some occur in my own experience. I use them all, they are public property; and I have known persons sit before me jotting down every story I tell; for what purpose I do not stop to inquire, and do not care. I think the public will not charge me with introducing a funny story except to illustrate a point; and, besides, I think a good story *well told* will relieve an audience wonderfully. I have evidence that my stories do please, and I expect to continue the 'practice of 'retailing' a few stories, either original or borrowed, with but little regard to the adverse opinion of critics.

It was to be expected, in a crusade against a giant evil like the drinking interest, that lovers of the cup, or parties interested in the trade, would offer all possible opposition, often bitter and unscrupulous. Sometimes they have had the temerity to cross swords with him in public, and have got more than they bargained for. This is a good instance in point:—

A man in Faneuil Hall had troubled me by interruptions, with insolent and profane remarks, for some time, until I felt the necessity of quieting him. My indignation was roused by seeing under the gallery some liquor-sellers enjoying the fun hugely, and aiding the man by laughing at every rude remark he made. I also discovered that he was slightly under the influence of liquor. So, pausing in my speech, I said, 'My friend, I pity

you, for you are doing the dirty work of men who dare not do it themselves. You are serving your masters and employers, who sit here in this audience encouraging you in doing what you would never dream of were you not set on by others. You look like a sensible man, and I should like to tell you a story of which you remind me.' The man said, 'Let's have the story.' Well, you listen and I'll tell it you. 'A certain merchant, who was sadly afflicted with stammering, had one joke which he related to every one who would listen to him. His clerks had repeatedly heard this joke, and were familiar with it. One day a stranger came into his store. The merchant accosted him with, 'Can you tell me wh—wh—why it was th—h—that B—B— why it was that—that B—B— wh—wh—why it was that B—B—' One of the clerks, seeing his employer's difficulty, said, 'He wants to know if you can tell him why Balaam's ass spoke.' 'Yes,' said the stranger, 'I guess I can. I reckon Balaam was a stuttering man, and got his ass to do the talking for him.' The man laughed with the others, and, in a few minutes, left the hall.'

It is said of many great orators that a certain nervous dread possesses them as the time draws near to face their audience. Canning's agitation was shown in the perspiration which moistened his hand. Cobden confessed to an involuntary trembling; and it is said that John Bright, on the occasion of his great speeches, nervously twists a button of his coat. In Mr. Gough's case, he says that speaking has been a cross to him for thirty-seven years, and as he gets older the cross becomes heavier and more painful.

From the first speech I ever made, when my heart beat like a trip-hammer, and after uttering half a dozen sentences I sat down shaking in every limb, to the last in Philadelphia, on April 15th, 1880, I have suffered more or less from this unaccountable dread at every public address. In my suffering trembling seizes upon every nerve, my throat and tongue become dry and feverish, my voice hoarse and husky, until the first few minutes have passed. . . . After the first nervousness has passed away I have but little sensation except to make my audience feel as I feel, and see as I see, and to gain dominion for the time being over their wills and affections. If I succeed in this, or think that I have their sympathy, and especially should they be responsive, the fear is all gone; then comes a consciousness of power that exhilarates, excites, and produces a strange thrilling sensation of delight.

Mr. Gough gives examples of the different kinds of oratory. We can only give the barest outline of this subject. The first is the empty and superfine:—

Seed time and harvest shall come and pass away; the hill and the valley shall smile with the luxuries of man; the cargoes of emporium shall float on the blue waves and waft along the shores of the sublime highlands; the bells of minarets and bastions shall chime the midnight peal; the drunken revelries shall increase the history of death; and the baneful upas-tree shall spread over all lands. The retreats of pollution, where King Alcohol waves his banner, shall swell the dirge of woe; the sound of the harp and

viol shall chant the passions of youth ; and the chandeliers of theatres, like terrestrial suns, shall deceive the unwary. . . . In all these scenes of pollution man seems silent as if at death he closed his eyes in eternal sleep. But suddenly the voice of the archangel splits the sapphire vault above, and comes tramping down the eternal avenue with a mighty clangour such as the world never knew.

We believe that there are people who admire and even imitate this jingling of fine words, regardless of sense or thought, and call it eloquence. We have next an instance of the 'swell,' or nobleman, style. The 'noble lord' spoke thus to a 'toast' for the benefit of a free hospital, the report of which he held in his hand : 'Gentlemen ! ahem. I—I—rise to say, that is, I propose a toast, gentlemen. I think that you'll say—ahem ! I think that this is the toast of the evening. Gentlemen, I belong to a good many of these things, and I say, gentlemen, that this proposal requires no patronage ; at least, you don't want any recommendation, you've only got to be ill, got to be ill. Another thing, they are all locked up—I mean, they are shut up separate, that is, they've all got separate beds.' At this point the noble speaker puts up his eyeglass and looks at the report, and continues : 'Now, gentlemen, I find by the report which I hold in my hand—I find, gentlemen, that from the year seventeen—no, eighteen—no—ah, yes, I'm right, eighteen hundred and fifty—no, it's a three, thirty-six—eighteen hundred and thirty-six—no less than one hundred and ninety-three millions—no, ah, eh ? What ?' 'Oh yes,' some one whispered to him. 'Thank you, thank you. One hundred and ninety-three thousand two hundred and thirty-one. Gentlemen, I beg to propose 'Success to the Institution.'

The next specimen is the 'itinerating working man's' style, not the true working man, but the idlers and harpies who live upon him. We might have thought that this example is not an example in the just sense, that there was nothing answering it, had we not on two occasions listened to utterances similar to this : 'Let us do or die, as Robert Bruce said to Mary, Queen of Scots, at Bannockburn. That battle was fought for liberty, and, gents, we've a battle to fight too, against the 'eartless harristocracy. . . . Our 'aughty tyrants shall bite the dust. They conquered us at the battle of 'Astings, when the Black Prince hinvaded Hengland. But who hasserted our liberty but our own class ? Who forced King John and his runagate barons to give us the Magna Charta but honest Jack Cade ? Who was it that shot the harrow at King Richard, the curdy lion, but Wat Tyler, the blacksmith ? Was not Bacon a lord, and didn't he pick a gent's pocket ? Was not Shakespere a poacher, and didn't he write sermons in stones ? Gentlemen, these are facts from the wollum of our country's

history. The harristocracy may stand on their 'aughty belevation, and say, in the words of Omer, *kodî profanum volgus et hareco*, which means, 'the common sort may be hanged;' but we will hanswer them in the words written in Chinese by King Belshazzar, and found by Mr. Layard in his recent exhalations in Nincom-something in Abyssinia. It was subscribed on the wing of a bull, '*Wox populi vox Dei*,' which means, 'Down with the peerage and hup with the people.'

The example of the plantation or Negro preacher style is exceedingly good: 'I shall take two texes, 'Glad-tidings' and 'Hallelujah.' What is good tidings? I'll tell you what good tidings am. Suppose dar was a king in de chariot, and six caliker hosses, like what dey have in de sukkus, a prancing and a tossing up dar heads, and de soldiers and ossifers marching by de side ob de chariot, and dars a liddle boy standing on de corner ob de street as de percession goes by. Dis ere boy is ragged and dirty, his har sticking frough de holes in his cap; he ain't got no shoes, no body keres for dat boy; he ain't got no fadder, nor no mudder, no aunty; and he's looking to see de king and de caliker hosses and de ossifers. De king he stops de chariot and say to dem ossifers, 'Bring dat boy to me.' 'But you'll ketch sumfin off dat boy.' Den the king got mad, and his face lifted up on de top of his head like a coffee-pot lid, and he hollered out as loud as he could holler, 'Bring dat boy to me.' Den the ossifer bring dat boy, and de king say, 'Take dat boy, git him measured for some clothes, git him a new cap, some shoes, and cut his har and wash him, and put him in de barf, and send him to school like the white folks go.' Wall, all dis is done 'cording to what de king tell de ossifer, and when dat boy was clean and his har comb, and he get eddication, den dat king come by again, wid de caliker hosses and ossifers, and he say, 'Where's dat boy?' And dey bring dat boy and nobody knows him; but de king knowed him, and say, 'My child, come up into de chariot, I 'dopt you: you is my heir.' Then came the application, God's love to sinners, cleaning them, teaching them, and making them heirs of God, joint heirs with Jesus Christ. When the preacher came to the climax, he cried out, 'Now, bredren, is de time for de second tex, 'Hallelujah,' and ye may jess shout dat as much as ye're a-mind to.' Mr. Gough, who heard this sermon, says, 'I never heard a plainer exhibition of Gospel truth, or a sermon better adapted to the comprehension of the hearers than this.'

We cannot follow our author in his description of the notable men he met with in this country. Their names are as familiar as household words—Lord Shaftesbury, Samuel Bowley, Canon Farrar, Samuel

Morley, Sir W. Lawson, Dean Stanley, Lord Cairns, Dr. Richardson, and others. But his descriptions of Dr. Parker and Mr. Spurgeon in England, and Dr. Guthrie and Mr. Arnot in Scotland, is so good that we may refer to them. Mr. Gough was much impressed by Dr. Parker, as much by his manner as by his matter. He was different from every preacher he had listened to. That he can hold a congregation together for years in the heart of London on the noon of each Thursday is proof of his power. Mr. Gough dwells upon his consciousness of power, of his self-reliance, of his perfect command of all his faculties. This is commended in opposition to the painful humility of some preachers; they are so conscious of their unworthiness and defects and shortcomings, that it is distressing to hear them. Dr. Parker speaks as one having authority. He has marked out a path for himself; his manner, his voice inflections, his attitudes, are all his own; all are trained to use as instruments in the accomplishment of his purpose. 'When he rose in the pulpit,' says Mr. Gough, giving his first impressions, 'he stood motionless, his face almost rigid as marble, no expression, reminding one of the 'silent oracle.' His first words revealed a magnificent voice. The reading of the hymn convinced you that he had studied elocution; all showed his perfect control over every intonation, whilst his reading of the Scriptures manifested his knowledge of, and power to apply, the appropriate emphasis. The prayer was beyond and above criticism. God the Father was ready to bestow, man was the needy one. Christ was Mediator, through whom all petitions must be offered and all blessings must flow. The phraseology of the prayer was to me rather unusual, but so perfectly intelligent and appropriate that the heart responded to every utterance. In the beginning of the discourse I was disturbed and annoyed by his manner, entirely new to me, thoroughly different from anything I had ever seen; but I soon forgot his manner in the intense interest awakened by the sermon. . . . Dr. Parker's utterances of sentences are occasionally wonderful in their power, often startling and very impressive, producing a permanent effect on the mind.' Mr. Gough cites one of Dr. Parker's characteristic utterances, said in his emphatic, characteristic way. Speaking of the bulwarks that were being broken down in these days, he said 'One doctrine after another gone, the devil gone, and God going.'

Mr. Spurgeon has been so often written about and described, praised and dispraised so much, that there is as little room as desire for more to be said. Mr. Gough speaks of him as personally fascinating, as having nothing finical about him, and as being full of genial humour.

'His laugh is infectious. It would not shock you if, after a hearty laugh, he would say, 'Let us have a word of prayer.' We quote this fact, not having seen it before, as showing us on what threads of accident our destiny often hangs. After he had begun to preach Mr. Spurgeon was persuaded to enter Stepney College and prepare fully for the Ministry. An appointment was made with Dr. Angus, the principal, to complete the arrangements; the place of meeting was Macmillan's, the publisher's. After waiting two hours in a room, he rang the bell and asked for the reason of the delay. The servant informed him that the doctor had waited in another room till he was tired, and had gone away. Thus ended the plan to put the great preacher through the classical drill. In all the references which we have seen to the pastor of the Tabernacle none are so touching and characteristic as this account of Mr. Gough's visit to his orphanage. We must not dwell upon the visit only to refer to the interview with a dying boy, one of his orphans. After speaking to him with touching appropriateness and simplicity, he, 'without the formality of kneeling,' said, 'O Jesus, Master, this dear child is reaching out his thin hand to find Thine. Touch him, dear Saviour, with Thy warm, loving clasp; lift him, as he passes the cold river, that his feet be not chilled by the waters of death; take him home in Thine own good time; comfort and cheer him till that good time comes. Show him Thyself as he lies here; let him see Thee and know Thee more and more as his loving Saviour.' After a moment's pause, he said, 'Now, dear, is there anything you would like? Would you like a little canary in a cage, to hear him singing in the morning? Nurse, see that he has a canary to-morrow morning. Good-bye, my dear, you will see your Saviour, perhaps, before I shall.' Mr. Gough well says: 'I had seen Mr. Spurgeon holding by his power sixty-five hundred people in a breathless interest. I knew him as a great man, universally esteemed and beloved, but, as he sat by the bedside of a dying pauper child, whom his beneficence had rescued, he was to me a greater and grander man than when swaying the mighty multitudes at his will.'

Of Scottish preachers Mr. Gough was most attracted by Dr. Guthrie and the Rev. W. Arnot. Of the former he says that he was one of the most fascinating preachers he had ever listened to. 'It was difficult to get into his church, every inch of room being occupied. The doctor kindly gave a pass to my wife and myself, so that we got a good seat. I was struck by his marvellous power over his congregation, by a mingled majesty and tenderness. This made his manner past description. His appearance was very striking—a very nobleman in

appearance; sometimes he leant over the cushion and talked with amazing power, then his long arms were stretched out as if to embrace his people, then he would roll the noblest sentiments couched in eloquent language, then, again, he would describe a shipwreck or sea scene with wonderful graphicness, that everyone felt the spell of reality upon them. He had a magnificent voice, that sometimes was like 'a thunder psalm among the hills,' then like a sigh of the wind among the autumn trees; now it was like the sound of the trumpet, then like *Æolian harp*—now sharp, staccato, and then seeming to struggle through a mist of tears. His power of pathos was so great that your eyes filled in spite of yourself.'

Mr. Arnot was a different man, and not so widely known as Dr. Guthrie. But thoughtful people going to Edinburgh would be sure to find their way to the Mound and into the Free High Kirk there. 'He appealed to the intellect rather than to the feeling, and yet at times he was very tender in his appeals. His manner in the pulpit was rather heavy and unwieldy. I had a sensation of uneasiness when I first heard him. His motions were ungraceful, his gestures were awkward, and his pronunciation was rather broadly provincial. He distressed me first by the jerking of the elbow, the shrugging of the shoulders, the hesitation of his utterance. His sermon on 'Figs of Thistles' held me fast. The effect of that sermon was such that months afterwards I turned in no direction but right before me seemed the words, 'Figs of Thistles.' Did I purpose entering into any engagements or making any plans—'Figs of Thistles.' He had the power in spite of his peculiarities to drive the truth into the hearts and consciences of those who heard him. I learned to love him with no effort on my part.'

Limited space forbids our following Mr. Gough in his animated and sometimes graphic descriptions of street-life in London, his humorous stories of cabmen and Cockneys, his scenes in the criminal courts in London, his accounts of life among costermongers, beggars, and thieves, his visits to the haunts of crime, his chapter of absurd blunders and laughable mistakes, his experiences with brazen-faced people, his amusing (and to himself sometimes costly) experiences with letter-writers, beggars, and aspirants for fame, or his method of dealing with unendurable bores. We must use our remaining space with the purely temperance aspect of the work. On this subject Mr. Gough does not speculate, theorise, or even reason. He sets before us a number of facts, many of them of the most appalling character, and he points to them as the legitimate outcome of alcoholic drinking. We know

that the stock objection is that these facts are extreme, exaggerated, and one-sided. This answer may satisfy those who are unwilling to hear unpleasant facts, who will have rose-coloured representations, who support the drink system, or who are interested in the trade. But to those who go below the surface of our social life, and who know the stratum of life hidden from fashionable view, these appalling facts accord only too truly with a state of things which is the foulest blot upon our boasted civilisation. Whatever we may think of the methods adopted in trying to rid our country of the curse of intemperance, the evil spreads and extends, working the greatest possible mischief, degradation, and ruin before our eyes, sparing not age, sex, or position; men are changed into monsters, mothers do worse than forget their sucking-child—they destroy them, every year hecatombs of men and women are hurried to their graves prematurely. Dr. Farr, who for forty years was the presiding and guiding genius of the Registrar-General's office, and who has never been the friend of temperance reform, admits that 53,000 deaths occur annually through alcoholic drinking. If any drug or poisonous substance was vended in this country causing or occasioning a tithe of these deaths, would there not be a vehement outcry raised against it? Would not public indignation and justice perceptibly say, 'These lives shall not be sacrificed.' This would be the decision of the economist, but the Christian is bound to look deeper than the economist. The issues of human life are to us and in truth unspeakably more momentous than the needless destruction of an important factor in the nation's wealth. The wealth of the country is wrongfully lessened by the loss of these 53,000 lives; but what of the lost souls? What of the multitude lost to the kingdom of Christ? And what of the relatives and friends of all those slain? What is there in this intoxicant that it can enslave and destroy its thousands yearly? Let us interrogate science as to its findings regarding it. We shall discover its answer to be in substance thus:—Leaving a margin for the cases where a pleadable necessity exists for the employment of alcoholic drink, it is capable of the clearest proof that every man's brain, and hence all the organs of his body governed by nervous centres, are better without this alien and injurious substance—alcohol. Not from any temperance book, but from a scientific treatise written by one of the most eminent toxicologists of the day, we quote the following:—'This chemical substance, alcohol, an artificial product devised by man for his purposes, and in many things outside his organism a useful substance, is neither a food nor a drink suitable for his natural demands.' Another authority says: 'The effect

of alcohol is to irritate the nerves of the stomach, this excitement being conveyed to the nerve-centres, and resulting in the dilation of the blood-vessels in the brain, through which the blood flows more rapidly and more abundantly than usual. The activity of the brain is thus increased, its waste material being more quickly removed and fresh food more freely supplied, and this gives rise to the feeling of increased vigour. But the action is only a temporary one; the vessels which were dilated for a moment return to their ordinary size, and the circulation to its habitual tone. There is a momentary rise in temperature, which only applies to the surface of the body, but it is succeeded by a fall which lasts for some hours. Thus the power of resisting cold is decreased, and many a poor wretch has died from exposure when under the influence of drink whose life would have been otherwise saved. Alcohol always depresses healthy action.' Turning from these clear and impartial findings of science, let us see how Canon Farrar describes the social aspects of the drink-system. He says: 'This evil is nothing more nor less than a fury, withering and blighting the whole fair fame of England. Every week in the organ of the United Kingdom Alliance is published a ghastly column called 'Fruits of the Traffic.' It is no invention, no rhetoric; it is nothing that is disputable, nothing that can in the least be questioned; it is nothing in the world but a series of horribly prosaic cuttings from the accidents and offences in the police and criminal reports of other newspapers, and it records calamity after calamity and crime after crime, disease, shipwrecks, conflagrations, murders, the kicking and trampling of women, the maiming and murdering of little children, all of which are directly attributed to the effects of drink, by the declarations of judges, by the reiterated testimony of witnesses, and by the constant remorseful confession of the poor criminals themselves.' But for the existence and ravages of this evil two-thirds of our army of policemen could be disbanded, and two-thirds of our prisons closed. One authority, a judge of long experience, affirmed that nine-tenths of his criminal cases arose from drink. In this connection Mr. Gough gives this sad case:—

'In Dartmoor was a prisoner, a fine-looking, intelligent old man, who had been in a respectable position in society. He was under penal servitude for life. His nature was kind, courteous, and amiable; he was so childlike and simple-hearted, you could hardly conceive of his committing an act of brutality and violence; and yet he had murdered his wife, who, he said, had been dearer to him than his own life for twenty years. He had gone out to spend an evening with some friends, had taken an unusual quantity of liquor, and came home drunk. When expostulated with at the

door by his wife, in his madness he struck her a blow that laid her dead at his feet.'

An ex-convict, who, through drink, had himself served six years in prison, gives this testimony :—

'The convict prisons are crowded with men who, had they been abstainers from strong drink, would to-day have been the support and comfort of happy families. What their condition is only those who have experienced the horrors of a prison life can understand; what the condition of their families is in consequence is fearful to contemplate. I was compelled for six long years to listen to family histories, to stories of wretchedness, crime, poverty, and horror. It was with no disposition to favour total abstinence that I tried to probe the cause of it. I had never been a teetotaler; had I been so, I should never have been in prison myself. But stern facts which came to my knowledge day by day forced me to the conclusion that a large proportion of all the crime and poverty in the land is the direct offspring of intoxicating drink. . . . I learned from the criminals themselves that the poverty, ignorance, and want of proper home had been, in nine cases out of ten, the consequence of drink.'

Without any attempt to pile on the agony, let us give our readers a sample of the facts which Mr. Gough adduces.

A woman had two children suffering from fever one morning. Some ladies visiting in the neighbourhood had given her medicines and comforts and money for these sick children. In the evening the ladies went to inquire after the children, and found them alone in the agonies of death, induced by want and neglect. On being searched for, the woman was found in a neighbouring tavern drunk. She had spent the money and sold the things given, and spent all in drink. The ladies tried to rouse and restore her, and everything was done for the children, but in vain; they both died. Calling the next day, the ladies found the little corpses unstraightened, and the mother again drunk.

A case similar to this occurred within the knowledge of the writer, where a brutal father stripped two children of warm clothes given upon recovering from a dangerous disease, and left them in nakedness in the cold while he sold the clothes and got drunk upon the proceeds.

Mr. Gough gives one of the most melancholy instances of personal degradation through drink we have met with, on the authority of the Rev. Charles Garrett, of Liverpool, whose mission work in that town is worthy of all praise. He tells us that he saw a man under whose ministry he once sat with profit in a low public-house, with his face blackened, preaching his old sermons to degraded men and dissolute women for twopence; whilst his wife, refined, educated, and delicate, was struggling with the newsboys for the last edition that she might get bread for her suffering children. A case somewhat similar to the above is that of a man of aristocratic connection, who had brought his wife, a woman of 'gentle blood,' into poverty and misery. They had

only one low, dark, damp room, no furniture, a heap of rags in one corner, and an old box for a table. When the gentleman whom I had sent to visit them entered the room there was a cup of weak tea and a bit of dry bread on the box, and three orange-boxes turned up for seats. There were the wife and six children, the youngest only fourteen days old, and that morning her husband had stolen the only blanket they had and sold it for drink. Afterwards, when charity had helped the family and provided the poor boy with shoes, he stole them in the night and got drunk with the proceeds. It is very well, as Mr. Gough says, to read statistics of crime, pauperism, and lunacy through drink. 'But go where the shot strikes; listen to the cry of that little girl as the sound rings out of that cellar. Enter, and see that mere child of seven years writhing under the heavy blows inflicted with a large strap by a brutal half-drunken man. The poor little creature is striving to defend herself; the blows fall alike on head, arms, and shoulders. Will a father beat his child so young in such a brutal manner? Perhaps; but this is a child he has bought from a drunken mother, who had sold her for half-a-crown to that cruel, drunken wretch, and who had spent the money that day in drink. I saw an interesting little girl who had hip complaint, whose mother had sold her to a villainous tramp for two pairs of stockings. She sold the stockings, and got drunk with the money. There is a man now in prison whose wife lost an eye some time since by his violence when drunk, and whose only child is deformed for life as the result of another drunken fit. He is now confined for depriving his wife of her other eye. She is blind, he is in prison, and the child a cripple.'

When persons of position and education become confirmed inebriates, Mr. Gough contends that the element of hopelessness enters into such cases; their good angels forsake them, they become daring and reckless, a sense of despair possesses them. The further a man falls the deeper he goes. The two following cases are given in proof of this doctrine: A gentleman of education, high social position and fortune, fell into the abyss of drunkenness, and deep and dreadful was his fall. A lady wrote to Mr. Gough to inform him of the death of his sorrow-stricken wife and of the brutal scenes over her corpse by this drunken madman. This lady writes thus:—

'Mary's heart broke. I was with her during her last illness. S— was away nearly all the time, and when he did come we were obliged to lock the doors and sometimes to send for help to keep him off, for he was furious when drunk; when in drink he had once fearfully whipped his sweet little girl. During her sickness I never

went to my knees that I did not pray God most fervently to take her to Himself. At last she died. Having laid her out, we locked up the room, and left her in the chamber of death. That night S—— came home seemingly sober, and requested us to let him see his wife. So deceived were we by his well-assumed melancholy, that we gave him the door-key. In about ten minutes after a servant came to the door weeping, and begged us to go and 'take master away, for he was beating mistress.' We sent some of the gentlemen up. After they came back we went to see what he had done, and there was my precious Mary, his own wife, who had never given him an unkind word, lying on the floor, all her burial clothes torn off from her body, and that bruised and mangled to such a degree that the ladies were unable to bear the scene. Her old nurse and I stayed and shrouded her again, and her body was in such a state as to compel immediate burial. In a few months S—— died drunk.'

The next account is of a Scotchman of good education and noble appearance, who had emigrated to Canada. Not making money sufficiently fast by farming, he entered into the liquor trade, wholesale and retail.

He began to drink, and in two years became a confirmed drunkard, and has been so for the past eighteen years, becoming a miserable wreck. The influence of liquor upon his mind defies description, as it always produces a maddening effect. It never destroyed his power of locomotion, laying him in the gutter, or numbing his tongue. On the contrary, it always gave him buoyancy, and strength to his step, and eloquence to his tongue, while it made him a fiend in his own family, especially to his wife. Many times had my poor mother to flee out of her bed in her night-dress in the coldest winter nights and take refuge in barns and stables. On one occasion he locked the door, and then swore to my sister, who was seven years old, that if she should make any noise while he was whipping my mother, he would murder her. He then dealt my mother such a blow as laid her upon the carpet weltering in her blood. He then leaped upon her, and danced upon her till the blood oozed out of her nose and mouth, when a neighbour, hearing the noise, burst open the door and saved my mother's life. Recovering from his drunken state, he was distracted to find out what he had done. But, notwithstanding the fearful end that this revel had almost led to, it was soon forgotten. The appetite had mastered him, and, being called frequently into company, revel succeeded revel, spree succeeded spree: and chasing his wife and family with deadly instruments, the destruction of household furniture followed as a certain consequence. My two brothers left him at eighteen years of age; he tried the law to detain them, but they proved personal violence, and were free. I left at the age of seventeen. I shall never forget that gloomy morning. It was the morning that I heard the galloping of the horses with my father to the front door. I heard my father burst into the house, ripping and tearing like a mad man because the family were not out of their beds. He went into my mother's room and seized her by the throat in her bed. When I heard her cry for help I bounded out of my bed and ran downstairs, and rushed into my mother's apartment and took hold of him behind his back, and by some supernatural strength, threw him upon the floor. When my mother made

her escape I made mine, although pursued by my father with his gun. His destruction of property has been very great. He has squandered thousands of pounds in drink, drove horses to death, broke carriages, consigned the most valuable clothing of the family to the flames, destroyed household furniture, such as chairs, tables, sofas, sideboards, clocks, &c., all of which he would replace in the most handsome way when he was sober without counting the cost.

But the newspaper of this morning reminds us that we need not go to America for instances of the horrible effects of drink ; facts crowd upon us at home. We read in the paper before us of the execution of a wretch who, after a long course of inhuman treatment, when in drink, of the woman he lived with, consummated his brutalities by stabbing her with a red-hot poker in one of his drunken furies. With all these facts forcing themselves upon us, let Mr. Gough and let all good men, regardless of sneers and opposition, use all their might to wipe out this blot from the fair face of our country. It only remains to be said that Mr. Gough deserves our best thanks for this interesting volume. It is a book of facts and incidents, samples and examples of which we have given our readers.

H. E. G.

II.—THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

UPON the above subject we fear the majority of people in England are but imperfectly informed. There is a danger of us forming our opinion of the Irish solely from the outrages which are perpetrated in the lamentable agitation now existing. Some politicians have evidently been guilty of this error. It is especially desirable that Christians should avoid it. We think all the true followers of Christ, whose kingdom is to be established in every land, and particularly all Methodists, whose great founder claimed the world as his parish, should, as far as possible, acquaint themselves with the character and conditions of all the people who on earth do dwell, and by no means remain ignorant of those who own allegiance to the same Sovereign. Ireland ought to be made a subject of prayer both in public and in private. There are evils which it will take more than human wisdom to remedy. That we may pray intelligently our knowledge of the country and the people must not be gathered exclusively from the newspaper reports of affrays, murders, and arrests under the Coercion Act. Unfortunately, it is only when there is some widespread disaffection or rebellion that the affairs of the sister isle come prominently before us; and, therefore, the estimate we form of the Irish is often very one-sided. It is lamentable that the Land Bill of this Session had to be prefaced with a Coercion Bill and a Peace Preservation Bill. Though we write before we know for certain, yet there is too much ground to fear that the Bill will be spoiled, to some extent, by party conflict, which has weakened most of the remedial measures for Irish grievances. But of its merits we will not judge until the next article.

Ireland has a favourable geographical position both for commerce and agriculture. The island is washed by the Atlantic on the north-west and south, and on the east by the Irish Sea, otherwise called St. George's Channel. Its greatest length is from Fair Head, in Antrim, to Crow Head, in Kerry, about 306 miles; and its greatest width between the extreme points of Mayo and Down, about 182 miles. Its area is 32,510 square miles, or more than 18,000,000 acres. Its relative size, compared to England and Wales, is as three to five. The form of the island is oblong, and the west, north, and south coasts are deeply indented, and that of the east, like Great Britain, comparatively

unbroken. The country is undulating and hilly, though not so rugged as the highlands of Scotland, nor yet so tame as the eastern section of England. It is a remarkable feature of the 'Emerald Isle' that the mountain tracts do not extend far into the interior, but lie in detached clusters along the coast, forming a broad fringe round the island, while the interior appears as a basin composed of flat or gently swelling land. Some of the hills rise to a height of more than 3,000 feet above the level of the sea. Another peculiar feature is the extensive bogs or morasses which are found in the flat portions of the island. These are estimated to occupy 2,830,000 acres, or about one-seventh of the entire superficies. The largest of these morasses is the Bog of Allen, which stretches in a vast plain across the centre of the island, covering most of Kildare, Carlow, King's and Queen's counties. In Longford, Roscommon, and other counties there are extensive tracts of deep wet bog, which give a peculiarly dreary and desolate aspect to the scenery. But these bogs, unlike the fens and marshes of our country, emit no damp or noxious exhalations, owing to the large quantity of tannin which they contain. They yield a plentiful and cheerful fuel to the surrounding peasantry, and when reclaimed by drainage and irrigation become the most luxuriant pastures. The mountains are generally arable to their summits, and the valleys exceed in fertility the most prolific soils of England.

The rivers and lakes of Ireland are very numerous and of considerable extent, and the scenery in connection with some of them is most charming. There is a water supply, it is calculated, capable of turning the mills of France, England, and Scotland put together. The Shannon, which by means of locks and lateral cuts is made navigable nearly to its source, is the greatest river in the United Kingdom. The largest lake is Lough Neagh, in Ulster, which covers an area of 100,000 acres, and collects the waters of most of the rivers of the north-eastern part, and discharges them into the sea by the Lower Bann. The salt water loughs which indent the island are numerous and of considerable importance. About seventy are suitable for commerce, and there are fourteen in which the greatest men-of-war may ride in safety. Ireland's position on the western extremity of Europe would enable her to intercept the trade of the New World—the merchandise of London, of Bristol, and of Liverpool skirts her shores, before arriving at its destination; and some of the finest harbours in the world invite the inhabitants of this gifted island to accept the trade of India and form the emporium of Europe.

The climate, while bearing a strong resemblance to our own, has

character peculiar to itself, owing to the marked difference in the configuration of the surface of the island, its greater distance from the continent of Europe, and being more affected by the warm waters of the Gulf Stream. It is genial and fostering to vegetation; hence the appropriateness of the name, 'Emerald Isle!' The parching and noxious east winds of spring are less severely felt than they are with us, because in the greater distance they have to travel they acquire more warmth and moisture. It is on this account that the most salubrious spring climates in England, Scotland, and Ireland are situated in the south-west of their respective countries. Queenstown, in the south-west of Ireland, has an average spring temperature of 50·0, which is the highest in the British Islands, and about 3·0 higher than the east of Kent, which is in the same latitude. Wheat and the finer sorts of grain are subject to much less risk in backward seasons than is the case in the northern parts of England. The remarkably open winters which lengthen out the period of grazing, and the comparative mildness of the weather through all seasons, and its freedom from drought particularly adapt the country for the rearing of cattle. Competent judges are of opinion that the most fruitful use that can be made of the land is grazing and timber growing. The agricultural resources have never been fully developed, owing, perhaps, to the peculiar character of the land-tenure rather than to the want of industry among the inhabitants; but the natural fertility of the country is great, and presents a prospect of very considerable national prosperity.

The fisheries of Ireland are next to an inexhaustible mine of wealth, but one that is almost entirely neglected. The surrounding seas swarm with cod, ling, hake, herrings, pilchards, &c., yet, strange to say, the Irish markets are largely supplied with fish from Scotland and the Isle of Man. Nor has Ireland ever been a manufacturing country. Many things make against the formation of great manufacturing establishments—the unsettled and turbulent state of the population, their dependence on the land, their emigration, the want of coal and capital and skilful workmen. Linen is the staple manufacture, and it is carried on principally in the districts of Ulster, and its exports amount to nearly £5,000,000. Some hundreds of thousands of females are now employed in a business commenced but a few years ago—the working of patterns on muslin with the needle. Belfast is the centre of this manufacture; but there are firms engaged in the trade throughout the counties of Ulster, which it is well known form the happiest and most prosperous part of the 'Emerald Isle.'

Dublin, the capital of Ireland, is the second city in the British em-

pire. While it yields in extent, it does not in architectural beauty, to the metropolis of England, nor perhaps to any of our cities and towns. There was a time when it could boast of almost unsurpassed wealth and splendour. The locality of the Parliament, the constant residence of the nobility and commons, the magnificent establishments of the vice-regal court, the unbounded hospitality of the people, and the increasing commerce of the port, altogether gave a brilliant prosperity to that luxurious and grand old capital. In short, the insular situation of Ireland, her great fertility, the character of the people, the amount of her revenues, and the extent of her population, give her a decided superiority over other nations, and would render her crown, if accompanied by her affections, not only a brilliant but a most substantial ornament to the British empire. A politician of high authority has said—‘If *well-governed*, Ireland would be the brightest jewel in the crown of Victoria.’ Though gifted and enriched by the hand of Nature, the fomented dissensions of her own natives, the blighting influence of a superstitious religion, the crafty selfishness of her priesthood, and ages of misrule and oppression, have wedded Ireland to poverty and adapted her to subjugation, rendered her innate capacities inactive, and crushed her dearest interests; and thus, the gifts and bounties of a favouring Providence, have been lost on a distracted and despairing people, to whom a vast redundancy of grain and innumerable flocks and herds should furnish not only the source of trade, but every means of comfort.

In many respects, the Irish are a brave and noble people. They are as little known as they have been grossly defamed to the rest of Europe. Perhaps no people have been the subjects of more mischievous misrepresentations and cruel calumnies. They combine in their propensities and habits many of those singular and repugnant qualities which designate the people of different nations. This remarkable contrariety of characteristic traits pervades the whole current of their natural dispositions. Laborious, domestic, accustomed to wants in the midst of plenty, they submit to hardships without repining, and bear the severest privations with stoic fortitude. The sharpest wit and the shrewdest subtlety in the Irish peasant are concealed under the semblance of dulness, or the appearance of simplicity; and his language, replete with the keenest humour, possesses an idiom of equivocation which can always evade a direct answer to an unwelcome question. He is inquisitive, artful, and penetrating; he learns mankind without extensive intercourse, and has an instinctive knowledge of the world without mingling in its societies; and few people can

display more address and talent in the ordinary transactions of life than he.

The Irish are distinguished for the warmth and geniality of their friendship, and their unbounded hospitality, especially to strangers and the distressed. To be in want or misery is the best recommendation to their disinterested protection; their food, their beds, their raiment are equally the strangers' and their own; and the deeper the distress the more welcome is the sufferer to the peasant's cottage. It has been remarked that the English and the Irish people form their judgment of foreigners very differently: an Englishman suspects them to be rogues till he finds that they are honest men; the Irishman conceives every person to be honest till he finds him out to be a rogue; and this accounts for the very striking difference in their conduct and hospitality to strangers. Many can testify, and amongst them not a few Methodist ministers, that they hardly get such a hearty welcome anywhere else as they do in the land of St. Patrick. When an Irishman says, 'A hundred thousand welcomes to you,' it is not a mere empty compliment. You often feel that the utterance wells up from the very depths of his heart.

The notion which obtains in a great part of this country that the Irish are a rude, uncouth, and ill-behaved people is a great mistake. That they have some objectionable habits must be admitted, but the want of politeness and courtesy cannot be said to be amongst their faults. In some parts of England you can see more rudeness, hear more offensive language, and receive more insolence and insults by half-a-day's journey in the train than you would by a week's travelling in Ireland. Wesley pronounced the Irish the politest people he had ever seen. He was so delighted with the cordiality with which he was received that he exclaimed, 'What a nation is this; every man, woman, and child, except a few of the great vulgar, not only patiently, but gladly suffers the word of exhortation.' Though he and many of his preachers afterwards endured much from mobs and riots instigated by the priesthood, yet he contended that when they were not thus misled and excited, when they were left to their normal condition, they were the politest people he had met with; and that in their wretched cabins could be seen as thorough courtesy as at the courts of London or Paris. 'The damp, dirty, smoky cabins of Ulster,' said one of the preachers, 'were a good trial; but what makes double amends for all these inconveniences, to any preacher who loves the word of God, is, that our people here are in general the most zealous, lively, and affectionate Christians in the kingdom.'

The Irishman's attachments to his kindred are of the strongest nature. Even when covered with rags and oppressed with poverty, in his social duties he is generous and heroic. His respect for females is a marked characteristic. The wife partakes of all her husband's vicissitudes; she shares his labours and his miseries with constancy and with affection. At the sports and pastimes the women are always of the company, and they have a great influence. We noticed just outside Belfast in a field-play of some kind, while in England only men would have been present, the women were there in great numbers, and evidently entering very heartily into the spirit of the proceedings. Some might think they had better have been at home mending stockings; but in Ireland the people don't bother much with shoes and stockings, mothers and children being very often without these appendages. Even in the mobs and riots the fairer sex muster as strong as the men. When the weapons used are the boulders or round stones with which the streets are paved the women pull up these stones with forks or pokers, and the men throw them; but if the men are not expert enough in this the women turn to and show them how to do it. In his smoky cottage, surrounded by his family, the Irish peasant seems to forget all his privations. The natural cheerfulness of his disposition banishes reflection, and he experiences a simple happiness, which even those in the highest ranks of society might justly envy. Closely connected with this is an ardent attachment to the place of his nativity, which neither time nor absence, prosperity nor adversity, can obliterate or diminish. Wherever he is born there he wishes to die. When necessity is laid upon him to emigrate he leaves his home and the scenes of his childhood and youth with an aching heart, and if successful in acquiring wealth and rank in distant places, he returns with fond affection to renew his intercourse with the friends and companions of his youth and obscurity.

A martial spirit and a love of desultory warfare is indigenous to the Irish people. Battle is their passion. Whole parishes and districts form themselves into parties, which they denominate factions. They meet by appointment at their country fairs, where they quarrel without a cause and fight without an object. Having indulged their propensity to their hearts' content, they bind up their wounds, and return satisfied to their homes, generally without anger, and frequently in perfect friendship with each other. The celebration of the anniversaries of their great battles and revolutions, such as the battle of the Boyne, has often been the occasion of these party fights, especially between the Orangemen and the Catholics. If these days come and

go without a kind of mob fight and a few broken heads it is considered they are not kept in the proper fashion at all, and that there is not such zeal in a good cause as there used to be. In battle the Irish are rather impetuously brave than steadily persevering. Their onsets are furious and their retreats precipitate, but even death for them has no terrors when they firmly believe that their cause is meritorious. Though exquisitely artful in the stratagems of warfare, yet, when actually in conflict, their discretion vanishes before their impetuosity, and—the most gregarious people under heaven—they rush forward in a crowd with tumultuous ardour and without foresight or reflection whether they are advancing to destruction or victory. They have not the cool, steady perseverance of either the Scotch or the English, though they make brave and heroic soldiers, and have often distinguished themselves on the field of battle. Sir Louis Cavagnari and Sir G. P. Colley, whose sad fates all must deplore, were men of sterling character and great abilities.

Many have ignorantly considered pauperism an inseparable ingredient in the Irish character. To them the word 'Irish' has an air of wanting something unless it is followed by 'pauper.' What are the facts of the case? In 1876 the average daily number of paupers in the workhouses was 43,235, and of recipients of out-door relief 31,600, bringing up the total to 74,835. This was about 140 to 10,000 of the population. These consisted chiefly of the old, infirm, and sick; there were only 5,820 able-bodied persons among them, or two to every five hundred of the population. How does this compare with England and Scotland? In 1876 England and Wales, with a population of 24,244,000 had 752,887 paupers in receipt of relief in-door or out-door; Scotland, with a population of 3,527,000, had a total paupers' population of 66,733; while Ireland, with a population of 5,320,000, had, as we have said, 74,835 paupers. To show it in another way, one person in every thirty-three in England and Wales was a pauper; in Scotland one in every fifty-three; and in Ireland the proportion was only one in sixty-eight. A similar proportion appears in the incidence of the poor rate. In 1876 England and Wales paid at the rate of 6s. 0½d. per head of the population; Scotland 5s. 0½d.; and Ireland only 3s. 4d. Of course the altered circumstances of the present time would considerably modify these figures. The statistics of 1876 would not be an accurate guide to the facts of 1880. The depression of trade and the failure of the potato crop for several years, upon which the peasantry so largely depend, brought the country to the verge of a famine. Nor must the figures we have quoted be taken as a proof

that there is not so much poverty in Ireland as there is in England and Wales. If less pauperism, there is more poverty; because the people, inured to suffering, bear more before applying for relief. When doing as they consider pretty well, the labouring class earn but about 1s. 6d. per day, excepting in harvest time, and often live on such fare as many in this country would regard as being calculated to starve them to death. In the morning, for breakfast, tea and bread; potatoes, with a very little bacon, for dinner; and oatmeal porridge for supper; while every Friday and many other days the Catholics abstain from flesh meat altogether, getting a few fresh or salt herrings if they can. In many districts fresh meat is not tasted except one day in the year, when every family among the peasantry contrives to have a dinner of it, some animal, often a fowl, being killed on purpose to furnish this meal. This is probably a relic of some sacrificial observance. Before being driven to these straits, and ere they can make up their minds to such a diet, many in this country, used as they have been to much luxury in addition to necessities, apply for relief to avoid sheer starvation.

Another thing which lessens the pauperism of Ireland, so far as the figures are concerned, is that many keep out of the workhouses in order to live on public charity in another form. Mendicancy is very common, so common as to be little less than a national scandal. You are more beset with beggars than in England, and that is saying a great deal. It is not difficult to account for this. The Roman Catholic religion encourages mendicancy. It is held to be no sin to live on alms, and to be a positive merit—an act which will shorten the stay in Purgatory—to give alms. *Never turn away thy face from any poor man* is a text acted on by devout Romanists in its most literal acceptation. The result is, that there are always old people hanging about the doors of places of worship and scenes of interest frequented by tourists; and many, no doubt, eke out an existence, instead of going to the workhouse or the overseer for relief.

Another mistake made in regard to the Irish is, that they are a more drunken and criminal people than any other in the United Kingdom. Certainly there are more arrests for drunkenness in Ireland than in either England or Scotland. There is one in every 50 of the population, while in England there is only one in every 118, and in Scotland one in 134. These figures are modified by several considerations. Something depends on the skill of persons in keeping out of the hands of the police, and the good nature of the police in evading cases of drunkenness, and also on the proportionate number of the police and

other circumstances. Persons who drink but seldom, and are not regular toppers, are sooner made drunk ; and when an Irishman is 'in liquor,' he is more excitable than either an Englishman or a Scotchman. Most persons are very noisy when in the company of John Barleycorn ; but when poor Pat has got a drop of the dear creature too much, on account of his peculiar temperament he moves legs and arms almost like the sails of a windmill, and is, therefore, sooner in the hands of the constable. It is a remarkable fact, too, that the police force is stronger in Ireland, in proportion to the population, than in either England or Scotland. In Ireland there is one policeman to every 455 of the population ; while in Scotland there is only one to 1,042 of the population, and in England one to 1,164. Again, in Ireland the police, as we shall show, have less crime of another class to attend to, and therefore are able to expend a quantity of surplus energy in arresting noisy drunkards, whom the busier constables of England and Scotland would allow to stagger quietly home.

Then what about other cases of crime ? Though the arrests for drunkenness in Ireland are much in excess of those in this country, yet the arrests for all other crimes are much fewer, *i.e.*, when the country is free from agrarian riots. This does not make out such a clear connection between drunkenness and crime as we believe there is ; but facts are stubborn things, and we must take them as we find them. Taking the figures of 1876, which are the most readily to hand, the number of persons sentenced to death in all Ireland was four. The number sentenced in England was thirty-two. Then the death sentences in England were eight times as numerous as those in Ireland, while the population was only about four and two-fifths to one. Again, most of the murders in Ireland are agrarian, or committed in the heat of battles, while those of England are perpetrated under the influence of intoxication, and not a few in cold blood and on women, so that more natural cruelty must be imputed to the English than to the Irish. In the secondary punishments there were twelve sentences to penal servitude for life in England, and none in Ireland, and to penal servitude for a term of years there were only fifty sentences in Ireland against 280 in England. For offences against property with violence there were two sentences to penal servitude for life in England, and none in Ireland ; 271 sentences for terms of years in England against 26 in Ireland ; 898 sentences of minor terms of imprisonment against only 69 in Ireland. These statistics would be modified by the agrarian offences committed within the last few years, and which, to a large extent, are undetected. The true

character of any people can never with justice be drawn from the incidents which take place amidst all the rage and violence of civil war or religious frenzy. In his natural condition, the Irishman is not so drunken and cruel an animal as many suppose him to be. It is very seldom that he is known to commit suicide. Circumstances which plunge an Englishman into a state of mortal despondency often only rouses the energies of an Irishman to bound over his misfortunes. The Irish people have been accused of frequently committing what are termed *blunders*, or perverted phraseology; but many sayings, which have acquired that name, are, in fact, the aphorisms of sound sense and strong-witted observation. The Irishman's saying, that 'he would rather commit *suicide* on *any one* than *himself*,' though an Irish bull, the moral casuist must regard as pretty good sense after all. The undeniable blot on his character—agrarian outrages—admits of explanation, and surely of remedial measures. The peasant of Ireland is largely dependent on the soil, and, unfortunately, often feels himself to be wholly so. He also believes that he has a moral and historical right to the possession of the soil; and that ejected, or in fear of ejection, he considers that he is a wronged and ruined man; and herein lies the secret of his hostility to the law as it now stands. But more on that subject afterwards.

We cannot in the brief space of this paper give sketches of Irish characters, or it would be easy to show that the mental and moral capabilities of the sons of Erin are equal to those of any other people. There is no doubt but that Daniel O'Connell under some circumstances would have ripened into one of the finest politicians and brilliant orators this century has produced. For quickness of intellect and force of wit he can scarcely be said to have had an equal in his day. Mr. Disraeli, who sometimes ventured to step into the arena with him, was as often worsted as he did so. O'Connell said that Disraeli was a lineal descendant of the impenitent thief upon the cross. Nor was this brave Irishman destitute of moral principle. He was finishing his education in France when Louis XVI. lost his head by the guillotine. When he reached the deck of the packet boat at Calais, on his return home, he tore from his hat the French tricoloured cockade, trampled it under his feet, and cast it into the sea, saying that he would never accept any plan of social amelioration as the cost of a single drop of blood. There is reason to believe that he acted upon that principle as far as he could. But in connection with the movement of which he was the recognised leader there was much blood-shed. Frightful nocturnal disorders and mid-day murders were frequent. Numerous encounters between

the constables and the riotous peasantry had fatal results. Yet disturbances must have been much more serious but for O'Connell's eloquent declamations against all violence. When the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Peel, had used very strong and menacing language against Ireland, O'Connell took up the challenge in the following defiant words: 'I belong to a nation of eight millions, and there is, besides, a million of Irishmen in England. If Sir Robert Peel has the audacity to cause a contest to take place between the two countries we will put him in the wrong, for we will begin no rebellion. But I tell him from this place that he dare not begin the strife against Ireland.' O'Connell had a fund of humour ready for all occasions and adequate to every emergency. When he was supposed to be guilty of sedition, that a tangible cause might be found for proceedings against him, the authorities sent shorthand writers on some occasions to take down his speeches. The people were extremely indignant at this, and at a meeting at Skibbereen the shorthand writers were likely to be roughly handled. O'Connell, observing this, good humouredly shielded the reporters, but contrived at the same time to revenge himself upon them in an amusing fashion. He insisted that they should be treated with the utmost courtesy; and when they were duly seated and had their note books and pencils in hand he advanced to the front of the platform and poured out his torrent of eloquence in the Irish vernacular, not a word of which the reporters understood. When at the height of his power, however, he was arrested, tried, and condemned for sedition. The House of Lords disannulled the sentence, but he never regained his influence. He died at Genoa, in 1847, on his way to Rome for the double purpose of recruiting his health and asking the Pope's blessing. At the time Ireland was in the midst of the great famine, and hundreds of his fellow-countrymen daily were dying of starvation.

In a previous article we have noticed that Irishmen have often developed into the finest characters when emancipated from the thralldom under which they had suffered in their own country. Some names deserve more than a passing notice. Take Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, now known as an able statesman and brilliant author. A little more than thirty years ago he was arraigned as a rebel. At first the charge of high treason was preferred against him. It was afterwards reduced to treason-felony; and at length he was discharged because the jury could not agree. Penal servitude in Van Dieman's Land would have been his doom had he been found guilty; and the authorities were so assured of a verdict against him that the vessel was at anchor in Dublin Bay which was chartered to bear the prisoner to his dreary destination.

Shortly afterwards he became a member of the British House of Commons, which, however, he soon quitted for the life of a colonist in Victoria. Here his marked ability rapidly pushed him to the front. He was elected a member of the Victoria Parliament, and, after occupying subordinate posts in the Government of the Colony, he has thrice filled the office of Prime Minister and once that of Speaker of the Assembly. The rebel of thirty years ago is now one of Her Majesty's most loyal subjects, and has retired from the service of the Crown with a well-earned pension and the star of an order of knighthood founded by the Sovereign against whose authority in Ireland he once conspired. What a curious and suggestive career! In 1841 he started the *Nation* newspaper, and soon gathered round him a band of brilliant and enthusiastic young men, most of them of the Trinity College, Dublin. He became the founder of the Young Ireland party, which, like the United Irishmen founded by Wolfe Tone, and O'Connell's Association for the Repeal of the Union, caused the Government so much trouble. He was put on his trial as a felon in Ireland, yet suddenly turned up as a Prime Minister of one of the most flourishing of our colonies. He is not the only example of such a political paradox. Instances in abundance could be found in the Irish race, notably one of the brilliant band of Young Irelanders, of whom Duffy was himself the literary chief. Mr. D'Arcy McGee, implicated, like Duffy, in Smith O'Brien's abortive rising, settled afterwards in Canada, where he became Prime Minister, and was the chief author of the Confederation. He fell by the bullet of a Fenian assassin, fired in revenge for Mr. McGee's fierce denunciation of the contemplated Fenian raid into Canada. Surely the times must have been sadly out of joint when such men as Sir C. Gavan Duffy, Mr. McGee, and others associated with them could meditate rebellion against their Sovereign.

In philosophy and literature, in the Parliament and the army, Ireland has had her share of eminent men. We might mention in philosophy, a Boyle; in literature, a Goldsmith; in eloquence, a Grattan; in poetry, a Moore; in the Senate, the immortal Burke; and in the field, the hero of Waterloo. These are but a few of the names which could be quoted if space allowed. The Emerald Isle has given to the Christian Church, and especially to the Methodist section of it, some of its brightest and best Evangelists. Wesley crossed the Irish Channel forty-two times, and spent at least half-a-dozen years of his laborious life in his different visits to the island. The Methodist mission, notwithstanding the difficulties it encountered, realized great success. At one time Wesley thought his people had better prospects

in Dublin than in London. Ireland yielded him some of the most eminent of his coadjutors—Thomas Walsh, a great Biblical scholar ; Henry Moore, Wesley's travelling companion ; Robert Swindels, Charles Graham, and Gideon Ousely, the burning Evangelist ; Adam Clarke, the renowned commentator ; and William Thompson, the first president of the British Conference after Wesley's death. For the first thirty years after the Founder of Methodism died the chair of the British Conference was filled by Irishmen eight times. The biography of most of these men has been published in a volume or volumes. Irishmen were ordained by Providence to found Methodism, or to aid in founding it in the British North American provinces in the United States, in the West Indies, in Africa, in India, and in Australia. Their fervour, their buoyant temperament in the endurance of all kinds of hardships, and their never-failing courage have been signalized on most of its mission fields. They sent Richard Boardman one of the first preachers to America ; they gave the first Wesleyan missionary to Gibraltar, the first to the British provinces of America, and the first to the West India Islands. They subsequently reinforced the missions of those islands with such men as M'Cormock, Werril, Daniel Graham, Sturgeon, and Murdock. Coke found Irish converts as settlers or soldiers in most of the islands, and by them organized many new societies. Irish Methodists had even written him from Bengal for Wesleyan missionaries ; they seemed to beckon him to the great oriental field for which he was planning. The Irish Conference gave the first official approval of his Asiatic project, and, hard pressed as it was with its own necessities, voted him several of its preachers as missionaries, and considerable sums of money to support them. One of them, John M'Kenny, a native of Coleraine, was to be left at the Cape of Good Hope, the first Methodist preacher of South Africa. Gideon Ousely, the missionary champion of Irish Methodism, stood forth on the Conference floor and begged with tears to be permitted to accompany them, but his services could not be dispensed with at home. As Coke's large spirit transcended that of most men, he had not a little to suffer from the usual jealousies of human nature. His mission schemes were considered wild, but Ireland never failed him. He was the favourite president of her Conference for many years, and while the English Conference often looked askance at the wonderful little man whose zeal ran too fast for his wisdom, it was thought, the Irish were enamoured of him. His dash, impetuosity, and burning passion for mission work were traits of character they fully appreciated, and they

sent over to England the most enthusiastic testimonies of their admiration of him. A long list of Methodist ministers and missionaries could be given, showing what fine characters the Irish become when under the influence of true religion.

Why, with such a people to deal with, cannot Irish discontent and misery be brought to an end? What is the root of the evil? Why has Ireland been a difficulty and a stumbling-block to each minister of the State from Pitt down to the present administration? We have seen nothing in the geographical condition of the island to account for it. The soil is green enough, the ocean around it prolific enough, the air salubrious enough to make the people prosperous and happy. Then why such a hatred of Protestantism, a hatred of landlords, and a hatred of England? The necessity of finding the cause of the grievance and applying an effectual remedy is now forced home to the heart of every loyal Englishman and every true Christian.

Much violence is talked of on both sides. Some say the landlords must be got rid of altogether. On the other hand, it is said the advocates of the Land League and the peasantry generally are a set of assassins, and must be 'shot down like rabbits.' Violence is not a remedy. Coercive measures will not cure the evil. The Irish have been 'shot down like rabbits' before, and what better are they for it? With each succeeding generation comes the trouble again, which is, to a great extent, the result of misrule and maladministration. It is strange that experience does not teach wisdom—that we have not gathered more useful lessons from the past. Force has been tried, and what has it accomplished? What can it accomplish while human nature remains what it is? Instead of success there has been failure—worse than failure; there has been the laying up of new vindictive memories of wrong, new stores of resentment, new and more passionate vows of vengeance. The old sayings are continually verified, 'He that sheddeth man's blood by man shall his blood be shed.' 'All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword.' Bitter experiences are handed down from generation to generation, each of which clamours and agitates, and only waits for an opportunity to translate its fierce passions and hot words into bloody deeds, in order to avenge the wrongs of ancestors. It is simply the working out of a law which never fails of accomplishment. The fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge. Still, from some moral perversity or other, many see no way of quieting Ireland except 'shooting Irishmen like rabbits.' Probably they might be able to do that; but

if they achieved such success the evil would not be remedied. Rather would there be interposed new hindrances to the secure and peaceful settlement of the difficulty. Coercion Acts, Suspension of Habeas Corpus, Arms Bills and the like may be tried again; but they will effect no permanent cure. The more excellent way must be found. While England makes it known that she cannot tolerate anarchy and crime, she must not forget her past misdoings in the sister isle, the wrongs she has often inflicted upon an unfortunate people, and that in the troubles which come to us from that quarter we are reaping the whirlwind for having sown the wind.

How Ireland is to be converted to the true Christian faith is a problem the churches will have to solve. She is doing not a little to turn England and also the United States of America to the Catholic faith. The real propaganda of Rome is not in Lyons, nor in Rome itself—it is in Ireland; it is where the Atlantic wave breaks on the coast of Galway, and where the black bogs stretch out far on the horizon at old Connemara. England's danger is from Ireland, from Irish Popery. Irish Catholics get into our army, into our prisons, into our workhouses, into our factories, into our fields, and into our schools. They not only retain their faith as a rule, but make many converts, and they have a great number of priests at work to look after them. We have Ireland to save morally as well as politically. The instrument to effect this end is no other than the Gospel of Christ, which is the power of God unto salvation. With this even Catholics can be saved. Some thousands of Irish Papists have been rescued from their thralldom and gathered unto the bosom of the Methodist Church. Not a few have become Methodist ministers and missionaries. Controversy will not save the Catholic. When he is kindly spoken to as a sinner for whom Christ died, and for whom salvation is provided, he often listens with attention and is susceptible to saving truth. As in the days long gone by, before Augustine set foot on the shores of Albion, there was a pure faith in this land; and as in those days there was a pure faith in Ireland, free from Popish error and domination; and as in those days Erin and Albion were cordially and earnestly united in resisting Roman aggression and error, though unhappily unsuccessful, so we hope will they again rejoice in the true light of the Gospel, and unite in spreading the truth as it is in Jesus. We look forward to the time when, from the lovely lakes of Killarney and the wild mountain fastnesses of Donegal—when, from the blood-stained plains of Tipperary and the wild barren heaths

of Connemara, the daughter of Ireland, redeemed, regenerated, disenthralled, shall repose under the shadow of her own beautiful pillar-towers—under her feet the fetters that so long enslaved her; in her hand an open Bible, the gift of British Protestantism, and the instrument of her glorious freedom; and over her head that old flag that has

Braved a thousand years,
The battle and the breeze,

—that ‘meteor flag’ which we pray, hope, and believe will wave over
‘the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland’—

When the fiery fight is heard no more,
And the storm has ceased to blow.

JOSEPH WOOD.

III.—WILLIAM BLAKE, PAINTER AND POET.

THE exhibition in Boston, New England, of a number of William Blake's pictures, brought together from various quarters, gives opportunity for a more complete view of his singular power than has been possible before on this side of the Atlantic. Ever since the publication of Gilchrist's *Life of Blake*, in 1863,* there has been an intelligent curiosity respecting him as a painter, stimulated by the glimpses of concealed beauty which the photo-lithographs in that book grudgingly permitted, and not wholly discouraged by the so-called *fac-simile* reproductions which have been published at different times. Blake's fame as a painter has rested mainly, however, upon the enthusiastic testimony of a few capable witnesses; his reputation as a designer has had a durable foundation in the copies of the 'Book of Job' which have found their way to America; his place as a poet has been more clearly defined by the attention which has been given to his lyrics, and the obscurity in which his visionary books have been suffered to lie. It is not impossible now, with the added evidence of this interesting collection, to form a fairly clear conception of the limitations of Blake's genius, and to note some of the directions which it takes; of its scope and power no one will wish to pronounce confidently until he has seen all of his work, for genius has a way of surprising the unwary, and new examples of power give new and unexpected pleasure.

The circumstances of Blake's life may quickly be recited. He was born in London, November 28, 1757, and he died in London, August 12, 1827. Excepting four years spent at Felpham, by the sea, in Sussex, the seventy years of his life were passed in London. He married Catherine Boucher in his twenty-fifth year, and left her a childless widow. He was a poor man as the world counts poverty, and at no time during his life did his profuse work bring him more than the plainest living. When ten years old his artistic tendencies were so strongly intimated that his father, a modest hosier, did not hesitate to send him to a drawing-school, and afterwards to apprentice him to an engraver. He worked from the designs of others until ten years before his death, when he engraved thirty-seven plates for Flaxman's *Hesoid*, and he used his graver to the last upon his own inven-

* A new edition of this book, with a number of hitherto uncollected letters of Blake, is to be published during the present year.

tions. Before he had gained his freedom he had begun original work, and during the twenty years of his maturity, that is, from his thirtieth to his fiftieth year, he was engrossed with the execution of composite works in text, line, and colour, of which the authorship, design, and mechanical process of reproduction were his own. Even in his early engraving he imported conceptions of his own, so that we may set aside his artisanship as an engraver, reckoning it of little value in any estimate of his distinctive work, and consider him as an artist armed with a technical knowledge of engraving, and an experimental knowledge of certain mechanical processes, which he used mainly for fixing and multiplying his own designs.

Of the amount of work done by him it is not easy to make an exact statement. In Gilchrist's *Life* there are annotated lists of Blake's paintings, drawings, and engravings, confessedly imperfect, in which between eight and nine hundred subjects are noted as having been treated by him, some in colour, some in black and white, and some with his graver; but, besides these, we must reckon the very important amount of work bestowed on the prophetic books, and a list of more than two hundred engravings from the designs of other artists. Enough can be gathered from this to show that Blake was an industrious man, and, what is more to the purpose, to indicate how very imperfect is the material now from which we may estimate his genius. The author and editors of Gilchrist's *Life* used every effort to get sight of his work, yet they are obliged to confess to not having seen, among other things, a hundred and fourteen designs to Gray's Poems, owned by the Duke of Hamilton, and 'reported to be among the very finest works executed by Blake.'

The published designs of Blake, those, that is, that take their place in the ordinary method of book-illustration, afford a fairly good introduction to a study of his more unusual work. He worked at a time when there were ambitious enterprises by publishers, who were fired with zeal, perhaps, by witnessing the expansive undertaking of Alderman Boydell in his truly British monument to Shakspeare's genius. Blake was rather an impracticable man with the publishers, and they found it less easy to make a card of him than of the more pliant and graceful Stothard, yet they followed the advice of Fuseli and of others and went to Blake for illustrations, which it was promised by Blake's admirers would sell their books. In one instance only was there anything like substantial success, and this was reached by passing Blake's work through the translating power of another engraver. Blair's Grave, with designs by Blake, engraved by Schiavonetti, must have

been very thoroughly published, from the great number of copies which have presented themselves in all quarters since Blake's name has come forward. In America some bookseller's enterprise found a fresh field, and in many families the book has for years been a well-known show-book. There are few, open to any influence of art, who do not at once confess the attractiveness of these engravings. The style of execution by Schiavonetti is favourable to their popularity: bold, strong, free from quiddling lines, they hold with a firm grasp the conceptions of the artist. The topics treated, also, are elemental; they are typical passages in human life and death, and require no subtle interpretation. Then the statuesque beauty of design appeals clearly to the eye, the classic forms are presented in a tender warmth and palpitate with a human sympathy. One does not need to be a student of Blake, or, indeed, to know anything of his place in art, to be at once impressed and moved by these inventions.

But a familiarity with the artist's mind and mode enables one to penetrate a little further, and to discover, through the mask of Schiavonetti, characteristic features of Blake. The visionary eye, that far-seeing, vivid, and wide-open orb which looks at one from so many of Blake's figures, and most significantly from Blake's own face in both the portraits of him, is here; and here, too, that poetic sense of youth's slender uprightness, and of age's patriarchal hoar wisdom, which again and again stand as ever renewed types in his treatment of human life. The exaggerations of his figure-drawing have, doubtless, been toned down by the engraver; but in one instance Blake himself may have been to blame, since it is hard to believe that an engraver of Schiavonetti's skill would have chosen deliberately the feebler and less grammatical form; the title-page of Blair's 'Grave' shows an angel with a trump blowing a tremendous blast in the ear of a skeleton; the dead bones are half raised to hear the alarm, but the skeleton rests on the forearm in an entirely impossible manner; the descending angel is hung unaccountably in the air—reverse the page, and one sees a standing figure; but Blake had elsewhere, in his own engravings of his designs illustrative of Young's *Night Thoughts*, given the same conception, only there the descending figure really rushes down with impetuous speed, and the startled skeleton raises itself with a weird and quite possible movement.

The illustrations to Young's *Night Thoughts* preceded the work on the *Grave*, and were engraved by Blake himself. The result is by no means so satisfactory, partly through Blake's deficiencies as an engraver at this time, partly through what we may call miscalculation of effect.

It is not impossible that, were the page of Young reduced in size, we should not be so disturbed by the inadequacy of the engraved lines ; great figures in little more than outline stretch in wide reach over the large page, and wherever there is a defect in drawing or feeling, it is exaggerated by the rather empty style of engraving. Still, there are some passages of great sweetness and majesty, and very often singularly unique adaptations of the design to the thought. One thing especially should be noticed—the persistence with which Blake treated his work in a decorative as separate from a pictorial spirit, aiming to make the page a composition in which the stubborn square of printer's type should compose with his engraved lines, great fertility of resource is shown in this. How perfectly he understood and displayed this spirit of decorative design will appear when we come to speak of other more characteristic work. A completely illustrated edition of the *Night Thoughts* was projected, but only four parts were ever published ; these appeared in a luxuriousness of paper and print. In the list of Blake's works, among the undated ones, is a subject which is shown in the Boston collection, and named conjecturally, after the list, *Young burying Narcissa*, illustrative of the lines—

With pious sacrilege, a grave I stole ;
 * * * and muffled deep
 In midnight darkness, whispered my last sigh.

It is an impressive picture, which has little in common with the engraved illustrations to the *Night Thoughts*.

An episode in Blake's life brought him for four years into close connection with the commonplace Hayley, a decorous court poet and Cowper's biographer. For him Blake made and engraved designs, including one which appears in the Boston collection, a broadsheet, 'Little Tom, the Sailor.' Hayley wrote a humdrum ballad with charitable intent, and Blake furnished two designs to stand at the head and foot of the sheet. He calls the process by which he executed these 'wood-cutting on pewter;' and the inferiority of the material is evident in the prints. But these are, nevertheless, admirable illustrations of vigorous wood-engraving, and give a sense of Blake's fine judgment as an artist in his handling of material. The beauty of the lower design, where the mother turns from her cottage, lingers long in one's mind.

Another excellent illustration of Blake's faculty as an engraver is seen in his very early print, 'Joseph of Arimathea on the Rocks of Albion,' professedly a copy from Michael Angelo, done in Blake's seventeenth year, and already exhibiting, especially in its treatment of

light on the water, his mystic sense of supernal beauty. The most interesting example, however, of his power in the kind of work which we are now examining is to be found in his large engraving of Chaucer's 'Canterbury Pilgrims.' A comparison of the work with Stothard's rival picture at once discloses the superior technical skill and grace of the successful artist, but a comparison of Blake's work with Chaucer's establishes a greater agreement of truth between poet and painter. The harshness of Blake's work is apparent; so, too, is its quaint mannerism, but a nearer view shows a vigour of treatment, a broad generalisation of group and landscape, and an attention to historically conceived details, which bring Blake's work very distinctly into range as a presentation of Chaucer's images, and out of the place which Stothard's picture occupies, of a temporary and local translation of Chaucer's story. Not that we do not here have Chaucer Blaked off upon us, but Blake's conception of the subject was from an angle coincident with Chaucer's; and the acutest reader of Chaucer will be the most ready to acknowledge Blake as a showman. When Blake exhibited, with other pictures, the fresco from which this engraving was taken, he published a descriptive catalogue, well worth reading for its shrewd analysis of the characters in Chaucer's 'Pilgrims,' so different from the smooth, conventional interpretation which Stothard, in common with other contemporaries, gave. Says Blake:

The characters of Chaucer's 'Pilgrims' are the characters which compose all ages and nations. As one age falls another rises, different to mortal sight, but to immortals only the same; for we see the same characters repeated again and again in animals, vegetables, minerals, and in men. Nothing new occurs in identical existence. Accident ever varies. Substance can never suffer change or decay. Of Chaucer's characters, as described in his 'Canterbury Tales,' some of the names or titles are altered by time, but the characters themselves for ever remain unaltered, and, consequently, they are the physiognomies or lineaments of universal human life, beyond which Nature never steps. Names alter, things never alter. I have known multitudes of those who would have been monks in the age of monkery who in this deistical age are deists. As Newton numbered the stars, and as Linnæus numbered the planets, so Chaucer numbered the classes of men. The painter has, consequently, varied the heads and forms of his personages into all Nature's varieties; the horses he has also varied to accord to their riders; the costume is correct according to authentic monuments.

He then proceeds with a running commentary upon the separate characters, answering to what he has undertaken to say with lines in his engravings. Something of the same vagary will be discovered in both, but both justify Lamb's opinion of the catalogue, that it was 'the finest criticism of Chaucer's poem he had ever read.'

The 'Canterbury Pilgrims' was published by Blake in a rivalry with Stothard's print, and at this distance of time the commercial aspects of the competition have a humorous touch. Blake's indebtedness to the ordinary publishing facilities was not great, as we have seen; his own wilfulness, his intractable talents, and, above all, his individual message of art and religion, isolated him from the common channels of communication with the public. So much the more did he place reliance upon his own methods. Any one can buy now, in various editions, Blake's *Poetical Sketches* and his *Songs of Innocence* and *Songs of Experience*. These are included in Gilchrist's *Life*, and they have been separately printed under the editorship of Mr. W. M. Rossetti and of Mr. R. H. Shepherd. They have passed into the common stock of literature, and some of the poems have long had a life in anthologies. The *Poetical Sketches* was published in the ordinary manner in 1783, *Songs of Innocence* in 1789, and *Songs of Experience* in 1794; but these last two books were published in a very extraordinary manner by Blake himself, and happy is the occasional owner of the original copies.

To speak of *Songs of Innocence* first, it consists of twenty songs written by Blake, engraved by him on copper, each page decorated, with an occasional separate design, making twenty-seven plates in all. In Gilchrist's *Life* this account is given of the process:—

The verse was written, and the designs and marginal embellishments outlined on the copper with an impervious liquid, probably the ordinary stopping-out varnish of engravers. Then all the white parts or lights—the remainder of the plate, that is—were eaten away with aquafortis, or other acid, so that the outline of letter and design was left prominent, as in stereotype. From these plates he printed off in any tint, yellow, brown, blue, required to be the prevailing or ground colour in his fac-similes; red he used for the letter-press. The page was then coloured by hand in imitation of the original drawing, with more or less variety of detail in the local hues. He ground and mixed his water-colours himself. The colours he used were few and simple; indigo, cobalt, gamboge, vermilion, Frankfort black freely, ultramarine rarely, chromes not at all. These he applied with a camel's-hair brush, not with a sable, which he disliked. He taught Mrs. Blake to take off the impressions with care and delicacy, which such plates signally needed, and also to help in tinting them from his drawings with right artistic feeling, in all which tasks she, to her honour, much delighted. The size of the plate was small, for the sake of economising copper, something under five inches by three. They were done up in boards by Mrs. Blake's hand, forming a small octavo; so that the poet and his wife did everything in making the book—writing, designing, printing, engraving—everything except manufacturing the paper; the very ink, or colour, rather, they did make. Never before, surely, was a man so literally the author of his own book.

It is significant of this discovery of Blake's, for so it may be called, that he received a revelation of it in a vision of the night. It is easy to translate into common language the supernatural experience of a man under pressure day and night of one controlling purpose to make public his poems and designs, but it is still easier to take Blake's acceptance of the happy thought as a revelation, and count it as a harmonious part of the visionary's nature. For, mingled with the artistic power which we have been gradually illustrating, there was from the beginning a controlling and directing influence to which we find it hard to give a name. The story is a familiar one, that, when a child of eight or ten, as he sauntered through a field near London, he looked up and saw a tree filled with angels, 'bright, angelic wings bespangling every bough like stars,' and that, looking upon some hay-makers at work, he saw angelic figures walking among them. A letter written by one of Blake's youthful disciples, just after his death, relates: 'Just before he died his countenance became fair, his eyes brightened, and he burst out singing of the things he saw in heaven.' Between these two points of time lay a life of sixty years, which owned, with unfaltering faith, the positive presence and guidance of the spiritual world. Blake's letters, his conversations, his writings, his pictures, and his whole manner of life bore unvarying testimony to the dominance in his nature of a spiritual existence which comprehended, penetrated, and controlled this earthly life. It is difficult to present this subject briefly without falling into the pitfalls set by conventional statements of spiritual experience. Life would be too short to explain wherein Blake's spiritual belief differed from the vulgarities of so-called spiritualism, from the traditional belief of the church, from the contemporary doctrines of Swedenborg, or from the utterances of the great seers of the ages. The reader of the 'Life,' or the student of his art, finds it more satisfactory to accept the fact of Blake's sincerity, and treat the results of his visionary observation in their individual appeal to the intellectual mind. Whence Blake's dreams came opens an endless vista of speculation; what the forms were which were precipitated from the dreams is of vastly more human interest. We may even concede an occult meaning in verse and picture capable of being discovered only by a kindred spirit, interpretative by its finer nature; there is nothing in such concession to prevent us from enjoying to the full such loveliness and strength as we do see.

Spiritual things are spiritually discerned, and what one finds in Blake will depend largely on the seeing eye which he brings. We have no intention of shielding Blake behind any mystic veil, drawing

it aside only for the initiated ; we simply say that genius always holds the possibility of a meaning, and perception always holds the possibility of blindness. However, the student of Blake's strangely diverse and comprehensive art may stand expectant and hopeful before the Songs of Innocence. Here one may enjoy, without the painful consciousness of a failure to attain the meaning ; painful, we say, for, perhaps, the subtlest charm in this rainbow of poetic beauty is the elusiveness of the spell which it throws over us. There is no mockery in the grace, no tantalising of the soul, but the gentlest of echoes to one's unspoken thought. In none of the poems is this more manifest than in the 'Introduction,' as it is called—

‘Piping down a valley wild.’

This little poem has been adopted into many books ; it sings itself into ears that desire in vain to explain its meaning ; one wishes to hear it recited by some ethereal voice. Precisely here is the explanation—it is a voice from the air that sings in our ears ; and when we have made this precise explanation, we have simply blown the whole thing away ! Or take, again, the lines headed ‘Infant Joy’ :—

‘‘I have no name,
I am but two days old.’
What shall I call thee ?
‘I happy am,
Joy is my name.’
Sweet joy befall thee !

‘Pretty joy !
Sweet joy but two days old.
Sweet joy I call thee.
Thou dost smile,
I sing the while,
Sweet joy befall thee !’

The simplicity of the lines is extreme, and the design accompanying it quite as simple and unconstrained : a human figure holding lightly above the head a dancing, springing, winged creature, while a flock of sheep graze below. It is in sweet simplicity that Blake rests, and here we touch upon one sign of his genius which is persistently given. He is constantly seeing and showing natural things as types, and finds no surer way of revealing spiritual realities than through elemental forms. Hence, the recurrence of a few special figures, typical of youth, of age, of childhood, of motherhood ; hence, the lamb ; hence, the flaming fire. It would seem as if he were perpetually seeking to render the large visions which he has by familiar forms freed of their merely accidental limitations. It may truthfully be said that he saw his visions thus : that these common types were expanded for him into

wondrous and luminous revelations of infinite truth and beauty; that when he saw and drew the lamb, that little creature, with its

‘Softest clothing, woolly, bright’

its tender voice,

‘Making all the vales rejoice;’

was sometimes more than a conventional or even revered type of Divine tenderness.

‘He is meek and He is mild,
He became a little child.
I a child, and thou a lamb,
We are callèd by His name.’

So he announces in his poem, and the entrance of the Divine love into the human life is a present reality whenever Blake, recording his visions, draws the lamb with its bowed head or its affectionate caress.

The ‘Songs of Innocence’ gives us Blake in the youthfulness of his visionary life. At that time, however pinched was his poverty, he was living in the light of a conscious power to wed beautiful visions to fitting words and lines. He had already had some training in poetry, as witness his ‘Poetical Sketches,’ from which one draws verses of singular merit; he had already mastered his graving tools, and served his apprenticeship to drawing masters; he was in the early years of his married life; he was at the height of physical youth. Doubtless all these influences conspired, and so he caught upon his listening ear those accents of heavenly beauty which as yet admitted dark lines only for the heightening of the divine fairness. Every one feels, whether or not he puts it into words, that the hymn-book picture of heaven as

‘One sacred high eternal noon,’

is false and destructive of all the signs of God’s creation; that the recurrence of seasons, the systole and diastole of the universe, makes rhythm, and that without rhythm heaven could not be. It might with far clearer truth he said that hell was

One damnèd high eternal noon.

Blake thus, in the ‘Songs of Innocence,’ has accepted the sweetness with touches of a darker side. The tears that follow the piper’s song; the weariness of the little ones on the echoing green; the miserable sense of deformity in that flawless poem, the ‘Little Black Boy,’ with its tender pity so unsurpassably expressed:—

‘And we are put on earth a little space,
That we may learn to bear the beams of love;
And these black bodies and this sun-burnt face
Are but a cloud, and like a shady grove.’

'For when our souls have learnt the heat to bear,
The cloud will vanish, we shall hear His voice,
Saying, 'Come from the grove, my love and care,
And round my golden tent like lambs rejoice :''

the sobbing of the robin heard by the happy blossom ; the plaint of the chimney-sweep ; the cry of the little boy lost before,

'God ever nigh,
Appeared like his father, in white,'

the weeping of the child Jesus in His cradle for all the human race, which is woven so exquisitely into the angelic cradle-song ; the contrast of age and childhood ; the blending of poverty and pity of 'Holy Thursday' ; the light and shade in that solemn, majestic poem 'Night' ; the anxiety, too real to be grotesque, of the lost emmet ; the passage of all pity into the Divine pity, and the final voice of the Ancient Bard, with its one warning note of the passage from youth into life—all these are supremely truthful notes in the 'Songs of Innocence,' by which the ethereal loveliness is saved from the monotony of an unreal and insipid sweetness. Of the decorative designs which accompany the songs we cannot speak with assurance gained by acquaintance with original copies, but to those who have seen similar work by Blake, as in the 'Book of Thel,' which appears in the Boston collection, the reproduction which we have in Gilchrist's 'Life' gives a teasing conviction that we are blind men, hearing the songs, but not seeing the images which they embody ; that their beauty, wonderful as it is, would be heightened by the symphony of design into some strange and inexpressible delight, assailing eye and ear at once.

The 'Songs of Experience,' following five years afterward, are to the 'Songs of Innocence' what we have shown certain notes in the earlier songs are to the full strain. They present, as the name indicates, the obverse phase of the soul. In most cases they are direct replies to the several 'Songs of Innocence' ; the 'Tiger' offsets the 'Lamb' ; the 'Little Girl Lost' the 'Little Boy Found' ; 'Infant Sorrow' 'Infant Joy' ; and, sad and beautiful as many of the poems are, sometimes terrible in their revelation of evil, the book is incontestably weaker, and in the main, in a purely poetic sense, untruthful. Nor could there well be found a finer illustration of the supremacy of good than is exhibited by the contrast of these two books. Blake's sincerity is unquestionable, but the 'Songs of Innocence' represents a state, the 'Songs of Experience' a mood. The rhythm discovered in the former by the accent of dark lines is absent in the latter, for the white lines do not accent the dark. Once, indeed, may we say that the sudden

entrance of light transforms the whole poem into a magnificence which otherwise would have been a mere lurid dreadfulness ; it is when, near the close of that fiery poem the 'Tiger,' the poet asks :

'Did He who made the lamb make thee ?'

Let any one read the poem and say if this line is not the salvation of it.

In these two books, with their blended text and design, Blake presented most perfectly that side of his genius which admits of universal apprehension. If he was, as he would claim, singing and drawing in obedience to heavenly visions, we are so intent upon what he gives us that we are not too curious over the sources of it. But we may as well take Blake's word for it that the persons who sat to him for their portraits and served as his inexpensive models were such as were invisible to other eyes. There is a series of visionary heads by Blake, portraits of persons whom he professed to see ; he would look up and sketch from the invisible subject with all the simplicity and directness of a student who could, if he chose, touch the head before him. These heads show the result of Blake's early studies, when, an engraver's apprentice, he was left to wander among the stones and graves in Westminster Abbey. They are drawn often from English history, but the characters who thronged upon him came often from worlds of Blake's own discovery. A large body of suggestions, however, were drawn from Biblical subjects, where, when Blake had his own choice, those points were taken chiefly which were most frankly supernatural. Few signs of Blake's familiar commerce with spiritual conceptions are more striking than his fearless handling of subjects usually avoided by artists, and his eager rush at just that side of a supernatural subject which is generally veiled. The picture of Elijah mounted in the Fiery Chariot, shown at the Boston exhibition, is a fine example of Blake's treatment of such scenes. Elijah is seated in a chariot, the body of which is partially outlined by flames, flames also rolling the chariot along. The prophet is a majestic figure, sitting calm in the midst of the light, even the reins, which he holds firmly with one hand, issuing as red lines of fire to the horses, which are bright with an interior blaze and stand restless. Beside them is the figure of Elisha, his head bowed in adoring grief, his hair and beard making a rain of lamentation, while his hands are clasped in profound reverence. The movement of the picture is increased by the chariot being placed in a great circle of flames upon a black background, the sky a rich cloud of yellow, and a magnificent, mysterious blackness crowding up from below. It is a most impressive picture ; the weight of the supernatural in it is such

that one gets from it in his study a clearer perception of Blake's habitual dwelling among such themes than he could derive from any detailed description of his mental habits. No one could strike so unerringly at the central idea of the subject whose temper was not habitually one of converse with the supernatural.

Blake, no doubt, imported into the Bible a crowd of fantastic ideas that sprang from his own fertile, impetuous brain. He went to it for a revelation of facts, and seized chiefly upon those which other men were trying their best to be rid of. He was orientalized both by the Bible and by his passion for large, swelling conceptions of life, death, and immortality. By degrees he peopled his mind with a strange crowd of figures, many with Biblical outlines, many also jostling these, —variations upon a few simple themes. The elemental facts of life, as has already been said, were those which were most luminous to him and for which he found visible shapes, which were repeated constantly in his designs. One of his earliest designs, engraved by himself, and called by Gilchrist 'Morning, or Glad Day,' is an admirable illustration of this feeling for Blake after a simple, yet vitalized, symbol. Another favourite one was the familiar 'Death's Door,' so often engraved, either alone or with the added figure of the enraptured youth above it, as in Blair's 'Grave.' It is found in 'America' and in separate sketches: the young man is in the 'Marriage of Heaven and Hell' in 'America' and in various sketches. So the groups which appear in 'The Descent of Man into the Vale of Death' are constantly discoverable in new combinations. It would seem as if Blake, once catching at these forms, was so intent upon the spiritual energy back of them that he was constantly emphasising it by repetition, and in each drawing was not so much copying a favourite design as repeating a spiritual conception. Wherever, by some fancied fitness, he could weave these designs into his writings he did so, and he dwelt upon them with as much disregard of petty variations as a minister might show who preached year after year upon certain great themes of religion.

In truth, Blake, in his own conception an artist, was also in his own conception a prophet; and whereas Ezekiel, uttering prophecies of righteousness, illustrated them by astounding visions of wheels and flames, Blake's prophecies were first and foremost his visions, wheels and flames, presented to the eye with such textual illustration as seemed to him to say the same thing in words, and the burden of the whole was an incoherent jumble of fundamental principles of justice, pity, vengeance, and the like. The Songs of Innocence and of Experience were, as we have seen, exclusively his publication. There followed,

now, on a larger scale, a series of so-called prophetic books, which grew mistier and mistier, as Blake, familiarised with half-allegorical forms of expression, wandered further and further away in his words from the base of his allegories. The first of these books, 'The Book of Thel,' is slight in bulk and by no means unintelligible. A pensive loveliness lies in it, and, without seeking for too deep a meaning, one glides along the plaint of the mystical Thel. Fortunately, the Boston exhibition has a copy of the book, and the refinement of colour, the grace of the figures, the enchanting delicacy of touch throughout, give a revelation to one of Blake's genius in the first blush of his more wayward mood. Blake abandoned himself, however, more and more to the fascination of a work which enabled him to set down in formal shape the vagaries of his fancy. 'The Marriage of Heaven and Hell,' with its intelligible sporting in the same mood from which sprang 'Songs of Experience'; 'The Gates of Paradise,' 'Visions of the Daughters of Albion,' 'America: a Prophecy,' 'Europe: a Prophecy,' 'The Book of Urizen,' 'The Song of Los,' 'The Book of Ahania,' 'Jerusalem,' and 'Milton,' were all first produced between 1790 and 1804. One hesitates to speak positively without a study of them in the original copies. Mr. Swinburne has devoted a large part of his critical study of Blake to an examination of this class of his work, and has discovered interesting interpretations of them. Whoever will may pursue the lead which he has opened. That Blake had certain conceptions regarding abstract principles of the moral universe, that he chose to embody these in literary forms which borrowed names from familiar objects, and expressed himself also through graphic forms contemporaneous to these—this is all that we dare say. It is plain that by America he does not mean what the world calls America, but the idea of freedom and futurity suggested by the name; by Albion he does not mean England; by Europe he does not mean Europe; by Jerusalem he does not mean Jerusalem. It is not unlikely that the Biblical and prophetic use of Jerusalem, Babylon, Egypt, as signs of historic and moral ideas, was in his mind when he adopted a vocabulary which seems at first to the hopeful student to contain the key to the mystery. The less curious student, the one who goes to Blake for what shall please his eye and strike his imagination, is satisfied not to read a line of these mighty books, but to take page after page as examples of subtle decorative beauty. The art, in a decorative way, which may be compared with this, is that displayed in illuminated books before the invention of printing, but Blake, freed from all merely conventional limitations, used his liberty under guidance of an

instinctive knowledge of the laws of art. The endless variety of combination of text and line hints at great spontaneity of invention; the certainty with which the forms compose indicates the obedience which the artist showed to the unwritten law of beauty. One may almost find an excuse here for the doctrine so often boldly put forward, that intelligibility in art is wholly unessential, the entire pleasure springing from the obedience of form and colour to laws of beauty which are wholly separate from those of the understanding. The subordination, indeed, of the thought in the text indicates, to the casual observer, how much more complete mastery Blake had of the instrument of colour and line than of the instrument of language; how much sharper, also, the bounding lines of art are than those of literature. The ductility of words, the power to which they may be drawn out grammatically to a tenuous length while one endeavours to find the thought which they carry, is so deceptive that truth wanders in the mazes of Blake's writings until it is lost to sight. In art it is otherwise; the first departure from an intelligible form is noticed, and the artist is himself warned that he is untruthful. Now Blake errs sometimes in design, he produces exaggerated, enormous, and unregulated shapes, just as huge bulks rise to the imagination through the swash of his poetry; but the limitations of the language of art are constantly guarding him against excess—the apparently boundless horizon of the language of poetry is constantly tempting him into mysterious and undistinguishable distance.

Once, at any rate, Blake wrought under singularly favourable influences—near the close of his life, when he was occupied with the 'Inventions to the Book of Job.' The result which we have in the series of engravings follows two distinct works in colour, a series done for Mr. Butts, and now in the possession of Lord Houghton, and a second series for Mr. Linnell, from which, substantially, this engraved series is made. Differences are pointed out in individual designs, and Mr. Rossetti, in his *catalogue raisonné*, indicates where a superiority has been gained or lost in the final execution. But it is noticeable how fresh the published series is, and how infrequently Blake has resorted in it to the familiar types from which he had been copying all his life. That is to say, while in Blair's 'Grave' one constantly notes particular likenesses to individual figures and groups elsewhere, in the 'Job' one remarks rather the general conformity to a well-established Blake type, with an originality in detail. There are no unusual circumstances about Blake's life which might be held to account for this, yet there were conditions which undoubtedly had

their influence. He was now in his sixty-fifth year, and at a low ebb in fortune. His rich patrons had wearied of him, and toil brought him but slight return. He was, however, the centre of a small group of artists who looked upon him with admiration, and from one of these, Mr. Linnell, he received an order to execute this set of engravings. He was to receive one hundred pounds for the designs and copyright, to be paid from time to time, and a like sum from the profits, should these ever yield it; the entire sum paid was a hundred and fifty pounds in small weekly instalments. The result of this arrangement was, that Blake was insured the expenses of living by a regular stipend while he was engaged upon the engravings—a condition which freed him from the necessity of turning aside from the one employment, and disengaged him from the worries of a broken life. This continuity of labour unquestionably had its influence in securing an evenness and concentration of skill, and to the provision of this generous friend is owing, possibly, the full completion of a task which, without his aid, Blake could scarcely have compassed.

A higher reason for Blake's success lies in the nature of the work. Certain subjects had heretofore controlled and regulated his imagination; such a subject was the *Elijah*; but in a large part of his work he had followed his own wayward and oftentimes wilful fancy. Here he was invited to illustrate a text which at once gave him the widest range in his own chosen field, and offered a dramatic unity capable of regulating and ordering his invention. The drama of '*Job*,' in its double scene of heaven and earth, corresponded with the locality of Blake's imagination; the open exhibition of the Almighty as one of the dramatis personæ justified Blake's own fearless and reverent portraiture of Him; the conflict between light and darkness in the spiritual world, a conflict in which man is involved both actively and passively, was here represented with a frankness which dismissed allegory as impertinent; and Blake's philosophy of life was constantly seeking a similar manifestation; the speculation of '*Job*' busied itself with the high themes of life and death, good and evil, and these themes were no strangers to Blake's mind; then the human figures in the drama, large, grave, heroic in thought rather than in stature and action, elemental in their type, were the men and women whom Blake had all his life been drawing as he sought to separate the substantial from the accidental in human existence. Blake, therefore, inevitably found in this book a congenial theme for illustration; with his reverence for whatever appealed to him as emanating from Divine wisdom he could not fail of approaching the '*Book of Job*' with a

truly devout and humble obedience. In one of his letters to Mr. Butts, so valuable for their commentary on Blake's mind, he says, and the reader must take the expression with great literalness :—

The thing that I have most at heart—more than life, or all that seems to make life comfortable without—is the interest of true religion and science. And wherever anything appears to affect that interest (especially if I myself omit any duty to my station as a soldier of Christ), it gives me the greatest of torments. I am not ashamed, afraid, or averse to tell you what ought to be told—that I am under the direction of messengers from Heaven daily and nightly. But the nature of such things is not, as some suppose, without trouble or care. If we fear to do the dictates of our angels, and tremble at the tasks set before us, if we refuse to do spiritual acts because of our natural fears or natural desires, who can describe the dismal torments of such a state? I too well remember the threats I heard! 'If you, who are organised by Divine Providence for spiritual communion, refuse, and bury your talent in the earth, even though you should want natural bread, sorrow and desperation pursue you through life, and after death, shame and confusion of face to eternity. Every one in eternity will leave you, aghast at the man who was crowned with glory and honour by his brethren, and betrayed their cause to their enemies.' Such words would make any stout man tremble, and how, then, could I be at ease? But I am now no longer in that state, and now go on again with my task, fearless, though my path is difficult.

Other passages might be found expressive of the same sincere humility and eagerness to be led by spiritual powers. It may even be guessed that Blake would by this time have wearied somewhat of the portentous inventions of his prophetic books, which, owing their life, as he asserted, to visions which he had seen, would after all insinuate an endless round of life, issuing from him and returning to him, and that he would rest in the strong structure of the 'Book of Job' with a sense that here were creations truly independent of his will. At any rate, there was a great authority in this book, and Blake, acknowledging it, was thereby governed and restrained when he came to execute his inventions.

The student making his acquaintance with Blake through the 'Job' would not at first recognise this restraint; however grandly the designs might strike him, freedom and audacity would be at first discoverable. But in this study we have approached the 'Job' by a course which has familiarised us somewhat with Blake's genius, and we repeat emphatically that the greatness of this series, as an interpretation of the thought of Job, rests largely in its restrained power. It rests also in the fine grasp which Blake shows of the dramatic conception involved in the book. The series is not a hap-hazard illustration of various points in the history of Job, nor even only a recital of salient points

in that history. It is, in a large sense, an *illustration* of the book, throwing light upon its meaning by a revelation not contained in the book itself, and by a profusion of subtle, natural, and symbolic decoration, enlarging the very scope of the book. In a strictly theological sense, the plates have a singular value. To any spiritual discernor of the truths enfolded in the life of the man of Uz, Blake's pictorial interpretation is rich with suggestion.

Thus Blake, following the book in its presentation of the chief actors in the drama, God, man, and Satan, the accuser has completed the dramatic unity of the story by the introduction of a plate in the series, the sixteenth in the twenty-one, entitled 'Thou Hast Fulfilled the Judgment of the Wicked.' In this the central figure is Satan, falling as lightning from heaven into flames which leap up to receive him, under the Almighty's uplifted hand, in the midst of angels, while Job and his wife look on in unshrinking awe, and the three friends start back with conscious terror. This is the most marked instance of Blake's interpretative power, but every plate bears witness to the fullness of spiritual meaning with which he invested the dramatic series. Each plate is surrounded by a border, containing outline designs and texts, either taken directly from Scripture or so couched in scriptural language that they have the same effect; and when one has rested from his investigation of the picture he runs to the decorative border for fresh illumination. The deep religiousness of Blake's nature is everywhere apparent, and his historical apprehension of religion was made to give a fine subordinate value to the design. An excellent illustration of this is in the use which he makes of the Gothic minster as symbolic of worship, and, in contrast, of the Druid stones and forms as symbolic of pagan darkness. So, too, in the twentieth plate, where, by a significant interpolation, Job is recounting his life to his fair daughters, the scenes of terror are elaborated as tapestry upon the walls. 'Everywhere,' it has been said, 'throughout the series we meet with evidences of Gothic feeling. Such are the recessed settle and screen of trees in plate two, and, much in the spirit of Orcagna. The decorative character of the stars in plate twelve; the Leviathan and Behemoth in plate fifteen, grouped so as to recall a mediæval medallion or wood-carving; the trees, drawn always as they might be carved in the wood-work of an old church.' There is a striking use made of the tables of the law in the eleventh plate, where the accuser, tormenting Job with doubts of God, hides from him and yet points at these stones. The plate, 'When the Morning Stars Sang Together, and all the Sons of God Shouted for Joy,' has for its emblematic border

the map of the six days of creation. The texts of Scripture, also, are used with admirable allusiveness. Over the first plate, for instance, where Job is presented in the innocence of his untried faith, are the words 'Our Father who art in Heaven,' while above the final plate, 'So the Lord Blessed the Latter End of Job more than the Beginning,' are the words 'Great and Marvellous are Thy Works, Lord God Almighty, Just and True are Thy Ways, O Thou King of Saints!' as if the man, triumphant in his faith, were singing praises to the God who had made his submission victorious.

More significant still is the entire conception of these two plates as the beginning and close of the series. In the first Job and his wife are seated with open books at the foot of an oak, surrounded by seven sons and three daughters, Job reciting the Word of God, while his wife and children, with folded hands and uplifted faces, respond with worship. The sun is setting behind gentle hills, the moon rising over frowning mountains. Great flocks of cropping sheep extend back to the tents of the patriarch, and in the foreground rams, sheep, and lambs lie placidly before the human group. 'Thus did Job continually,' is the legend, and at the base of the decorative border is an altar with aspiring flame, while an ox and a ram show their heads at the corners of the border awaiting sacrifice. Upon the face of the altar are the words 'The Letter Killeth; the Spirit Giveth Life. It is Spiritually Discerned.' This is the conception of childlike piety, unquestioning, untried, happy in its possessions, undisturbed by any dissension or any outward tumult. There are grown men among the sons, but all, young and old, carry on their faces the aspect of innocent purity. Turn now to the last plate. There is the same decorative border as to lines and grouping, but the ram and the ox have changed their places; the ram has a shepherd's crook by it, the ox has the head and action of a beast that is to live and not be slain. The fire on the altar is no longer a simple triple flame, but bursts out in animated vigour as having an undying power of its own, requiring no fuel or flesh to feed it, while upon the face of the altar are the words 'In Burnt Offerings for Sin Thou hast had no pleasure.' Then, in the picture itself, the locality is the same; the great tree is in the centre; the sun is now rising gloriously over gentle hills, the moon and stars are fading out in a gentle dawn. The creatures in the foreground are still there, but with alert, uplifted heads. Before, there hung upon the tree lutes, harps, and viols, as instruments unused and unneeded by the simple worshippers; now, before and about the tree, Job, his wife, his sons, and daughter, stand triumphantly singing and playing upon the uplifted instruments, or with scrolls of

beauty flowing in their hands; between and among the forms we catch glimpses of the same flock as before, with an added life and playfulness.

This detailed analysis of the two plates will indicate something of the methods by which Blake expresses his conception, but it is the misfortune of most such analyses to suggest a certain mechanical and formalistic treatment. There is an archaic *naïveté* in Blake's handling of his theme here, partly his own native apprehension, partly the result of his artistic sympathies; but the very openness of the stragem by which he captures the understanding in this interpretation of the Book of Job saves him from the charge of a perfunctory method. We have been compelled, in outlining the above plates, to force the contrasted parts into a dry enumeration of details, but the spectator, upon his first view of the engravings, sees only the lovely harmony of each; the unity in diversity which possesses them steals over him slowly and with enchanting grace. Indeed, rich as the series is in its moral suggestion, we are almost impatient with the showman who points this out, so entirely does the æsthetic interest of the plates prevail. As examples of engraving, they are marvels of beauty. 'The Book of Job,' says Mr. Ruskin, in his 'Elements of Drawing,' 'engraved by himself, is of the highest rank in certain characters of imagination and expression; in the mode of obtaining certain effects of lights, it will also be a very useful example to you. In expressing conditions of glaring and flickering light Blake is greater than Rembrandt.' 'The engravings,' we are told by Gilchrist, 'are the best Blake ever did—vigorous, decisive, and, above all, in style of expression in keeping with the designs, which the work of no other hand could have been in the case of conceptions so austere and primeval as these.'

It is fortunate that copies of the Book of Job exist in sufficient number to make it possible for students to get access to it. An excellent set is on exhibition at the Boston collection, and both private and public owners can easily be found. One is not, therefore, obliged to sing the praises of these wonderful designs to incredulous ears; the best of witnesses exist in support of the most enthusiastic words. One hesitates to characterise them, not from fear of speaking too strongly, but of entangling the subject with misleading and inadequate expression. Without this series, it may be said Blake's career as an artist would fail of its ripe exhibition. These designs, by their form and character, come specifically into place among the enduring works of art, and may be so examined, while much of Blake's other work is of a nature to illustrate rather a wayward artist than one who moves in the great procession of erratic intelligence. They fitly complete a career at the other end of which stands the 'Songs of Innocence.'

IV.—THE THEOLOGY OF THE APOSTLE PAUL.

FIRST PART.

THERE is a sense in which this subject may be said to be ‘born out of due time.’ The most casual reader of theological literature must have observed that the direction of modern criticism and the colour of its currents have changed during the last decade. Disputes have ceased to grow hot round the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles. The force of sceptical criticism is no longer spent upon Paul. It is not the doctrines which he taught that are now being weighed in the scales of ‘the higher criticism,’ and found wanting. Controversy has flitted from the Epistles to the Gospels, and from the Apostle to his Master.

Into the why and wherefore of this change of field and front it scarcely comes within the province of this paper to inquire. It is not, we venture in passing to affirm, because the rationalistic theologians of Germany and England have succeeded, as they claim to have done, in demonstrating that the character and career of the Apostle will not bear the test of historical investigation, or that any of the Epistles attributed to him are spurious documents. We aver that precisely opposite conclusions have been arrived at by thorough, impartial, and learned research. The most subtle and sagacious scrutiny of Paul’s life and history has served only to prove more convincingly than ever before that he was a truly great man—great in mental endowments, greater still in moral qualities. Subjective and destructive analysis has utterly failed to disturb our faith in the authenticity and inspiration of his writings. And neither philosophical, historical, nor literary criticism in its deepest and most searching investigations has been able to detect the smallest admixture of error in any of the fundamental ideas of his teaching, or to discover the slightest defect in the superstructure of theology which he reared. On the contrary, we believe that the labours of hostile critics have rendered immense service to the Apostle and his writings. Some old husks and worn-out errors which in the lapse of time had grown upon them have fallen away, and ‘the building of God’ erected by Paul now stands to view in its original symmetry and loveliness. We cannot, therefore, believe with M. Renan that ‘after having been three hundred years, thanks to Protestantism, the Christian doctor, *par excellence*, Paul is now coming to an end of his reign.’ We rather believe with Matthew Arnold

(though in a sense widely different from his) that 'the cardinal truths of the Apostle's theology will have an influence in the future greater than any which they have yet had—an influence proportioned to their correspondence with a number of the deepest and most permanent facts of human nature itself.'

It, therefore, appears that if our subject has not the interest and timeliness it would have had a few years ago, it is still a theme of essential importance and value, and one of the most difficult and delicate to which Christian criticism can address itself. It is impossible to treat it in an adequate or satisfactory manner within the narrow limits to which this paper must be confined. To compress into a few pages the substance of nearly one-half of the books of the New Testament, and to present even a brief synopsis of the doctrines of the most copious writer of Scripture, whose views of human nature and Divine grace have moulded the religious opinions of Christians in all the ages of this dispensation, is a task which can only be very imperfectly discharged within the modest limits of a magazine article.

The *theology* of the Apostle Paul is our subject. There are some whom the very title will startle, who will demur to the fact which it postulates, and even deny that it is possible to present the theology of the Apostles under systematic forms, maintaining that Paul had no fixed sentiments about the Gospel, but went on to the end evolving new ideas. They will even go so far as to assert that 'it is only by accident that we have in the writings of the Apostles any *distinct* statement of Christian doctrine.'

In opposition to these views, we maintain that the Apostolic age had its theology, properly so-called. The first age of Christianity had its sum of fundamental evangelical truths, although no attempt was made to group the several doctrines into a compact system. The disciples of the Master during His personal life-time held certain religious views, which were more or less formulated among them into a theological whole. And from the time at which the verbal teaching of Christ ended, till the close of the Apostolic age, as the New Testament Scriptures sufficiently prove, the Christian revelation became increasingly distinct and determinate in the forms which it assumed.

There are at least four distinct types of Apostolic doctrine. Paul, John, Peter, and James had each his own distinctive conception of Christianity. These men were not mere machines in the hands of the Divine Spirit—amanuenses, so to speak, of the Holy Ghost. They were not the mere instruments of the Revealing Will, which, for the secure and complete fulfilment of its purposes, neutralised and arrested,

either temporarily or permanently, all intellectual action in the organs by which it revealed itself. Such a mechanical view of inspiration has no foundation in the sacred writings themselves; is, indeed, contradicted by their contents, and is opposed to the free agency of man. We find, on examination, that each writer preserves his own style and mental qualities, and, although all exhibit one Gospel, yet each presents a peculiar phase of Christianity. Each of the Apostolic theologians has a strongly-marked and perfectly distinct individuality. Paul has been described as the Apostle of faith, John of love, Peter of hope, and James of works. The grand peculiar doctrine of Paul is justification by faith; of John, spiritual union with Christ; of Peter, the future life; and of James, the necessity of practical religion.

Paul's theology, especially, is full of the intensest personality. 'His writings are simply *letters*, abounding in disclosures of personal feelings, of biographical incident, of changing moods of thought, of outward and inward conflict.' Everywhere the most fundamental Christian doctrines are associated with his own personal experiences. His theology had a deep psychological basis. To a large extent it was the natural corollary of his history. His inner consciousness was a sort of mirror in which the Gospel revelation took form and colour, whilst at the same time it was the touchstone by means of which he tested its value. His life was the key to his theology. Hence he was conscious of possessing and teaching an aspect of the Gospel peculiar to himself, and twice in the Epistle to the Romans he uses the significant and emphatic expression, 'My Gospel.'

The Pauline Gospel is the most full and complete development of Christian truth, and the phase of Christianity which is most powerful and pervasive in Christendom to-day. It comprehends almost the entire circle of revealed truth. Its author is pre-eminently the theologian of the new Testament, and the creator of the theological phraseology of the Church. As Olshausen says, 'He is the author of a precisely-defined doctrinal language, and the founder of theology, as a science, in the Church of Christ.'

The sources from which we shall endeavour to evolve the theological views of the Apostle Paul are his Epistles. Many of his discourses are recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, but these do not go beyond the circle of the ideas common to all the Apostles. From the Epistles alone, therefore, we shall derive the materials for our subject; but, whilst doing so, we think it necessary to state that we do not regard all the Epistles as equally important as sources of doctrine. Some will claim more of our attention than others as containing more

purely doctrinal matter, or as treating the subject in a manner more systematic and complete. The Epistle to the Romans stands foremost in this category, for, if it does not contain the whole of the Apostle's doctrinal system, it takes us at once into its centre, and should consequently be made, as far as possible, the basis of any exposition of the views of its author.

The genuineness of the Pauline Epistles has been so generally acknowledged that we need not discuss the question here. Those on which doubt has been cast are, moreover, the least important for our purpose. The internal evidence is all in favour of their authenticity. Whatever differences of view exist may be explained by the different occasions of the Epistles. The criticisms are of too indefinite and negative a character to be worthy of serious consideration. The Epistles are also so connected and necessary to a full development of Pauline doctrine that we must accept them entire.

Various classifications of the doctrines of the Pauline Theology have been made by theologians. Some have roughly grouped them into the period before Christ, and the period after Christ. But this division is altogether too vague, and fails to discriminate any common fundamental idea. Another and more exact division is into the want of righteousness in all men, and the production of righteousness by faith in Jesus Christ. The ground-thoughts or constituent principles laid down and formally enunciated by the Apostle are (1) that the law cannot procure the righteousness which avails before God, and (2) that man obtains it by faith in Christ. Thus an essential idea—the idea of righteousness—is common to both propositions. The object of endeavour is presented as the same under both dispensations, but the manner of attainment is totally different. All single doctrines adjust themselves naturally about this central point.

Paul's idea of righteousness is of a two-fold nature. (1) A man's righteousness, depending on his personal fulfilment of the law, is 'mine own righteousness, which is of the law' (Philippians iii. 9), 'own righteousness' (Rom. x. 3), 'the righteousness which is of the law' (Rom. x. 5). The passage (Gal. ii. 21), 'for if righteousness come by the law, then Christ is dead in vain,' applies to this righteousness. It proceeds 'from the works of the law' (Rom. iii. 20). On the other hand (2), 'the righteousness of faith' (Rom. iv. 13) is revealed and realised 'from faith' and 'to faith' (Rom. i. 17), in which passage the righteousness of God is certainly not meant as an attribute of God—in this sense it only occurs once (Rom. iii. 26)—but as an attribute of man coming from God. Subjectively considered, it is wrought by

faith and conferred on faith. As this righteousness does not proceed from the law, it is not brought about by the self-activity of the subject, but through faith, and is conferred as an attribute and a gift, not from merit or deservedly, but through free divine grace (Eph. ii. 8). This righteousness, therefore, is not our own, but the righteousness of God (Rom. i. 17), inasmuch as in this suggestive sense it comes from God; and this righteousness is brought about by only one agency, namely, faith in Christ as the Mediator.

In support and confirmation of these statements, we quote that marvellous passage in the Epistle to the Romans, in which Paul brings together all the doctrinal theses on which his system rests, and enumerates them categorically, so that they contain the general outline of the Pauline theology, and indicate to us the track we must follow in order to apprehend it aright:—‘But now the righteousness of God *without the law is manifested*, being witnessed by the law and the prophets; even the righteousness of God which is by faith of Jesus Christ *unto all and upon all them that believe*: for there is no difference: for all have sinned and come short of the glory of God; being justified freely *by His grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus*.’

Around this fundamental idea of man’s relation to the law of God, as perverted by sin and rectified by Christ, all the distinctive doctrines of the theology of the Apostle Paul may be grouped.

In developing the truths contained in the thesis, that by the deeds of the law no man can be justified before God, we must begin with the fact of the universality of sin in the human race. The idea that all men are wanting in righteousness before God is found in the teachings of the other apostles, but is expressly unfolded only by Paul. He treats it in the Epistle to the Romans as a matter of experience, leaving it to the conscience of each to include himself in this experience. The Jews and Greeks being the representatives of the whole human race, the case of all must be that of either the one people or the other. He commences, in his demonstration, with the heathen, as the proof was easier in their case than in that of the Jews, their sin manifesting itself generally in more striking forms.

The Apostle admits that the Gentiles have not received any positive law—that is, a revelation of the will of God at any particular portion of their history; but they do not, therefore, escape responsibility towards God because of their sins; for, in default of such positive commandment, they have received two other laws equally divine, which may stand them in its stead—that, namely, which is manifested

in nature, and that which speaks in their conscience. By the former they may learn to know God, the almighty and all-wise Creator, who perpetually reveals Himself in creation (Rom. i. 20); by the latter they ought to recognise the obligation to worship, and the way to please Him (Rom. i. 32, ii. 15). This constituted a *law* (Rom. ii. 27) for them perfectly analogous to that of the Jews, both in its source and in its end. They had not profited, however, by these revelations; they had worshipped the creature rather than the Creator, and had fallen in consequence of this error into the most terrible moral corruption. In losing God they had lost themselves, and contracted an unreasonable debt of moral guilt (Rom. i. 23-32; Eph. iv. 17-19). Thus, though they were without law in the historical sense of the word, they were yet chargeable with transgression of divine law (2 Cor. vi. 14; Rom. vi. 19; Titus ii. 4), of sin in the moral and positive sense, no less than the possessors of written law.

The culpability of the Jews is still more evident. The knowledge of the will of God was made so easy to them that their transgressions were without excuse. The very explicitness of their law, its minuteness in all details of duty, left them without any cloak of ignorance to cover their sins. And yet experience proves that the Jews also failed to fulfil the law; 'for, on the one hand, they misconceived its spirit, they perverted it by making it a matter of purely outward observance, by reducing it to an *opus operatum*, as scholastic theology would have termed it; on the other hand, they found it impossible never to neglect any minute item of those innumerable commandments contained in the law, and yet the obedience demanded was to be absolute and entire.'

It is, then, an established and irrefragable fact that all men, to whatever age, or nation, or religion they belong, are sinners.

Paul passes from the consideration of the universality of sin to the effects and consequences resulting to man from this state of sin. Universal death is the recompense of universal sin. All the evil which God has connected with sin is included in death. The idea is a comprehensive one, comprising spiritual, physical, and eternal death.

The first element is spiritual deadness—spiritual misery, which is inseparably connected with sin (Rom. vi. 16, vii. 10, viii. 8; 2 Cor. ii. 16, iii. 6). This is that condition in which the moral impulses in man are extinguished, and the higher life is suppressed by the lower. The idea does not necessarily include conscious unhappiness. It is capable of degrees. The extinction takes place gradually. During life there is a possibility of restoration; but if a man perseveres in sin

to its close, the capacity for good becomes totally extinct, and the condition of eternal death is entered upon, to which Paul refers in the words 'savour of death unto death.' This is the perfected form of the spiritual death already begun, and is the second element in the Apostle's conception. The third element is physical death, the violent separation of soul and body. That Paul regarded this as the immediate consequence of sin may be seen from the reference of Rom. v. 12 to the representations of Genesis, and from 1 Cor. xv. 21, 22, Rom. viii. 10. It is the feeling of guilt which gives death its terror (2 Cor. v. 4), but it does not follow that Paul regarded only the peculiar manner of death as the consequence of sin. Man is not necessarily mortal; but the fact of death is due to sin. There may be translation without death (2 Cor. v. 4); there will be at the 'last trump' (1 Cor. xv. 52).

Mortality, as the consequence of sin, is mirrored also in nature (Rom. viii. 19). 'Creature' alone cannot designate unredeemed humanity, nor can the apostle ascribe to this a longing from the beginning of the world for the consummation of God's kingdom; nor can he describe the fall as involuntary (v. 20), or the redemption of the heathen as taking place at the same time with the glorification of the sons of God (v. 21) without mentioning the conditions. It is certainly the teaching of Paul that nature needs a purification as well as man; for such a present condition of nature is alone suitable for sinful man as reflects his own internal dissension.

Paul regards the universal dominion of death (and sin) as the consequence of the sin of the first man, (Rom. v. 12-21); 1 Cor. xv. 21). The transgressions of individuals cannot be regarded as the primary cause of death in man, since death takes place in those whose moral consciousness has never been awakened. Paul traces not only actual sin, but the *habitus* from which sin proceeds to the sin of Adam, and in the seventh chapter of Romans he describes this predisposition as *sin*.

Paul does not expressly state the nature of the connection between the first man and his posterity; but it is evident that, as sin is predisposition, it could not have spread from the force of example, but from the natural increase of the human race, and is therefore hereditary.

According to Paul, then, the first original cause of the death of all men is the sin of Adam; the secondary cause, the sinning of the men themselves. All men having strengthened their sinful bias by the concurrence of their will, they may account death as the legitimate punishment of their own transgressions.

When the apostle speaks of the insufficiency of the law to produce a new life, he refers primarily to the Mosaic law, and to this in its whole circumference. For he makes no sharp distinction between the ritual and ethical parts of the law. He sometimes refers more particularly to one than the other; but it is not to be supposed that in denying a justifying efficacy to the law he means simply the ritual. He places by the side of the Mosaic law the moral law, written in the heart as essentially of the same import. It is owing to the "obscuration of this that the Mosaic legislation confers so great an advantage on the Jews over the heathen.

In denying justifying efficacy to the works of the law, Paul understands not those works which the law requires, but those which it is able to produce in man in his state of sin. The Gospel is not a new law, but a new power. 'From our Christian standpoint we are accustomed to distinguish between the moral and the ritual portion of the Old Testament, and to declare the one to be explicitly confirmed by the Gospel and of permanent obligation on the Church; the other to be as explicitly abrogated by Christ. We have not here to inquire to what extent and in what sense such a distinction is legitimate and sustained; we merely assert that Paul does not make it, and that it has no place in his system. All that is written in the book of the law is declared to be equally necessary and placed under the same punitive sanction, and the relation of the law to righteousness and salvation, as pointed out by the apostle, extends to the whole law.' The incapacity of the law to justify is due to the evil disposition of the soul. In the seventh chapter of the Epistle to the Romans the apostle defines and describes two stages in the moral development of the unregenerate life—a state of comparative innocence, in which man, being ignorant of the higher moral norm, is not conscious of the slumbering evil within him; and a state in which the latent depravity is roused and strengthened by the application of the law.

The first object for which the law was given is the knowledge of sin. 'By the law is the knowledge of sin.' 'The strength of sin is the law.' With the law ignorance ceases, and responsibility begins. The second object is regarded by Paul as the multiplication of particular transgressions of the law. This is the actual results of its prohibitions, and the disease of sin is more easily cured when brought to outward manifestation.

Thus, then, in the theology of Paul, the law possesses a condemning power. It reveals sin and condemns sin. So far from imparting life, it is the cause of death. Hence the apostle calls it 'the law of sin and

of death' (Rom. viii. 2), as it is the occasion of transgression, and, consequently, of death. So, also, he uses various strong expressions as if he depreciated the law, and regarded it as antagonistic to the Gospel; whilst at other times he praises it as the rule of perfect righteousness. In short, the law may be regarded in two aspects,—as the expression of the righteousness of God, and as the cause of condemnation to the sinner; and according as it is regarded in the one point of view or in the other, different and apparently opposite qualities are assigned to it. Let us not, however, forget that Paul's 'theology does not contradict the law, that it is not hostile to it, nor tends to overthrow it; on the contrary, it maintains, as no other system can, its spirit and intention, since the law itself, rightly understood, wills and predicts the new economy of grace.'

Such are the main points in what we may call the negative or polemical part of the Pauline theology. The Apostle clearly explains and illustrates the hereditary and universal corruption of human nature, the utter insufficiency of the law to render man righteous, and the fact of man's secret desire for deliverance from his state of misery.

WILLIAM SCAFE.

V.—THOMAS CARLYLE AND HIS REMINISCENCES.*

It is many years since the name at the head of this paper settled down as one of the abiding forces of our literature. His writings constitute a distinct addition to the intellectual wealth of our country, and his place has long been ratified among the immortals. He has given a stimulus to all those capable of generous infection, and awakened a corresponding affection and sympathy. Morality and conduct have been nobler and purer for the invigorating and solemn influence and meaning of his works. He has not restricted his teaching to any school of speculation or philosophy; he viewed life as a whole; he had the almost sacred gift of inspiring men to grave and honest diligence in reaching on to high and noble things. That he clothed his judgments in extraordinary, glowing, and often in exaggerated phrase, we may have occasion to point out. He has drawn persons of all grades and opinions around him, none of whom call him Master, but all confessing that he has done much to clear their mental vision, to rouse them to loftier endeavours, to warn them against trusting in mere appearances, and strengthen their love of righteousness and truth. It is, therefore, of no small concern that—

We, who speak the tongue
That Shakespere spake, the faith and manners hold
Which Milton held,

should know, as fully as we can, what manner of man this was who for nearly half-a-century influenced the best minds in this country, and permanently enriched our literature and intellectual force. The reminiscences, which we have read with deepest interest, dashed with some regrets, must be reserved for notice at the close of the article.

Carlyle's birthplace was Ecclefechan, a hamlet in the south-west of Scotland. This name, which, by the way, is a puzzle for the ordinary Englishman to pronounce, is a contraction of Ecclesia Fechan, and goes back to the Monkish times of the seventh century, when an Abbot St. Fechan had a church in the district. Travellers going to Scotland from Carlisle by the Caledonian Railway pass, about eight miles over

* Reminiscences. By THOMAS CARLYLE. Edited by James Anthony Froude. Two vols. London: Longman and Co., 1881.

the border, this quiet village. In pre-railway times the place was the busy scene of cattle-fairs and the frequent calling of the London and Glasgow stage-coach. In this now dull, sleepy place Thomas Carlyle was born December 5, 1795. He was the eldest of a family of eight children. His parents were of the stock of people from whom have come many of the most successful Scotchmen—theologians like Chalmers, and poets like Burns. His father in early life had been a stonemason, but had taken to farming, and was tenant of Scotsberg, a farm of two or three hundred acres, which is now occupied by Carlyle's youngest and only surviving brother. The father, as we shall see, had great shrewdness, dry humour, high moral worth, indomitable energy, and strong will. He was given to the saying of sharp, pungent things, giving by-names to people which often stuck to them, and had in no small degree his illustrious son's picturesque and vivid powers of speech, as well as his fondness for old-fashioned and uncommon expressions. Above all, and especially as his life drew on, he was truly devout and religious; as his son used to say, he was 'like Enoch of old—he walked with God.' His mother, like Burns's, was deeply religious, with an intellectual outlook beyond the people of her class, and had considerable claims to personal attraction. Mr. Froude, the historian, who was for years Carlyle's most intimate companion and trusted friend, says:—

There is good reason to believe that his mother first suggested to her son that new estimate of the character of Cromwell which he was the first to lay before the world. He was fond of dwelling on the virtues of his mother, and said that she was entirely too peaceable and pious for this planet. She lived till 1853. Though most of the subjects he wrote were new to her, she read his works with great care; particularly she read and re-read his *History of the French Revolution*. She was at first startled and disturbed by the new religious views she met with in her son's books; but when she found that he was in earnest and steadfast, she cared no more.

The plain stone house, common enough in the farming districts of Scotland, in which James Carlyle lived and in which his family were born, still remains; for this 'old house at home' Carlyle cherished an unchanging affection, which he evidenced by his frequent visits to his birthplace. Of the family we have only to say that a younger brother became a medical man, a person of culture, and is known as an excellent translator of Dante's *Inferno*; his sister married Mr. Aitkin, an artist of some eminence at Dumfries; it was her daughter who, upon his wife's death, became Mr. Carlyle's housekeeper and assistant in literary work.

As school age came on school life began, and Thomas Carlyle became in time so apt and diligent a scholar in the Hoddam parish school that

further instruction was deemed necessary. This was his mother's wish; the father at first thought he should 'gang and work,' but he soon joined his wife in the desire to see 'oor Tam wag his pow in the pu'pit.' The mother obtained by her personal solicitations the further instruction from her minister's son, young Mr. Johnston, an advanced student from Edinburgh University. Three months hard 'grinding' laid the foundation of his mathematical studies, and furnished him with the key to the intricacies of Latin, grammar, and construction. Soon Virgil and Horace became friends well known. From the care of Mr. Johnston he passed on to the higher tuition of Adam Hope, whom he so graphically portrays in the reminiscences. In this Burgh Academy at Annan he made such rapid progress in mathematical and classical studies that it was his old schoolmaster's opinion that he should go to college. At that time lads went young to Scottish Universities. Carlyle said, in his Rectoral Address, that he was barely fourteen when he matriculated at Edinburgh. There appears to be no evidence as to the length of his student's term, but as he passed through the arts curriculum and took two sessions in the theological course, he must have been there six years. None of the able professors of that day appear to have won his sympathy or commanded his admiration except Sir J. Leslie, who filled the mathematical chair. During his student's career he seems to have made but few friends; he dwelt apart from the active pursuits of the young men around him. He was a voracious reader, laying all the libraries he could command under tribute, thus acquiring knowledge outside and beyond the college course. His one companion and friend was Edward Irving, who was then, like himself, an enthusiastic student of literature and mathematics, and who was, like himself, an omnivorous reader. So well-grounded and thorough was his proficiency in mathematical science, that he was able to translate Legendre's 'Geometry and Trigonometry,' which won warm commendation from such authorities as Professor Leslie and Mr. de Morgan.

What led him to reject the Westminster Confession of Faith does not appear. That he did reject it and the Orthodox Faith, we know only too well. What his precise opinions were on theological and religious questions he has nowhere informed us. It would not be easy for us to express how profound our sorrow is at his rejection of Evangelical Christianity, and we here testify our thankfulness at the intimation of an authority that, in his old age, he returned more and more to the principles of his mother. His own account of this crisis is characteristic:—'I was not sure that I believed the doctrines of my father's

kirk, and it was needful I should now settle it; and so I entered my chamber and closed the door, and around me came trooping a throng of phantasms dire from the abysmal depths of nethermost perdition. Doubt, fear, unbelief, mockery, and scoffing were there, and I wrestled with them in an agony of spirit.' His 'father's kirk' was the Secession Church, one of the most rigid ecclesiastical bodies in Scotland at that time. The result of his mental struggles was that he could not enter the ministry, and therefore was driven to cast about for means of a livelihood. As a temporary step, he became a pedagogue, first at his old school in Annan, then as tutor to the sons of an old Indian General, and finally at the 'Lang toun' of Kirkcaldy. Here he was associated with his old friend Irving. They were united by bonds of friendship which no difference of opinion nor divergence of pursuit ever ruptured, not even when Carlyle saw his gifted friend pass into regions of intellectual chaos whence he never returned. The chapter on Irving in his posthumous work is one of the most touching things in human friendships as well as in literary history. The four years of pedagogy sufficed to sicken him with it as a profession, and we opine that he was constitutionally ill-fitted to be a schoolmaster. He returned to Edinburgh still in doubt as to what line of life he should pursue. At one time he entertained the proposal to enter the legal profession, but this was hardly more congenial to his nature than teaching. As a relief as well as an acquisition, he mastered German, and so thorough was this mastery that German both complexioned his thinking and gave an obvious cast to his language. His course as 'a writer of books,' as he afterwards described himself in a petition to the House of Commons, was greatly determined by request from Sir D. Brewster, the editor of the 'Edinburgh Encyclopædiæ,' to contribute a series of sixteen articles. This encyclopædiæ was a massive work of eighteen volumes, and took twenty-one years in the issue. We unearthed it in an old library, and naturally turned to the articles 'contributed by Thomas Carlyle, Esq.' In this 'honest journey work' we are struck with the range and variety of the subjects, and the extraordinary extent of the reading they display. No German subjects are treated of, showing that he had not then broken that fruitful ground. The writing is smooth and equal, nothing answering to the Carlylese of after years. But he soon fell under the spell of the Germans, and gave the world the first fruits of his German studies in an essay on 'Faust.' None of these efforts brought him much gain, so that he was ready to accept the offer of tutorship to Charles Butler, which Irving had obtained for him. Young Mr. Butler's gifts were only equalled by his personal goodness, and his

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early death, just as he had won a position in the Government of the country, was the subject of universal regret. The young statesman's views on pauperism, emigration, and other politico-social questions leave little doubt as to the fountain whence he drank in his principles.

In 1823 Carlyle became a member of the staff of the *London Magazine*, in the pages of which periodical first appeared his life of Schiller. No name was given, but it was said by many that the writer was no common man. As we read it now we admire the clearness and strength of the writing, as well as the acuteness and vigour of the critical conceptions. Immediately followed his famous translation of Wilhelm Meister's 'Wanderings.' What Carlyle thought of Goethe's novel our readers may see by turning to his 'Rector's Address,' when seventy years were upon him; for ourselves, we can write no eulogy upon either its construction or moral tone. One thing it did, it brought Goethe's name before the British public. Up to this time he was no prophet out of his own country. Only De Quincey, Coleridge, and a few others knew him. When the translation appeared Lord Jeffrey reviewed it in his own slashing 'this-will-never-do' style, but towards the end of the article he cools down, and admits that the translator was 'a person of talents,' and says, further, that every part of the work shows him to be a master of at least one of the languages he deals with. De Quincey also made a severe, not to say, a savage attack upon it. How Carlyle has repaid him the readers of the 'Reminiscences' will know. The 'Life of Schiller' was so good that it was translated into German and issued with a laudatory preface by Goethe himself.

In 1827 he published four volumes of German translations of romances, &c. In these and in his early *Edinburgh Review* articles his style began to assume the marked peculiarity so well known in after times. It came out in the Napier correspondence that Jeffery, as editor of the *Edinburgh*, had pruned his articles of what he held to be extravagancies, and we know, also, how Carlyle rebelled against these editorial excisions. It is a sad fact that these writings brought him little fame and less money. He was better known in Germany than in England.

Little as he was known and low as his finances were, he at this time, 1827, entered into the marriage bonds with Miss Jane Welsh, only daughter of Dr. Welsh, of Haddington, a lineal descendant of John Knox. His wife was a person of great power of mind, of many accomplishments, of true womanly gentleness, and yet of a caustic wit. Her married life was one of purest happiness. Mr. Froude says:

‘Mr. Carlyle had superintended her reading while she was yet a girl, and influenced the aims of her life; and during long years of poverty she brightened the thinker’s home with a beautiful and cheerful companionship. Those who knew Mr. Carlyle as a friend will ever think of him as having at his side that noble woman, who had softened the rugged path of life, and lived to share the joys of his faithfully-earned success.’ After a short residence in Edinburgh the young couple went to live on a small estate of Mrs. Carlyle’s at Craigenputtoch, Dumfriesshire. Craigenputtoch stands on the border land of Galloway and Dumfries, and is a farm of considerable extent; the house is a plain, substantial erection. In a letter to Goethe, who had been inquiring about his residence and welfare, he describes his life in a moorland home: ‘It is the loveliest nook in Britain, six miles removed from anyone likely to visit us, yet a stage-coach can take us speedily to Edinburgh; while piled upon the table of my little library is a whole cartload of French, German, American, and English journals.’ He was but a day’s drive from Ecclefechan, ‘Where both father and mother still live to love me. Above all, this bit of earth is our own.’ Emerson, the American, visited him and has given a good description of him; from which we make a brief extract;—

He was tall and gaunt, with a cliff-like brow, self-possessed, and holding his extraordinary power of conversation in easy command, clinging to his northern accent with evident relish. . . . When too much praise of any genius annoyed him, he professed hugely to admire the talent shown by his pig. He had spent much time and contrivance in confining the poor beast to one enclosure in his pen; but the pig, by a great stroke of judgment, had found out how to let a board down, and had foiled him. . . . We talked of books. Plato he does not read, and disparaged Socrates. He persisted in Mirabeau as a hero; Gibbon he called a splendid bridge from the old world to the new.

At the time of his letter to Goethe he says that the only work he had done at Craigenputtoch was his Essay on Burns. Had he done no more his time would have been far from wasted, for nothing finer and fairer has ever been written upon the poet-peasant of Scotland; indeed, nothing more need be said of him, and in substance nothing more has been said. But this essay was not all, for he wrote, in a manner worthy of himself and of his subjects, upon Johnson, Richter, Heyne, Novalis, Voltaire, and Diderot. In addition to this there was seething in his mind the greatest of all his works, *Sartor Resartus*, —i.e., tailor re-clothed, or re-stitched—and ultimately it took shape upon paper. Some of the chapters of this truly wonderful work reveal the spiritual and intellectual experience amid which the real man,

shaped himself into his settled form; he had earned this sacred power of ascendancy over men by low living and high thinking. From this lonely farmhouse, among the moors and hills of Nithsdale, he enunciated principles and lessons that he had, through hard struggling and self-denial, made his own. It is a great, genuine, earnest book, as full of wisdom as of humour—humour mostly as grim as the aspect of the moors and hills around him; nor can we fail to feel the pathos and power in nearly every page. Through its psychological rhapsodies, confessions, invectives, philosophisings, strokes of grave satire, suggestions of deep problems of life and things, and romantic incidents, the dominion of the author over the reader is never once relaxed. Many are repelled by the uncouthness and ungainliness of the terminology, and we confess that we have no defence to offer in this matter, yet, despite this drawback, it is a book that you read and re-read, and each succeeding reading it gains upon you. We have just opened it at the truly wonderful description of sunset at the North Cape, which we quote—

Silence, as of death; for midnight, even in the Arctic latitudes, has its character; nothing but the granite cliffs ruddy-tinged, the peaceable gurgle of that slow-heaving Polar ocean, over which, in the utmost north, the great sun hangs low and lazy, as if he, too, were slumbering. Yet is his cloud-couch wrought of crimson and cloth-of-gold, yet does his light stream over the mirror of waters like a tremulous fire-pillar shooting downwards to the abyss, and hides itself under my feet. In such moments solitude also is invaluable; for who would speak or be looked upon when behind him lies all Europe and Africa fast asleep, except the watchmen, and before him the silent immensities and palace of the Eternal, whereof our sun is but a porch-lamp.

It is humiliating that a book of the highest genius failed to find a publisher; and when it was published in *Fraser's Magazine* it failed to find appreciative readers. One said that it lacked tact, another that its humour was Teutonic and heavy, another, again, said that much German and genius had made the writer mad. No wonder that this cold treatment disheartened him. 'I have given up,' he says, 'the notion of hawking my little manuscript book about any further; for a long time it has lain quiet in the drawer, waiting for a better day.' During its appearance subscribers wrote to Fraser, protesting against 'that crazy stuff about clothes.' The Americans soon discovered its worth, and he was gladdened with a printed copy and a substantial sum of money from American publishers. The early and general recognition of the value of his writings in America produced a deep impression upon him, as is seen in his will so recently made

public, in which he bequeaths his library of authorities used in writing his 'Cromwell' and 'Fredrick' to Harvard University. His fertile brain devised Essays on Byron, Moore, Bentham, fashionable novels, of the Pelham-Paul Clifford school, which he hated with a perfect hatred. He said: 'The Pelham-Devereux manufacture is a sort of thing which ought to be extinguished in British literature.' Unfortunately these projects were never realised.

It was during the Craigenputtoch period that George Gilfillan spent an evening with him in Edinburgh in congenial company, and gives a lively, though, we think, a somewhat over-coloured account of the man and his manner. He speaks of his hair as being dark, with a prominent brow like Burns's; eyes which, seen from the side-view, seemed like rolling fire; his lips moving as if champing an invisible bit; his eyes and his lips, when he spoke, seemed to be taking parts and responding in a kind of wild tune; his form was not tall, but of commanding mien, with a slight stoop; his talk, in the Annandale accent, which would not be forgotten by those who heard it, was like a harangue. 'The public,' he said, 'had become like a gigantic jack-ass, literature a glittering lie, science groping aimlessly amidst the dead, dry clatter of machinery, which it calls the universe; art wielding a feeble, watery pencil; history stumbling over dry bones in a valley no longer of vision; philosophy lisping and babbling exploded absurdities, mixed with new nonsense about the Absolute and Infinite; our religion a great truth breathing its last; Truth, Justice, God, turned big, empty, staring words, like the address on the sign after the house was abandoned. And what have we to meet the crisis? Sir Walter Scott, a toothless retailer of old wives fables; Brougham, an eternal grinder of common-place pretentious noise, like a man playing on a hurdy-gurdy; Coleridge talking, in a maudlin sleep, an infinite deal of nothing; Wordsworth stooping to extract a spiritual catsup from mushrooms which were little better than toadstools; John Wilson taking to presiding at Noctes, and painting haggises in flood; the bishops and clergy of all denominations combined to keep men in a state of pupillage, that they may be kept in port wine and roast beef; politicians full of cant, insincerity, and falsehood; Peel, a plausible fox; John Wilson Croker, an unhanged hound; Lord John Russell, a turnspit of good pedigree; Lord Melbourne, a monkey; 'these be thy gods, O Israel.' This windbag yelping for liberty to the negro, and that other for the improvement of prisons; all sham and imposture together—a giant lie—which may soon go down to hell fire.' A jeremiad like this was his common habit in talking. He lived in a

pessimist region; he conceived it to be his mission to denounce wrath and indignation against the shams and hypocrisies of society. We know of no better specimen of this than his biting essay on the opera. We may question his taste and dispute his judgments, but we always yield him the palm of fearless honesty and love of righteousness.

During his residence in his moorland home he made many journeys to London, till a hankering after it gradually grew within him. He conceived a strong liking for 'the huge machine,' as he called it. But the thing which finally determined him was the desire of friends who wished him near them, and with whom he wanted to consort, especially Edward Irving, who had drawn the élite of London to hear his marvellous sermons. Accordingly, in 1834 he removed to Cheyne Row, where he lived the rest of his life, and was known all over the world as 'the Sage of Chelsea,' or, 'the Chelsea Seer.' The first years of his residence in London were the most fruitful of his life; essays, histories, lectures, biographies poured from his busy pen with surprising rapidity. All this work was not done without severe and continuous labour. An early walk before breakfast, then work without interruption till three, then came correspondence, a ride in an omnibus, or a walk in the parks. This was his daily routine. Mr. Froude, from whom we have quoted before, says:

It was generally in the evening that Mr. Carlyle was surrounded by his friends. Tea was the usual preliminary, and after it the philosopher—especially in later years—was accustomed to take his seat, half-reclining, on the floor, so that the bowl of his pipe might reach the neighbourhood of the fire-place, and its fumes go up the chimney. Then he would pour out his wonderful talk, which seemed to be of immeasurable range and richness. It mattered little what subject was suggested. The Russian, the Italian, the Frenchman, or the American, who might be present, was sure to find that here was one who could give them details about the history and literature of their several countries which they had never heard of before. The present writer has known him talk about birds until one would have said that he must have passed his life in the study of ornithology, until the next time he heard him discoursing about tea, or coffee, or words, or myths, almost anything—when he would become aware that he was in the presence of one who had explored nearly every part of the world he lived in to the farthest extent. Sometimes he would flame with wrath, and his listener shrank as before a gathering storm; but it might be that some droll aspect of the case would suddenly catch his eye, and the storm would burst in thunderous, but not unmusical laughter; or, still oftener, some delicate or tender association would surprise his stormy path, and in a moment his voice would sink to the softness of a lute. The tobacco-pipe always seemed to be the sign of the inward workings of the sublime talker; it would send out thick clouds, or quite blue curls as its master's story or argument grew vehement or gentle; but it was sure to go out at nearly every punctuation

of his long sentences, and had to be re-lighted many times in the course of the evening.

Our readers will overlook the length of this quotation on account of the interesting and striking picture it gives of this 'old man eloquent.'

The lecturing period forms a distinct epoch in his career. The subjects lectured upon were:—'German Literature;' 'Successive periods of European Culture;' 'Revolutions of Modern Europe;' and finally 'Heroes and Hero Worship.' Each subject constituted a course for the season. At the first his lectures were read; but, stumbling among his papers, he found that they hampered rather than aided him, so he threw his manuscripts away and extemporised, much to the delight of the choicest audiences to be found in London. It was said by many who heard him, that had he been well trained in the art of address there was the making of an orator in him. As it was, he was utterly indifferent to any grace of manner and delivery; his language, often of the grandest description, was marred by an unmitigated Doric accent, whilst his tone was a sing-song. The teaching enunciated alternately shocked and delighted his hearers, making them say, 'We have heard strange things to-day.' Bunsen wrote: 'Carlyle's lectures are very striking; rugged thoughts, not made up for any political or religious system, are thrown at peoples' heads, by which most of his audiences are sadly startled.' What the lectures were the readers of 'Heroes and Hero Worship,' the only course published, will know. We express the simplest common place when we say that the thinking and writing in this book are of the loftiest character, sometimes splendid, though not seldom extravagant. One important qualification must be made to the principle—the foundation principle of Hero Worship—that it could be shown to be vicious in itself and injurious in its application. Even Carlyle's splendid utterances must not dazzle us here; he fails to convince us that a sort of mystical reverence or worship is due to men of mere power, whether of genius, ambition, or animal strength or force. This semi-deification of genius or force, simply as such, and apart from morals, is a principle fraught with danger and mischief. As if binding precepts of conduct were designed for ordinary mortals, and their application to these demi-gods need not be so closely looked into. While these lectures excite our admiration, that admiration should not be indiscriminating.

Carlyle's fame reached its climax in the publication of 'The French Revolution: a History.' His name appeared on the title page for the first time. So popular did this work ultimately become that nine out

of every ten of ordinary readers in this as well as in the last generation got their knowledge of this momentous epoch from Carlyle's prose-epic. It was long an open secret, and is now confirmed by his own words, that the work was lent in manuscript to John Stuart Mill, who again lent it to Mrs. Taylor, afterwards his wife. She, in reading it, left it upon the table. The servant, having no paper with which to light her fire in the morning, took the first volume of this precious treasure for that purpose. It is easier to imagine than to describe the consternation of Mill and Mrs. Taylor when the disaster was known, nor the sense of despair which sat upon Carlyle himself. Mill had collected and lent to the historian a number of books of reference—'a waggon load,'—and had discussed with him the principle themes of the subject, and he had written it with infinite labour and pains, and now that it was finished here was half of it destroyed. The writing of all his books made him ill, and this was no exception. This is how he wrote of it:—

How well I remember that night when Mill came to tell us, as pale as Hector's ghost, that my unfortunate first volume was burnt. It was like half sentence of death to both of us; and we had to pretend to take it lightly, so dismal and ghastly was the horror of it. He remained three mortal hours or so. His departure was quite a relief to us. . . . We sat talking till late. 'It shall be written again'—my fixed word and resolution—to try which proved to be such a task as I never tried before or since. Jeannie alone of beings burnt like a steady lamp beside me. I forget how much of money we had. I think there was something like £300 to front London with. . . . 'Fit to fast till French Revolution is ready,' and she had no misgivings at all. Mill was penitent, liberal; sent me £200 (in a day or two), of which I kept £100, actual cost of house, while I had written burnt volume. Wish I could find a way of getting the now macerated, changed, and fanaticised John Stuart Mill to take back the £100, but I fear there is no way.

The 'French Revolution' is truly a great work, a combination of fiery passion and patiently accumulated facts; it shows that its author possessed the true historical imagination. The highest function of historical writing is not to gather facts and set them down in chronological sequence, in dry-as-dust fashion, nor to heap together gossipy chronicles, but to vitalise the materials, to breathe into them the breath of life, and make them instinct with reality, to light up historical scenes with the animation of the writer's own soul. This is pre-eminently the characteristic of Carlyle's 'French Revolution.' The reader is carried along with unabating interest; he is moved alike by touches of tenderness and scenes of awful, sometimes lurid grandeur. There is much humour—mostly grim humour—in the

work. It is not a work for beginners, not history made easy—it is for the instructed reader; to him the events of this great upheaval, as here set down, acquire a new and deeper significance. Characters stand out in bold, fresh lights, remoter and profounder causes are seen to be in operation than those commonly recognized, and he is struck by the crowding of contrasted colours and ideas. One critic has spoken of the felicity of his word-portraits: ‘Marat, a squalidiest bleared mortal, redolent of soot and horse drugs, his bleared soul looking through his bleared, dull, acrid, woe-stricken face. Danton, huge and brawny, through whose black brows and rude, flattened face there looks a waste of energy, as of Hercules not yet furibund. Robespierre, anxious, slight, ineffectual-looking, under thirty, in spectacles, his eyes—were the glasses off—troubled, careful, with up-turned face, snuffing dimly the uncertain future, complexion of a multiple and atrabiliar colour, the final shade may be a pale sea green.’ The same writer goes on to say of the cast of the book, ‘You must fall back on the author’s resource of rhetoric, and say that it is now like the gleaming of swords, now like the rustle and glance of jewelled garments, now terrible as the lightning, now tender as the dew, now firm, close, rapid as the tread of armed men or the moving of the sea.’

We have now to contemplate Carlyle in his least inviting attitude, that of a prophet crying, as it were, in the wilderness against materialism and democracy. This he did in his ‘Chartism,’ and latter day pamphlets. His *bête noir* was a combination of democrat and emancipated nigger. The majority of his friends regret these counterblasts. On these subjects his reason seems to have been obscured and blind fears ruled him. He was haunted by the dread that reformers, radicals, and democrats were bent upon the overthrow of the social fabric in this country. This reactionary course culminated in his defence of Governor Eyre in his infamous massacre in Jamaica, in his sympathy with Southern slaveholders in the American struggle of 1860-4, and in his ‘Shooting Niagara,’ an outburst of fury against reform. It cannot fail to strike the reader that in these letters and pamphleteering diatribes that his style was at its worst. You have crudities, obsolete terms, German compounds, outlandish epithets, all singularly mingled in a singularly impressive way. His sneers at the truly apostolic work of John Howard in his prison reform excite in us a feeling stronger than regret. He should have known that the labours of philanthropists never palliated scoundrelism or shielded knaves and idlers from the just punishment of God. He confounded philanthropy with maudlin sentiment, and liberalism with anarchy.

His next, and, as many think, his greatest, work was 'Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, with elucidations.' It appeared in 1845, and his friends hailed his return to worthier and more effective labour. A more conscientious piece of work never came from a worker's hand than this vindication of Cromwell. He says, 'I have gathered the utterances of this man Oliver from far and near; fished them from the foul Lethæan quagmires where they lay buried. I have washed, or endeavoured to wash them clean from foreign stupidities—such a job of buck washing as I do not long to repeat; and the world shall now see them in their own shape.' The world has seen them in their own shape, and has accepted his views of Cromwell, instead of that given by Hume and Clarendon; and now the long vilified Protector is regarded as the noblest of uncrowned kings. The present writer was brought up in the Hume-Clarendon doctrine, and remembers well the revolution wrought in his mind by the reading of this work. The few who remain unconverted by it may soon be counted, and are either Tory politicians, or Laudian ecclesiastics, like the late Canon Mozley. It is difficult to appraise the value of the work Carlyle did in removing the name of Cromwell from the category of rebel, fanatic, and madman into that of Christian heroes. 'We are familiar enough,' says a celebrated writer, 'by this time with the process of historical whitewashing. None of the attempts of the kind have, however, stood the test of time so well as Mr. Carlyle's. From the gibbet on which Cromwell has hung for nearly two centuries he has been taken down for ever. The author's best writing and thinking are here, whilst some of the descriptive scenes are unrivalled, notably the account of the battle of Dunbar. The temptation to dwell upon this noble contribution to literature must be resisted, so we will go on to notice one of the most charming biographies in the language—his life of John Sterling. He met Sterling by accident at the India House; thenceforward they drew to each other, and Sterling became his most intimate and faithful friend. That this friend was a most conscientious man, a capital talker, with much vivacity and attractiveness, and a moderately able man, cannot be doubted. We have read Archdeacon Hare's life and remains of him, but fail to find any reason very pressing for one, not to say two, biographies. But if Carlyle was a good hater he was also a good lover; all his geese were swans, and he was ever ready to fight for those whom he loved. When we say that this is one of the best biographies in the language, we speak of it in a literary sense, for it is disfigured by tirades against churches and evangelical christianity. Good as all the rest is, it has been generally conceded that the

chapter on Coleridge is the gem of the work. We are not sure that he does full justice to the philosopher of Highgate, for Coleridge, after all, was a man of piercing intellectual insight and poetical power of thought and expression. It is true that his life was one of unfulfilled hopes, of work projected and never begun, and, if begun, never finished. Carlyle says 'The whole figure of the man was flabby and irresolute, expressive of weakness under possibilities of strength.'

After this he undertook a truly Herculean task, which occupied him for fifteen years—his life of Frederick the Great. For this he fitted up a fresh study, at the top of his house, and stocked it with a library of authorities. We must say that we found the reading of this work a weariness to the flesh, yet it is unquestionably a great work, a work of the highest historical genius, exhibiting the utmost range of his powers and his most effective manner. But, after all, it may be doubted if Frederick was worthy of this labour. The reader will meet with an abundance of Carlylean terminology, which in a grave historical work is an element of weakness. You do not want your attention distracted by such terms as *smellfungus*, *Dead Sea apes*, *sleeping swineries*, &c. But, whatever opinion we may hold concerning Frederick, or the inutility of these curiously-coined terms, we cannot but admire the fair, painstaking way in which Carlyle deals with the facts before him. No German could have been more laborious in gathering and collating materials. He had threaded his way through the vastness and intricacy of the whole subject, never once confused and never once losing his way. His pictures of the Tobacco Parliament and of the battle of Mollwitz, 'which struck like a huge war gong, with long resonance, through the general ear,' are in his best manner. Notwithstanding that we dispute much that he says of Voltaire in this history, yet we think that on the whole the old French sceptic has never been better described.

In 1857 a people's edition of his works was published, which was no small boon to the general public, as it brought within the reach of all a treasure which had been confined to the few. Some one has caustically remarked of the library edition that it was the gospel of silence in thirty octavo volumes, and forms a curious commentary upon the text so often occurring that speech is silvern and silence is golden.

One of the most interesting events in Carlyle's later life was his election to the Lord Rectorship of Edinburgh University over Mr. Disraeli. He had often ridiculed 'public meetings,' with their tremendous cheers and 'braying;' and here he was, the attracting force of one of the greatest meetings ever held in that fair city. The

men on the platform who had been 'capped' as LL.D. formed a brilliant galaxy of talent and fame, Huxley, Tyndall, Froude, Rae, the arctic traveller, &c. When his time came to address the students he doffed his robe, as if it were an encumbrance, and stood forth like a prophet with a message to deliver. The old man himself was a singular sight. He wore an old fashioned dress-coat, mauve striped vest, a huge black stock, the use of which he always defended even for soldiers, and his shirt collar standing up stiffly enclosing his neck. His face was rugged and furrowed, but not coarse, and was lighted up with those eyes which Leigh Hunt used to say were the finest he had ever seen. There was no ceremony in his manner, all was simple, earnest, straightforward. His speech was delivered in his never-forgotten Annandale accent; for an hour and a half he talked, like the sage that he was, in a weak voice, that could be heard only by those in the vicinity of the platform. How earnest and true that address was this one sentence will show—'Each one of us is born to expend every particle of strength that God Almighty has given him in doing the work he finds he is fit for, to stand up to it to the last breath of life and do his very best. We are all called upon to do that; and the reward we all get, which we are perfectly sure of, if we have merited it, is, that we have got the work done, or, at least, that we have endeavoured to do it.' When the proceedings were over, Mr. Carlyle proposed to walk from George Street to the place where he was staying; but at the door the crowd thronged around him with cheers, and followed him along the street, until he was confused. Having turned and looked upon them with a strangely pathetic look, he bowed, called a carriage, and drove off. He spent the night in talking over old times, and referred more than once to the sustaining cheerfulness of his wife through years of comparative poverty, little dreaming how soon and how suddenly she was to be snatched away from him. Her death occurred while she was driving in the park; when the coachman stopped he found his mistress dead. From joyous sounds he was summoned home to the abode of death. Well might he say that 'the light of his life was gone out.' 'It is,' he said to Mr. Erskine, with whom he stayed in Edinburgh, 'the saddest feature of old age that the old man has to feel himself more and more lonely; reduced to commune with inarticulate eternities, and the loved ones now unresponsive, who have preceded him thither.' He now devoted himself to the writing of those touching and tender reminiscences of her published since his own death. During the war of 1870-1 he wrote a characteristically trenchant letter to the *Times* in favour of his friends the Germans. His last

published work was on the portraits of John Knox. He had always shunned literary honours. 'He, that men call Dizzy,' our 'miraculous Premier,' offered him a distinction which he declined, but he accepted the knighthood of a Prussian order, which consisted of thirty Germans and as many non-Germans.

His home still continued to be the centre of noble thoughts and aims and of choice companions. He also continued his daily walk in the park or on the Thames Embankment till he was eighty years of age, and when disabled from walking, his brougham, with windows open in all weathers, might be seen going its daily round. As the winter of 1880 drew on this had to be laid aside; then he took to his bed, from which he never rose. Finally he could only say 'Good-bye,' and shortly sank into the silence of death, 'into that still country,' to use his own words on Burns, 'where the hailstorms and fire showers do not reach, and the heaviest-laden wayfarer at length lays down his load.' It was thought by the outside public that his remains would be laid in the grand old Abbey at Westminster; but he had said more than once that he would like 'to lay down his bones where he found them.' The Ecclefechan graveyard, where he lies, is a small dismal place, attached to the old Secession church; the new United Presbyterian Church stands on the margin of this small 'God's Acre;' the 'lairs,' as the Scotch people call the purchased or secured ground in burying places, of the Carlyle's are in the far right-hand corner. For many generations they have been buried here. The oldest and almost defaced stone tells of 'Babra Cairlile' lying there. Here in this sluggish village, among his 'forbears,' lies Thomas Carlyle, one of the most notable men of the century.

We do not know that it can be said that he was what is technically called a thinker or philosopher. He was too indifferent to precise definitions; rules were not in his way. He could not travel in trodden, beaten tracks; he was ever on the wing. If he could not be confined by schools of speculation, he has stimulated and complexioned the best thought of the age. The eminent French critic, M. Scherer, has used a very happy phrase of him, for which we cannot find an English equivalent, 'There is in him, if not a philosopher, at least an *accoucheur d'esprits*.' Contact with him awakens the mind. His downright honesty and earnestness, his fiery indignation against shams, and hypocrisy, and irreligion, was like—and the comparison has often been made—that of a Hebrew prophet. He was a Jeremiah or an Amos commissioned to warn his age of the vices which destroy a nation's life. He spoke from a fountain of fiery and unquenchable

conviction. He scorned 'the tippets and upholstries' of the church, he laughed at the frequent congresses and parliaments as mere 'talking-apparatus,' he misunderstood philanthropy as spent upon 'emancipated and impossible niggers.' The only modern movement which he seemed anxious to promote was the Permissive Bill agitation. The influence of Goethe upon Carlyle was supreme; he was his idol. How it was that Goethe acquired mastery over many of the best minds in England is, to us, an insoluble problem. We know that there is marvellous power and subtlety in his 'Faust,' but we also know that disinterested and competent authorities do not place him in the first rank as poet, literateur, or thinker; we know, moreover, that his egotism, selfishness, and indolence were all-consuming; and we know, too, that his immoralities would have excluded him from reputable English society. In nearly every aspect of mind and character Carlyle was the antithesis of Goethe, and in nothing more than in the purity and simplicity of his life. He was diligent, hardworking, and painstaking: not a bit of his work was scamped, and his corrections of the press comprehended the minutest details. One who knew him writes: 'In early life he was a swift writer. Later, however, his habits of composition changed. It is said that the sight of the manuscript of a well-known author, with numerous interlineations of erasures, was a revelation to him of the pains which were necessary for the best workmanship. Certain it is that he corrected and re-corrected his later works; pieces of manuscript were interpolated or pasted in, and the finished production was sometimes very wonderful in appearance.' His letters and literary remains are in the hands of Mr. Froude, who will, we hope, do justice to this extraordinary man. He was an excellent writer of letters, and their publication will prove not the least of his literary legacies. Young men in difficulties never appealed to him in vain for counsel, and by his sympathy and help many have been saved from making shipwreck.

We have reserved very little space to deal with the *Reminiscences* recently published. Let us begin by saying that these volumes were not revised by Mr. Carlyle. They are published in their rough undoctored state. We are not sure that he meant them all for publication, and some things in them we could have wished had not been written or published. A thing which obtrudes itself is that he idealises and idolises his wife, his father, and his relations, while very bitter things are said of other people, whose ways and peculiarities are held up to scorn, which will give pain to blameless persons. Freedom of criticism in private life is perhaps allowable, but it is an offence

against both morals and manners when it is trumpeted abroad in a work of this kind. Already mutterings of disquiet, annoyance, and vexation are heard from some of these unprotected people. Having said this, let us give a very succinct analysis of the work. The first part is a biography of his father, written many years ago, when he had just died. Though brief, it is a complete account of his parentage. The sketch of his grandfather, whose name he bore, is very interesting. Nothing could exceed the reverence and admiration of Carlyle for his father. Our readers will appreciate the words we quote: 'He was a man of perhaps the very largest natural endowment of any man it has been my lot to converse with. None of us will ever forget that bold glowing style of his, flowing free from his untutored soul, full of metaphor—though he knew not what a metaphor was,—with all manner of potent words, which he appropriated and applied with a surpassing accuracy you would not often guess whence—brief, energetic, and which, I would say, conveyed the most perfect picture, definitely clear, not in ambitious colours, but in full white sunlight, of all the dialects I have listened to. Never again shall we hear such speech as that was.' The second reminiscence is of Edward Irving. How closely these two dissimilar men were related we have already seen. His words here are worth quoting: 'From the first we honestly liked one another, and grew intimate, nor was there ever while we both lived any cloud of grudge between us, or of an interruption of our feelings for a day or hour. Blessed conquest of a friend in this world.' In their young days they travelled, boated, walked together, discussing all questions of literature, theology, religion, &c. The account of their walk from Kirkcaldy up the Forth side to Stirling, through the Trossachs, up the side of Loch Lomond, and their visit to Drumclog, is equal in picturesqueness and power to anything Carlyle ever wrote. He speaks of Irving's 'grand forest avenues of sermons, with their multifarious outlooks to the right and left.' Many noted names turn up in this section. De Quincey, 'a pretty little creature, full of wire-drawn ingenuities, bankrupt enthusiasm, bankrupt pride, a poor, fine-strung, weak creature, launched into the literary career of ambition, and mother of dead dogs.' Chalmers is spoken of as being of 'infinitely less thoughts than Irving, but taking far more pains in setting them forth. With such an intellect, professing to be educated, yet so ill-read, so ignorant of all that lay beyond the horizon in place or time, as I have almost never met with . . . yet a preacher whose like there will never be, I suppose, in any Christian church.' The other names we pass by in order to note the second volume. Here we meet with

Jeffrey, who occupies some sixty pages. Early in their intercourse, Carlyle says: 'I found him infinitely witty, ingenious, sharp of fence, but not in any sense deep; and without difficulty held my own.' Again, 'at bottom I did not find his the highest kind of insight in regard to any province whatever. . . . On all subjects I had to refuse him the title of deep.' That sketch of Jeffrey's mimicking public speakers in their parlour at Craigenputtock once read can never be forgotten. But the greater part of this volume is occupied with reminiscences of Mrs. Carlyle, and they are infinitely touching and tender. The love of the old man for his gifted wife, who was his best friend and his good angel for forty years, and his utter desolation at his loss when she died, is intensely pathetic. She was a brave, bright woman, who, as a child, insisted on learning Latin like a boy, with whom every one admitted to her intimacy fell straightway in love, from Edward Irving to Lord Jeffery. That she bore much from her husband's fits of dourness and dyspeptic ill-humours, and disguised her pain because she would not give him pain, and sacrificed herself to him, is all true beyond dispute, and excites strongest admiration for her name. At the close we have notes upon Southey and Wordsworth. He only partially appreciates the latter, sees him as 'a rather dull, hard-tempered, unproductive, and almost wearisome kind of man; as a poet, he is an honest rustic fiddle, good and well handled, but wanting two or more strings.' The survey of Southey is more favourable, but has the sting of one unpleasant personal or rather domestic reference. Many well-known persons are hit off in this volume in Carlyle's characteristic and often unpleasant manner. Miss Martineau had considerable talent, which would have made her 'a shining matron of some big female establishment or mistress of some immense dress-shop, but totally inadequate to grapple with deep spiritual and social questions, into which she launched nothing doubting.' The truth is, he disliked the class of literary or 'celebrated scribbling women.' John Stuart Mill's wife, then Mrs. Taylor, so idolised by Mill as the pink of all perfection, as readers of his Autobiography and the dedication to the treatise on Liberty will remember, he describes as a 'very will-o'-the-wispish iridescence of a creature, meaning nothing bad either.' Of Darwin's origin of species he had no high opinion: 'It is wonderful to me as indicating the capricious stupidity of mankind; could not read it or waste the least thought upon it.' His judgment upon Robert Hall, the prince of modern preachers, is harsh and unkindly; but perhaps the worst literary judgment in the work is that pronounced upon Charles Lamb, who has delighted so many minds and

gladdened so many hearts by his essays and letters. Lamb's outer man is graphically set forth: 'He was the leanest of mankind, having black breeches, buttoned to the knee and no further, surmounting spindle legs, also in black fallana, head-finish, black, bony, lean, and of a Jew type rather; in the eyes a kind of smoky brightness or confused sharpness; spoke with a stutter; in walking tottered and shuffled, emblem of inability, bodily and spiritually, something of real insanity.' All this may pass; but, when he speaks of Lamb's wondrous ignorance, his ghastly make-believe wit, the slender fibre of actual worth in him, &c., we are compelled, in the face of the facts of his life, and in face of the judgment of well-read people, to say that this oracular deliverance is as void of charity as it is unsupported by evidence, and we can only lay it at the door of the dyspeptic fits which affected his temper and not unfrequently clouded his powerful mind. There are few things finer in these *Reminiscences* than his description of the introduction of a 'Sister of Charity,' a nun, into his house to nurse his wife during an illness. She soon tried her hand at converting her patient, which led to her summary ejection from the house. Upon this he remarks that this event 'threw suddenly a glare of strange and far from pleasant light over the sublime Popish 'Sister of Charity' movement.'

Having reached the limits of our space, we will, before laying down our pen, quote the wise words of one who knew Carlyle, and whose judgment is of acknowledged value in literary questions:—

What Hazlitt said of Coleridge was true of him. He cast a great stone into the pool of contemporary thought, and the circles have grown wider and wider. He was early enough in the field to deal the last blows to expiring Byronism. It was his fortune to be for most educated Englishmen the discoverer of the literature of Germany. In what state did he find literary criticism here? What did it not become under his hand? How many heaps of dry bones in history have been quickened and made to rise and walk? How many skeletons have been clothed with flesh at his touch? And yet in all his varied activity, from first to last, he was something of an inspired peasant. The waves of London life came up to and about him, but they never overwhelmed him or altered him one jot. With all his culture, and nearly fifty years' residence in the south, he was to the end substantially unchanged; his ways were his forefathers' ways; his deepest convictions were akin to theirs; and it needed but a little stretch of the imagination to suppose him a fellow-worker with Knox, or the friend and companion of Burns.

L. R.

VI.—THE ANTIQUITY OF MAN AND THE ORIGIN OF SPECIES.

AMONG the numerous books and articles constantly inviting the attention of readers to the subjects of evolution and the antiquity and origin of man some are rather of an argumentative and polemical character than of the nature of original investigation ; others relate to new facts, and constitute actual contributions to the data of questions as yet too scantily supplied with fundamental truths. Of the former class many are interesting, able, and suggestive ; but it is on works of the second-class that the actual settlement of these disputes must depend, though, in the meantime, this may be comparatively unknown to the general reader, whose ideas as to the present state of these questions are likely to be derived rather from the confident assertions and well-put arguments of popular writers than from the more solid, though less showy and far less startling and less-assured, conclusions of actual painstaking works.

Of works which may claim to contain results of original and useful investigation the following, which are now in the hands of scientific men and embrace a very wide range of inquiry, may afford the material for profitable discussion :—Dawkins on *Early Man in Britain* is a work limited in its range, but embracing the results of the investigations of an acute observer well up in the paleontology of the more recent formations. Barrande's *Brachiopodes*, extracted from the great work on the Silurian System of Bohemia, is the production of the first paleozoic paleontologist of our age, and with regard to the group to which it relates, as well as to the cephalopods and trilobites previously treated by the author in the same manner, is an exhaustive inquiry as to what they have to say for and against Evolution. *Les Enchaînements du Monde Animal*, by Gaudry, may be regarded as a popular book ; but it is the work of one of the most successful collectors and expositors of the Tertiary mammalia. *Le Monde des Plantes*, by Saporta, is also, in some degree, popular in its scope, but is replete with scientific facts admirably put together by a most successful and able paleo-botanist. Of the above writers Barrande is an uncompromising opponent of Evolution as ordinarily held. In other words, he finds that the facts of the history of life in the Paleozoic period

lend no countenance to this hypothesis. The others are theistic evolutionists, holding the doctrine of derivation with more or less of modification, but not descending to the special pleading and one-sided presentation of facts so common with the more advanced advocates of the doctrine. Perhaps we may most clearly present the salient points brought out in these works by noticing, first, the successive Tertiary periods and their life, culminating in the introduction of man, and, secondly, the facts as to the introduction of those earlier creatures which swarmed in the Paleozoic seas.

The Tertiary, or Kainozoic, period, the last of the four great 'times' into which the earth's geological history is usually divided, and that to which man and the mammalia belong, was ingeniously subdivided by Lyell on the ground of percentages of marine shells and other invertebrates of the sea. According to this method, which, with some modification in details, is still accepted, the *Eocene*, or dawn of the recent, includes those formations in which the percentage of modern species of marine animals does not exceed $3\frac{1}{2}$, all the other species found being extinct. The *Miocene* (less recent) includes formations in which the percentage of living species does not exceed thirty-five, and the *Pliocene* (more recent) contains formations having more than thirty-five per cent. of recent species. To these three may be added the *Pleistocene*, in which the great majority of the species are recent, and the *Modern*, in which all may be said to be living. Dawkins and Gaudry give us a division substantially the same with Lyell's, except that they prefer to take the evidence of the higher animals instead of the marine shells. The Eocene thus includes those formations in which there are remains of mammals, or ordinary land quadrupeds, but none of these belong to recent species or genera, though they may be included in the same families and orders with the recent mammals. This is a most important fact, as we shall see, and the only exception to it is that Gaudry and others hold that a few living genera, as those of the dog, civet, and marten are actually found in the later Eocene. In the case of plants, as we shall find, Saporta shows that modern genera of land plants occur before the Eocene, in the last great group of the preceding period, and we have abundant American evidence of the same fact. As in the Mosaic narrative of creation, the higher plants precede by a long time the higher animals. The Miocene, on the same mammalian evidence, will include formations in which there are living genera of mammals, but no species which survive to the present time. The Pliocene and Pleistocene show living species, though in the former these are very few and exceptional, while in the latter they become the majority.

With regard to the geological antiquity of man, no geologist expects to find any human remains in beds older than the Tertiary, because in the older periods the conditions of the world do not seem to have been suitable to man, and because in these periods no animals nearly akin to man are known. On entering into the Eocene Tertiary we fail in like manner to find any human remains; and we do not expect to find any, because no living species and scarcely any living genera of mammals are known in the Eocene, nor do we find it in remains of any of the animals, as the anthropoid apes, for instance, most nearly allied to man. In the Miocene the case is somewhat different. Here we have living genera at least, and we have large species of apes; but no remains of man have been discovered, if we except some splinters of flint found in beds of this age at Thenay, in France, and a notched rib-bone. Supposing these objects to have been chipped or notched by animals, which is by no means certain or even likely, the question remains, was this done by man? Gaudry and Dawkins prefer to suppose that the artificer was one of the anthropoid apes of the period. It is true that no apes are known to do such work now; but then other animals, as beavers and birds, are artificers, and some extinct animals were of higher powers than their modern representatives. But if there were Miocene apes which chipped flints and cut bones, this would, either on the hypothesis of Evolution or that of creation by law, render the occurrence of man still less likely than if there were no such apes. For these reasons, neither Dawkins nor Gaudry, nor, indeed, any geologists of authority in the Tertiary fauna, believe in Miocene man.

In the Pliocene, as Dawkins points out, though the facies of the mammalian fauna of Europe becomes more modern and a few modern species occur, the climate becomes colder, and, in consequence, the apes disappear, so that the chances of finding fossil men are lessened rather than increased in so far as the temperate regions are concerned. In Italy, however, Capellini has described a skull, an implement, and a notched bone supposed to have come from Pliocene beds. To this Dawkins objects that the skull and the implement are of recent type, and probably mixed with the Pliocene stuff by some slip of the ground. As the writer has elsewhere pointed out,* similar and apparently fatal objections apply to the skull and implements alleged to have been found in Pliocene gravels in California. Dawkins further informs us that in the Italian Pliocene beds supposed to hold remains of man, of twenty-one mammalia whose bones occur all are extinct

* *Fossil Men*, 1880.

species except, possibly, one—a hippopotamus. This, of course, renders very unlikely, in a geological point of view, the occurrence of human remains in these beds.

In the Pleistocene deposits of Europe—and this applies also to America—we, for the first time, find a predominance of recent species of land animals. Here, therefore, we may look with some hope for remains of man and his works, and here, according to Dawkins, in the later Pleistocene they are actually found. When we speak, however, of Pleistocene man, there arise some questions as to the classification of the deposits, which it seems to the writer Dawkins and other British geologists have not answered in accordance with geological facts, and a misunderstanding as to which may lead to serious error. This will be best understood by presenting the arrangement adopted by Dawkins with a few explanatory notes, and then pointing out its defects. The following may be stated to be his classification of the later Tertiary:—

I. **PLEISTOCENE PERIOD:** the fourth epoch of the Tertiary, in which living species of mammals are more abundant than the extinct, and man appears. It may be divided into—

(a) *Early Pleistocene*, in which the European land was more elevated and extensive than at present (First Continental Period of Lyell), and in which Europe was colonised by animals suitable to a temperate climate. No good evidence of the presence of man.

(b) *Mid Pleistocene*. In this period there was a great extension of cold climate and glaciers over Europe, and mammals of arctic species began to replace those previously existing. There was also a great subsidence of the land, finally reducing Europe to a group of islands in a cold sea, often ice-laden. Two flint flakes found in brick earth at Crayford and Erith, in England, are the only known evidences of man at this period.

(c) *Late Pleistocene*. The land was again elevated, so that Great Britain and Ireland were united to each other and to the continent (Second Continental Period of Lyell). The ice and cold diminished. Modern land animals largely predominate, though there are several species now extinct. Undoubted evidences of man of the so-called 'Paleolithic race,' 'River-drift and Cave men,' 'Men of the Mammoth and Reindeer periods.'

II. **PREHISTORIC PERIOD**, in which domestic animals and cultivated fruits appear; the land of Europe shrinks to its present dimensions. Man abounds, and is similar to races still extant in Europe. Men of 'Neolithic age,' 'Bronze age,' 'Prehistoric Iron age.'

III. **HISTORIC PERIOD**, in which events are recorded in history.

I have given this classification fully, in order to point out in the first place certain serious defects in its latter portion, and, in the second place, what it actually shows as to the appearance of man in Europe.

In point of logical arrangement, and especially of geological classification, the two last periods are decidedly objectionable. Even in Europe the historic age of the south is altogether a different thing from that of the north, and to speak of the prehistoric period in Greece and in Britain and Norway as indicating the same portion of time is altogether illusory. Hence, a large portion of the discussion of this subject has to be called by our author 'the overlap of history.' Further, the mere accident of the presence or absence of historical documents cannot constitute a geological period comparable with such periods as the Pleistocene and Pliocene, and the assumption of such a criterion of time merely confuses our ideas. On the one hand, while the whole Tertiary, or Kainozoic, up to the present day, is one great geological period, characterised by a continuous though gradually changing fauna and series of physical conditions, and there is consequently no good basis for setting apart, as some geologists do, a Quarternary as distinct from the Tertiary period; on the other hand, there is a distinct physical break between the Pleistocene and the Modern in the great glacial age. This in its arctic climate and enormous submergence of the land, though it did not exterminate the fauna of the Northern Hemisphere, greatly reduced it, and at the close of this age many new forms came in. For this reason, the division should be made not where Dawkins makes it, but at or about the end of his 'Mid Pleistocene.' The natural division would thus be:

I. PLEISTOCENE, including—

(a) *Early Pleistocene*, or First Continental period. Land very extensive, moderate climate.

(b) *Later Pleistocene*, or glacial, including, Dawkins 'Mid Pleistocene.' In this there was a great prevalence of cold and glacial conditions, and a great submergence of the northern land.

II. MODERN, or Period of Man and Modern Mammals, including—

(a) *Post-glacial*, or Second Continental period, in which the land was again very extensive, and Paleocosmic man was contemporary with some great mammals, as the mammoth, now extinct, and the area of land in the Northern Hemisphere was greater than at present. This represents the Late Pleistocene of Dawkins. It was terminated by a great and very general subsidence, accompanied by the disappearance of Paleocosmic man and some large mammalia, and which may be identical with the historical deluge.

(b) *Recent*, when the continents attained their present levels, existing races of men colonised Europe, and living species of mammals. This includes both the Prehistoric and Historic periods.

On geological grounds, the above should clearly be our arrangement,

though, of course, there need be no objection to such other subdivisions as historians and antiquarians may find desirable for their purposes. On this classification *the earliest certain indications of the presence of man in Europe, Asia, or America, so far as yet known, belong to the Modern period alone.* That man may have existed previously no one need deny, but no one can positively affirm on any ground of actual fact. I do not reckon here the two flint flakes of Crayford and Erith already mentioned, because, even if they are of human workmanship, the actual age of the bed in which they occur, as to its being glacial or post-glacial, is not beyond doubt. Flint flakes, or even flint chips, may be safely referred to man when they are found with human remains, but when found alone they are by no means certain evidence. The clays of the Thames valley have been held by some good geologists to be pre-glacial, but by others to be much later, and the question is still under discussion. Dawkins thinks they may be 'Mid Pleistocene,' equivalent to 'Later Pleistocene' of the second table above, and that they are the oldest traces of man certainly known, but in the mean time they should evidently be put to what has been called 'the suspense account.'

Inasmuch, however, as the human remains of the post-glacial epoch are those of fully developed men of high type, it may be said, and has often been said, that man in some lower stage of development *must* have existed at a far earlier period. That is, he must if certain theories as to his evolution from lower animals are to be sustained. This, however, is not a mode of reasoning in accordance with the methods of science. When facts fail to sustain certain theories, we are usually in the habit of saying 'so much the worse for the theories,' not 'so much the worse for the facts,' or, at least, we claim the right to hold our judgment in suspense till some confirmatory facts are forthcoming.

Before leaving this part of the subject, it may be well to remark the grand procession of mammalian life, beginning with the marsupial and semi-marsupial beasts of prey and low-browed and small-brained, but gigantic, ungulates of the Eocene and ending with man. There is here unquestionable elevation in rank, by whatever means effected. Gaudry inclines to some form of evolution, though he piously refers it to the operation of the Creator. He thinks he can see traces of such evolution in the carnivorous animals, as derived from marsupials, and in the antelope and deer tribe, more especially in the development of horn and antler; and he traces the horse through a supposed ancestry of hipparia, etc., differing, however, from English and American evolutionists in making the *Paleotherium* the initial link. This is, however, a matter

of taste, as these genealogies may usually be traced with equal probability or improbability through any one of half a dozen lines. But in the case of some groups of animals, and these of the highest importance, he freely admits that derivation is at fault. The elephants and their allies the deinotheres and mastodons, for example, appear all at once in the Miocene period and in many countries, and they only dwindle in magnitude and numbers as they approach the modern. Gaudry frankly says: 'D'où sont-ils venus, de quels quadrupèdes ont-ils été dérivés? Nous l'ignorons encore.' The edentates, the rodents, the bats, the manatees are equally mysterious, and so are the cetaceans, those great mammalian monsters of the deep which leap into existence in grand and highly developed forms in the Eocene, and which surely should have left some trace of their previous development in the sea. 'We have,' says Gaudry, 'questioned these strange and gigantic sovereigns of the Tertiary oceans as to their progenitors, but they leave us without reply,' and he goes on to refer to several things in connection with their habitat, their reproduction, and their dentition, or want of it, which make their sudden appearance still more inscrutable. It is refreshing to find a naturalist who, while honestly and even enthusiastically seeking to establish the derivation of animals, gives due prominence to the facts which, in the present state of knowledge at least, refuse to be explained by his theory. The reader may note here that the appearance of man fully developed in the Modern period is parallel with that of the elephantine animals in the Miocene and the whales in the Eocene, as well as with a vast multitude of other cases which meet the paleontologist in every direction.

In the world of plants Saporta has a strangely different story to tell, though its general plan evidently harmonises with the history of mammalian life. If we keep out of view the few species of small marsupials that exist in the Mesozoic period, mammalian life in all its grandeur comes into existence at a bound in the Eocene. But it had been preceded for at least one great geological period by a vegetation similar to that now living. It can scarcely be questioned that the vegetation of the older geological periods, however rank and abundant, was not well suited to sustain the higher herbivorous animals. Accordingly, no such animals are known in these periods. But in the cretaceous age we find in the lower beds of that series some coniferous plants of living genera, and in the upper cretaceous modern generic forms come in, both in Europe and America, in great force. We have magnolias, oaks, beeches, ivies, ginsengs, plane-trees, poplars, palms, and a host of familiar forms, and some of these so closely resembling

existing species that it scarcely requires the eyes of an evolutionist to see in them the ancestors of our modern trees. Thus an ample and long-continued preparation was made not only for the introduction of mammalian life, but even for giving to the landscape its existing features. It seems indeed strange that no precursors of the Eocene mammals have yet been found in connection with these plant remains of the newer cretaceous. There is a gap here in animal life which we may expect at some time to be filled. There seems, however, notwithstanding the great changes in climate and physical geography, to have been much less change from the cretaceous onward in the plant world than in the world of higher animal life, so that Saporta can figure series of leaves of plants of modern genera from the Eocene upward, showing so little modification that they may in some cases be regarded as scarcely more than varietal forms, while some of the species have undoubtedly survived without change through all the long ages extending from the beginning of the Kainozoic to the present day. Plant-life is in this analogous to the lower animal life of the sea, which presents the same unchanged characteristics in Eocene and Modern species.

To return to primitive man and the date of his appearance in Europe, an important question is raised by Dawkins in the attempt which he makes to discriminate between two races of men supposed to have existed successively in Europe in postglacial times, or in the Second Continental period. These he calls respectively 'men of the river gravels' and 'cave men.' The idea of such distinction seems to have arisen in his mind from the fact that in certain caverns in England the lowest stratum containing human remains affords only rude implements, while an upper stratum appears to testify to improved manufacture of stone tools and weapons, both strata being of so-called 'paleolithic' age: that is, belonging to the time when certain mammalia now extinct survived. Such facts, however, would rather seem to testify to local improvement in the condition of certain tribes than to any change of race. Such local improvement would be very likely to occur wherever a new locality was taken possession of by a small and wandering tribe, which in process of time might increase in numbers and in wealth, as well as in means of intercourse with other tribes. A similar succession would occur when caves used at first as temporary places of rendezvous by savage tribes became afterwards places of residence, or were acquired by conquest on the part of tribes a little more advanced in the manner in which such changes are constantly taking place in rude communities. Yet on this slender foundation he builds

an extensive generalisation as to a race of river-drift men, in a low and savage condition, replaced after the lapse of ages by a people somewhat more advanced in the arts, and specially addicted to a cavern life; and this conclusion he extends to Europe and Asia, finding everywhere and in every case where rude flint implements exist in river gravels evidence of the earlier of these races. But his own statements are sufficient to show the baselessness of the distinction. He admits that no physical break separates the two periods; that the fauna remained the same; that the skulls, so far as known, present no differences; and that even in works of art the distinction is invalidated by grave exceptions, which are intensified by the fact, which the writer has elsewhere illustrated, that in the case of the same people their residences in caves, etc., and their places of burial, are likely to contain very different objects from those which they leave in river gravels. Perhaps one of the most curious examples of this, referred to by our author, is the cave of Duruthy in the western Pyrenees. On the floor of this cave lay a human skull, covered with fallen blocks of stone. With it were found forty canine teeth of the bear and three of the lion, perforated for suspension, and several of these teeth are skilfully engraved with figures of animals, one bearing the engraved figure of an embroidered glove. This necklace, no doubt just such a trophy of the chase as would now be worn by a red Indian hunter, though more elaborate, must have belonged to the owner of the skull, who would appear to have perished by a fall of rock, or to have had his body covered after death with stones. In the deposit near and under these remains were flint flakes. Above the skull were several feet of refuse, stones, and bones of the horse, reindeer, etc., and 'paleolithic' flint implements, and above all were placed several skulls and skeletons with 'beautifully-chipped' flint implements. After the burial of these the cave seems to have been finally closed with large stones. The French explorers of this cave refer the lower and upper skulls to the same race; but Dawkins, in consistency with his theory, has to consider the upper remains as 'Neolithic,' though there is no conceivable reason why a man who possessed a necklace of beautifully-carved teeth should not have belonged to a tribe which used well-made stone implements, or why the weapons buried with the dead should have been no better than the chips and flakes left by the same people in their rubbish-heaps.

The reasoning by which the author supports this distinction is throughout scarcely worthy of his reputation, and implies great carelessness as to modern analogies. The same remark may be made as to his identification of the cave man with the Esquimaux. What he

says on this head would serve quite as well to identify them with other hunting and fishing people ; with the Haidas of the Queen Charlotte Islands, for example, the Micmacs of Nova Scotia, or even the Fuegians. He exposes, however, the folly of the minute distinctions made by some French archæologists as to the ages of the remains in different caves, and which, as Lyell and others have insisted, prove no more than slight differences of wealth and culture among contemporary or immediately successive tribes.

Another point on which he well insists, and which he has admirably illustrated, is the marked distinction between the old paleocosmic men of the gravels and caves and the smaller race with somewhat differently formed skulls which succeeded them after the great subsidence which terminated the Second Continental period and inaugurated the Modern epoch. The latter race he identifies with the Basques and ancient Iberians, a non-Aryan or Turanian people who once possessed nearly the whole of Europe, and included the rude Ugrians and Laps of the north, the civilised Etruscans of the south, and the Iberians of the west, with allied tribes occupying the British Islands. This race, scattered and overthrown before the dawn of authentic history in Europe by the Celts and other intrusive peoples, was unquestionably that which succeeded the now extinct paleocosmic race and constituted the men of the so-called 'Neolithic period,' which thus connects itself with the modern history of Europe, from which it is not separated by any physical catastrophe like that which divides the older men of the mammoth age and the widely-spread continents of the post-glacial period from our modern days. This identification of the Neolithic men with the Iberians, which the writer has also insisted on, Dawkins deserves credit for fully elucidating, and he might have carried it farther to the identification of these same Iberians with the Berbers, the Guanches of the Canary Islands, and the Caribbean and other tribes of eastern and central America. On these hitherto dark subjects light is now rapidly breaking, and we may hope that much of the present obscurity will soon be cleared away.

Another curious point illustrated by Dawkins, with the aid of the recent re-discovery of the tin-mines of Tuscany, is the connection of Etruscans with the introduction of the bronze age into central Europe. This, when viewed in relation to the probable ethnic affinities of the Etruscans with the 'Neolithic' and Iberian races, remarkably welds together the stone and bronze ages in Europe, and explains their intermixture and 'overlap' in the earlier lake habitations of Switzerland and elsewhere.

We are also indebted to our author for a suggestion as to the linguistic connection of the Neocosmic and Modern periods, which is deserving the attention of philologists. He quotes from Abbé Inchaupé the following Basque words :

<i>Aizcora</i>	=	Axe	=	Stone lifted up or handled.
<i>Aitzurra</i>	=	Pick	=	Stone to tear asunder.
<i>Aiztoa</i>	=	Knife	=	Stone, little or small.
<i>Aizturac</i>	=	Scissors'	=	Little stones for tearing.

He remarks that all these words are derived from the word *aizta*, *atcha*, stone, though now applied to implements of metal. The same thing occurs in many American languages, in which the word for stone, with appropriate additions, is applied to different kinds of tools. It is also curious that in some of the American languages the word for stone is almost identical with that in Basque; but this applies to some other Basque roots as well. Still, it is not unlikely that the onomatopoeic sounds, *itz*, *aiz*, and the like, applied to stones and cutting instruments in many languages, in all cases arose from the use of sharpened stones in cutting and rending.

A still more important speculation arising from the facts recently developed as to prehistoric men is the possible equivalency with the historical deluge of the great subsidence which closed the residence of paleocosmic men in Europe, as well as that of several of the large mammalia. Lenormant and others have shown that the wide and ancient acceptance of the tradition of the deluge among all the great branches of the human family necessitates the belief that, independently of the Biblical history, this great event must be accepted as an historical fact which very deeply impressed itself upon the minds of all the early nations. Now, if the deluge is to be accepted as historical, and if a similar break interrupts the geological history of man, separating extinct races from those which still survive, why may we not correlate the two? The misuse of the deluge in the early history of geology, in employing it to account for changes that took place long before the advent of man, certainly should not cause us to neglect its legitimate uses when these arise in the progress of investigation. It is evident that, if this correlation be accepted as probable, it must modify many views now held as to the antiquity of man. In that case the modern gravels spread over plateaus and in river valleys, far above the reach of the present floods, may be accounted for, not by the ordinary action of the existing streams, but by the abnormal action of currents of water diluvial in their character. Further, since the historical deluge cannot have been of very long duration, the physical

changes separating the deposits containing the remains of paleocosmic men from those of later date would in like manner be accounted for, not by slow processes of subsidence, elevation, and erosion, but by causes of more abrupt and cataclysmic character. This subject the writer has referred to in previous publications,* and he is glad to see that prominence has recently been given to it by so good a geologist as the Duke of Argyll in a late number of the *Contemporary Review*.

It is a great leap backward to pass from the bronze age of Europe to the Paleozoic brachiopods of Bohemia; but both may furnish illustrations of the same natural laws, as both belong to the same long-continued creative work. Barrande, like some other eminent paleontologists, has the misfortune to be an unbeliever in the modern gospel of evolution, but he has certainly laboured to overcome his doubts with greater assiduity than even many of the apostles of the new doctrine; and if he is not convinced, the stubbornness of the facts he has had to deal with must bear the blame. In connection with his great and classical work on the Silurian fossils of Bohemia, it has been necessary for him to study the similar remains of every other country, and he has used this immense mass of material in preparing statistics of the population of the Paleozoic world more perfect than any other naturalist has been able to produce. In previous publications he has applied these statistical results to the elucidation of the history of the oldest group of crustaceans, the trilobites, and the highest group of the mollusks, the cephalopods. In his latest memoir of this kind he takes up the brachiopods, or lamp-shells, a group of bivalve shellfishes, very ancient and very abundantly represented in all the older formations of every part of the world, and which thus affords the most ample material for tracing its evolution with the least possible difficulty in the nature of 'imperfection of the record.'

Barrande, in the publication before us, discusses the brachiopods with reference, first, to the variations observed within the limits of the species, eliminating in this way mere synonyms and varieties mistaken for species. He also arrives at various important conclusions with reference to the origin of species and varietal forms, which apply to the cephalopods and trilobites as well as to the brachiopods, and some of which, as the writer has elsewhere shown, apply very generally to fossil animals and plants. One of these is that different contemporaneous species, living under the same conditions, exhibit very different degrees of vitality and variability. Another is the sudden appearance at certain horizons of a great number of species, each manifesting its

* *Origin of the World, Fossil Men.*

complete specific characters. With very rare exceptions, also, varietal forms are contemporaneous with the normal form of their specific type, and occur in the same localities. Only in a very few cases do they survive it. This and the previous results, as well as the fact that parallel changes go in groups having no direct reaction on each other, prove that variation is not a progressive influence, and that specific distinctions are not dependent on it, but on the 'sovereign action of one and the same creative cause,' as Barrande expresses it. These conclusions, it may be observed, are not arrived at by that slap-dash method of mere assertion so often followed on the other side of these questions, but by the most severe and painstaking induction, and with careful elaboration of a few apparent exceptions and doubtful cases.

His second heading relates to the distribution in time of the genera and species of brachiopoda. This he illustrates with a series of elaborate tables, accompanied by explanation. He then proceeds to consider the animal population of each formation in so far as brachiopods, cephalopods, and trilobites are concerned with reference to the following questions: (1) How many species are continued from the previous formation unchanged? (2) How many may be regarded as modifications of previous species? (3) How many are migrants from other regions where they have been known to exist previously? (4) How many are absolutely new species? These questions are applied to each of fourteen successive formations included in the Silurian of Bohemia. The total number of species of brachiopods in these formations is 640, giving an average of 45.71 to each, and the results of accurate study of each species in its characters, its varieties, its geographical and geological range are expressed in the following short statement, which should somewhat astonish those gentlemen who are so fond of asserting that derivation is 'demonstrated' by geological facts:

1. Species continued unchanged.....	28 per cent.
2. Species migrated from abroad	7 "
3. Species continued with modification ..	0 "
4. New species without known ancestors	65 "
100 per cent.	

He shows that the same or very similar proportions hold with respect to the cephalopods and trilobites, and, in fact, that the proportion, of species in the successive Silurian faunæ which can be attributed to descent with modification is absolutely *nil*. He may well remark that in the face of such facts the origin of species is not explained by what he terms 'les élans poétiques de l'imagination.'

The third part of Barrande's memoir, relating to the comparison of the Silurian brachiopods of Bohemia with those of other countries, though of great scientific interest and important in extending the conclusions of his previous chapters, does not concern so nearly our present subject.

I have thought it well to direct attention to these memoirs of Barrande because they form a specimen of conscientious work, with the view of ascertaining if there is any basis in nature for the doctrine of spontaneous evolution of species, and, I am sorry to say, a striking contrast to the mixture of fact and fancy on this subject which too often passes current for science in England, America, and Germany. Barrande's studies are also well deserving the attention of our younger men of science, as they have before them, more especially in the widely-spread Paleozoic formations of America, an admirable field for similar work. In an appendix to his first chapter, Barrande mentions that the three men who in their respective countries are the highest authorities on Paleozoic brachiopods, Hall, Davidson and De Koninck, agree with him in the main in his conclusions, and he refers to an able memoir by D'Archiac in the same sense on the cretaceous brachiopods.

It should be especially satisfactory to those naturalists who, like the writer, have failed to see in the paleontological record any good evidence for the production of species by those simple and ready methods in vogue with most evolutionists, to note the extension of actual facts with respect to the geological dates and precise conditions of the introduction of new forms, and to find that these are more and more tending to prove the existence of highly complex creative laws in connection with the great plan of the Creator as carried out in geological time. These new facts should also warn the ordinary reader of the danger of receiving without due caution those general and often boastful assertions respecting these great and intricate questions made by persons not acquainted with their actual difficulty, or by enthusiastic speculators disposed to overlook everything not in accordance with their pre conceived idea.

J. W. DAWSON, LL.D., in *Princeton Review*

VII.—THE TRUE THEORY OF CHRISTIAN HOLINESS:

AN EXPOSITION AND A DEFENCE.

No one who is much conversant with the doings of the Methodist Churches of our land can have failed to notice the increased attention which is now being given to the subject of personal holiness in its various relations. You have only to take up the weekly newspaper which bears our denominational name to see that we, as a community, have participated in this revived interest. In its columns are to be found every now and again reports of conventions for the promotion of holiness which have been held in various parts of the Connexion, as well as frequent correspondence, on the subject. All this points to a stirring of the public mind.

Now, it is a question of a very interesting kind, though one which admits of no easy or certain answer—What has turned the mind of our churches in this direction? The labours of Messrs. Inskip, Wood, and Macdonald, in fulfilment of their Holiness Mission round the world, have certainly helped on the movement, but are not wholly or even mainly responsible for it. Others, beside them, have been prosecuting a similar mission for some years past, and have met with but indifferent success. The visit of the American evangelists was opportune. They found men's minds in an electric condition. There is reason to believe that the periods of trial through which our churches were called to pass served to prepare many to listen more readily to such views, and finally to embrace them with avidity. In the midst of financial embarrassments and of numerical declension, with the hearts of many 'failing them for fear,' and others prognosticating disaster, it was borne in upon the minds of the thoughtful with irresistible force that denominational strength and the guarantee of its perpetuity do not lie in numbers, or wealth, or organization, but in spiritual life, and in that alone. The old platitude now had its metamorphosis and stood out a painfully distinct truth. Men said, 'Yes, we see it now; a church where members are not all devoted to one will, and *that* the will of the Supreme, is nothing after all but a worldly association under another name. It lacks the very principle of cohesion, and is but a rope of sand. It is a 'congeries of heterogeneous elements' where all will 'seek their own,

not the things which are Jesus Christ's.' In such a church there cannot be any deep general spiritual enthusiasm. Nothing can absolve the church from the obligations of holiness; that enjoyed, it is independent of factitious aid.' In this case 'sweet have been the uses of adversity.' The humbling and depressing lessons of the period of trial drive many to seek unto God. It was a new reading of the old story; Israel trusts in Egypt until her staff is broken, and then she leans upon God.

It is but just to say that a reason of a very different and far more recondite kind has been given to account for the pronounced views winning their way to such general acceptance. A writer who wields a vigorous and able pen, and of whom and of whose opinions we would now, as always, think and write with the utmost respect, has just lately developed the idea that we have already entered upon a period of reaction and rebound from the predominance of a sensational and materialistic philosophy. Of late years the pendulum swung sadly too far in the direction of Rationalism; now it is in danger of reaching in its oscillation the other extreme of superstition. Already the golden mean is passed. The supernatural, having been too much ignored, has now its innings, and is in its turn threatening to dominate the natural. Even now the mischievous tendency is at work, for the church has fallen into the error of 'overlooking or minimising the point which the individual must sustain in the work of emancipation' from sin. The doctrine of sanctification by faith is specially singled out as affording a capital instance of this dangerous 'overlooking and minimising' of the personal element. We are led to infer that the degree of vogue this and correlate doctrines are meeting with registers the growing tendency towards an extravagant supernaturalism. The able writer aforesaid adds his opinion that at this juncture the church needs men who can 'keep their heads.'

Now, we cannot but think that the instance selected is not the most happy one that could be chosen for the writer's purpose, since sanctification by faith has from the beginning been an article in the creed of Methodism. Extremes, we know, beget extremes. Luther, in his own homely way, has told us that human nature is like a drunken man on horseback; if you prop him up on one side, he tumbles back on the other side. Very possibly, therefore, there may be at the present time the beginning of a recoil from a materialistic philosophy—a recoil which even the church may feel the effects of. What is not so obvious is, that the growing vogue of the doctrine of sanctification by faith proves, or is the result of, any such recoil. In point of fact, if there

be a change at all, it is of the nature of a reversion to the old rather than a deviation into the new. Since we do not accept the theory of the Development of Doctrine, what is new in theology is presumably not true; but in this subject the new, and therefore the presumably untrue, is not the belief that sanctification is 'accomplished by a single exercise of Divine power,' but the obscuration or denial of such belief. It is needless to cumber our pages with the citing of authorities. Let Wesley, Fletcher, Clarke, and the rest stay undisturbed on their shelves. Our connexional hymn-book cannot very well be shelved; and in its pages—in the hymns we have been singing for years, we find stated, in no equivocal fashion, the very views that are deprecated as tending to a dangerous extreme.

'Tis done; Thou dost this moment save,
With full salvation bless;
Redemption through Thy blood I have,
And spotless love and peace.'

So sings the poet of Methodism, and the pendulum will have to swing much further than it yet has done ere it gets beyond such teaching. Of course, it may be argued 'that the old view thus enshrined in the hymn was an accretion, perhaps itself the result of a recoil from the Deism of the time, and that theology would have been well rid of such an accretion. Until lately, indeed, in spite of the hymn-book and the standards, theology seemed in a fair way for shaking itself free from this extreme view and regaining the *juste milieu*, had it not been for this unfortunate lurch backwards!' This position is understandable, but has not, as far as we know, been taken up by any one. This much is clear: recoil, or no recoil, this connection between the quickened interest in the doctrine of sanctification by faith and that recoil remains not proven.

Here, then, are posed in clear light two estimates of this 'Holiness movement' of our time which are entirely at variance with each other. Some say the movement is healthy, and they wish it God-speed. Others, represented by our anonymous journalist, regard it with suspicion, if not dislike, as a movement tending in the wrong direction and fraught with danger. It is well to take our bearings and know where we are; to be anxious only to follow where Truth leads. Our journalist is right, the Church does need men who can keep their heads, and use them too, men who have 'understanding of the times to know what Israel ought to do.'

By the courtesy of the editor, we are allowed to write on these debatable matters; but in doing so we commit nobody except ourselves

to the views advanced. Our paper may be regarded as, first of all, an *Apologia*—a vindication. Having yielded to the so-called reactionary tendency before referred to, and even tried to help it on, it is but natural we should wish to show that we have not ‘lost our head in so doing.’ No man cares to accept a compliment to his heart at the expense of his head. No wonder if he cries out with Paul, ‘I am not mad, most noble Festus, but speak forth the words of truth and soberness,’ *Hinc illæ lachrymæ*. Hence, this *Apologia*. But we have, further, the wish and the hope that our paper may prove as the presenting of an olive-branch in token of amity and sincere desire to come to a mutual understanding. We have a strong suspicion that many are prejudiced against the doctrine of sanctification by faith from the way in which it is frequently presented. Often it is set forth by the aid of language, technical and theological, and we might almost say scholastico-theological, to a degree. Is it not possible to give such a presentation of the doctrine as may be consonant with truth, and yet one which shall not needlessly excite prejudice or revulsion in any mind? Is it not feasible to describe the thing meant by ‘the higher life,’ the ‘Second Blessing,’ &c., without using the strict phraseology. If a thing be at all thinkable, the very effort to think it out of the old lines and ruts of words will do the thinker good as well as those who may see fit to master his thinkings.

The anonymous writer before referred to thus describes, for the purpose of criticism, the doctrine which we wish to exhibit in our own way: ‘Sanctification is regarded as accomplished by a single exercise of Divine Power, in which the individual simply yields himself passively. There is no personal element, no conflict, no conquest.’

Instead of regarding sanctification as being effected by a single exercise of Divine power, we are accustomed to regard it as wrought and preserved by the incoming, indwelling, and inruling of the Divine Saviour. We would give room and play to that conception of the Christian life which makes it in its highest form dependent upon vital union with Christ. It is not ours by a mere apprehension of the truth about Jesus, or by means of energy which he imparts upon our seeking it; it is not *by* Him, as one who shed His blood for us so many hundred of years ago, as one who supplies our need out of His fulness in glory, that we have the more abundant life’ He speaks of. We have it *in* Him. He Himself teaches us that our ‘life has not merely to be like His, running parallel with His, but we have to be sharers of one and the same life with Him.’ He ‘abides in us and we in Him’ in no merely metaphorical sense, but in a very real

and blessed sense. Such intercommunion is the condition of our 'bringing forth much fruit,' as well as the secret of prevalent prayer. Such seems to be Christ's view of the matter, and certainly it is the Pauline view. I know not how often Paul uses the word 'in Christ.' He goes the length of saying, 'no longer do I live, but in me Christ lives.' He assures the Philippians that he 'longed after them all in the bowels of Jesus Christ,' as though he had Christ's own heart in him, or his beat responsive with Christ's.

And the Saviour who has promised to come and take up his abode with us, and by so doing to be 'our life,' comes as a person, not as a thought, a feeling, or influence, but as a person with intellect, heart, will. We, therefore, will not speak of that which we all, under different names, desire as though it were something impersonal. It is more of Christ's own self we want. We cannot, and we would not if we could, dissociate the gift from Christ, the giver. Here we say, 'Thy gifts, alas, cannot suffice, unless thyself be given.' If there be full salvation for us as a glorious possibility, as a promised blessing, a salvation from the power and indwelling of sin, it can only be ensured by our receiving, welcoming, and enthroning the all-sufficient Saviour.

Bootless will be all verbal quibbling as to the precise point in a man's Christian course when he becomes truly possessed of and by Christ. He is saying, 'Behold I stand at the door and knock' to many who are His, yet not fully His. They to whom He speaks should know that He, indeed, speaks to them. His words, unless the warder, conscience, sleeps, will reach their inner ear. We do not deny the abstract possibility of a man receiving Christ fully in all His offices from the very beginning; but, as a matter of fact, in the vast majority of cases, although He gains a footing in the soul of the believer, His occupancy is far from complete. It is a law of Christ's kingdom that the measure of our faith is the measure of the Divine blessing; we get, as a rule, what we believe for. Perhaps it is but natural that the newly-awakened soul should simply believe for pardon and receive it. That is to him at the time his one great crying need. But there are in him, as yet hidden from view, underlying needs, and there is in Christ an ample reserve of power to meet those needs. Soon the need discloses itself. He sees the marks of the polluting presence of other occupants in some of the apartments of his many-chambered soul. He becomes painfully conscious of moral weakness from failure after failure in his obedience and service. He feels the poverty and bareness of his life. He is ready to ask, 'Is my life in volume and

quality just what Christ died to procure and produce? This cannot be the 'more abundant life' He talked of. I cannot have received 'of His fulness,' or I should not have this aching void of soul. Shall I ever live at this poor dying rate?' Along with this deepened sense of need there comes the conviction that the supplier of that need is with Him. He has been treating Christ too much as a stranger, and, consequently, has received only the blessing of the stranger. It is now plain that he has practically been limiting the omnipotence of Christ and closing the avenues to his benevolence by his unbelief. He resolves to do so no more. The door of the guest-chamber is thrown wide back, and the whilom stranger welcomed as a guest and friend with joy and acclaim. More than this, the very penetralia of the soul, the core of his being, the sanctuary where a man's treasures and idols are wont to be, are given up to Christ ungrudgingly for His exclusive use and for ever. Henceforth, Christ is Lord of his life, King as well as Prophet and Priest. The experience attempted to be portrayed in this paragraph elucidates the position of those who argue for the necessity of the 'second blessing' as a deeper work of grace to be wrought in the soul after justification; and it may also serve to cast some light on the phrase 'convicted for holiness.'

We would emphasise and press the definiteness of the act of full surrender to Christ on the part of him who receives Him, as of the Divine entry itself. It is a real transaction; an event; an historical fact, as much as a king's coronation is. That event does not stand by itself, cut off from all connection with what goes before or follows after. Much may have been necessary to pave the way for it, and it will have its own natural sequences. But Christ's coming to make His abode in the human soul is an act and no process. There must be one certain moment when the work is done. Just as in feudal times, the retainer knelt at a certain given time at his lord's feet, and swore to be 'his man,' and render fealty and service to him, so we can this moment take Christ to be 'Master and Lord' for ever. Just as when a friend comes and knocks at our door; now he is at the threshold, and now we grasp his hand and lead him as an honoured guest to the best seat we have—so definite and real may be our dealings with Christ.

The full acceptance of Christ means complete deliverance from sin. If we take Him as Lord, He will prove Saviour as well. He who is pure will not abide where impurity is. He will cleanse His own temple. Let us not bewilder ourselves with profitless discussions, as, for instance, whether 'the Divine cleansing must necessarily precede the Divine filling,' or whether Christ will so far destroy sin as 'to take

out its roots or extract its seeds,' as the phrase goes. Why need we separate in time what can scarcely be separated in thought? An indwelling Saviour and indwelling sin are incompatible with each other.

'When Jesus makes my heart his home,
My sin shall all depart;
And lo, He saith, I quickly come
To fill and rule thy heart.'

It is in the very nature of a mighty affection to expel its contrary. Christ and His love will exclude—dispossess, we will not add destroy—sin lest we should seem to be contending for a word.

And He who, by His realised presence, cleanses the heart, also keeps it clean. If His coming cast out sin, it is His abiding that keeps it out. Great care should be taken by us all in the use of the metaphor of cleansing or washing, lest we needlessly put a stone of stumbling in the way of some. Such metaphors have their own blessed meaning, but in one respect the analogy is imperfect, and must, therefore, not be pressed. Vessels or linen, when freed from stain by rinsing or ablution, may, for an indefinite time, do without that which cleansed them. Not so the cleansed soul. 'In an accommodated sense of the term, the blood of Jesus Christ every moment *cleanses* from all sin, not by washing away actual defilement, but by preventing its polluting contact. In this sense, Charles Wesley sings—

'Every moment, Lord, I need
The merit of Thy death.' *

It was the force of the present tense in the word 'cleanses' which enlightened Miss F. Ridley Havergal's mind concerning the simplicity and philosophy of the life of holiness. She saw it was a trusting Him moment by moment to be kept. Without metaphor it is stated 'He is able to keep us from falling.' We are kept 'by His power through faith.'

Such is the conception we cannot but form of what is called 'the higher life.' Freer than some theories from difficulties though it may be, it will be urged against it that it attributes too much to God and too little to man; that in this, as in the other theories of sanctification, no 'personal element' is involved—no conflict. But is this so? For our own parts, we regard faith as being of the very quintessence of personality. Faith is not saying 'I believe,' or giving a certain languid assent to doctrines. There enters into it the element of will and of strong moral preference. 'It is the deliberate choice by a human will of a life of perfect holiness which is to go on for ever. The extent to

* Dr. Steele. Mile Stone Papers, p. 109.

be traversed by the will in that act is therefore to be measured by the elevation aimed at—the highest holiness, and by the time during which it is to continue—unto all eternity.* Thus the faith which sanctifies is really the best and most vital part of the soul in vigorous exercise. It is the ‘clinging to and moving towards the loftier, holier hope.’ The union between Christ and the soul cannot be solemnized until all clashing interests and attachments are renounced, and the soul surrenders itself to its divine Lord with a devotion that knows no reservation, and trusts Him for all.

The life of the Christ-possessing and Christ-possessed soul goes on as it began. ‘The just shall live by faith.’ This life of faith is a trusting Christ moment by moment for whatever is needed—be it for power for service, for wisdom to direct, for equanimity in the midst of outward turmoil. Such a life is one of peace. ‘He that believeth entereth into rest.’

“How happy is the Pilgrim’s lot,
How free from anxious care and thought,
From worldly hope and fear!”

But this view of the Christian life, it is contended, is *illusionary*. It is ideal, not real. It is not fitted for this work-a-day world. The shocks and rough jostlings of life will shatter it. ‘The endeavour to realize the Christian ideal in the inner and outward life is necessarily associated, and must remain associated, with severe and protracted conflict.’ Such is the language of our friend, the anonymous journalist. Moreover, there seems to exist another objection to the ‘Christ-possessed man’ view of the Christian life, viz: that even if it were realizable by mortals, it would not be without a counterbalancing loss in the sacrifice of the personal element. This objection may not be distinctly stated, like the other, but it is there in a state of solution, and pervades the reasonings of objectors like an element.

First, then, as to whether the ideal can be reached or is purely visionary. We would admit that, if it were a question of our working up to an ideal, we should be quite prepared to expect disappointment, sadness, straining; but, if it be rather a question of working out from a Divine Person, we see no reason for doubting the ideal to be approximately reachable. So nearly may we come to it as to justify us in aiming at it and expecting it. The point at issue resolves itself into a question of fact rather than possibility. To those who believe in the supernatural there is no difficulty in conceiving the abstract possibility of Christ dwelling in a man and influencing the springs of feeling and action. Christ can do it; but will He? If He will and

* *Ecce Christianus*, p.

does, then a man, rooted in His omnipotence, may well be at 'perfect peace.' That Christ will possess us, if we will let Him, seems to be implied in the fact that the Scriptures counsel and require a serenity and freedom from anxiety only explicable on the supposition that the All-sufficient will be with us and undertake for us. Again, even those who teach, like our anonymous journalist, that the endeavour to realise the Christian ideal in the inner and outward life is necessarily associated, and must remain associated, with severe and protracted conflict, elsewhere make admissions which go far to show that a higher experience is obtainable as well as conceivable. For instance, it is said, 'the more intensely Christ is realized, the more fully the blessed vision is seen, the more absolutely the ideal possesses us, the greater the power we gain over ourselves and the world, and the nearer we approach to the sweet rest and quiet of God.' Here let it be observed, the realisation of Christ does not seem to mean the conviction that Christ is in direct contact with my being, but simply refers to a mental apprehension of his moral beauty. Yet what transforming virtue is attributed even to this! 'To know Christ,' in this sense, 'to see Him in the glory and fulness of His beauty is to have an inspiration that will fit us for any conflict, a power to make any sacrifice and count it a pleasure, and to find even in our pain a joy that passeth understanding.' Surely we have here a promise held out to us in glowing terms of a rest into which they who believe may enter. This is pretty nearly all we would care to contend for. If a time ever comes when a sacrifice, however great, becomes a pleasure, it is no longer a sacrifice but in name. A joy that passeth understanding will certainly transmute pain into its own substance. 'The labour we delight in physics pain.' Love knows no tasks. 'Perfect love casts out fear.' 'We glory in tribulations also.' This has always been a paradox, and so it remains. But it is a paradox which a long line of saints nurtured in divergent schools of thought have found to be a blessed truth. The great matter is to rest content with nothing short of *reality*. Doctrines and systems and theories are only valuable in so far as they bring us to Him who is the Abiding One, the only reality. Let us lose ourselves in Him, and then we shall truly find our true individuality. The individualism and self-dependence the world admires is barrenness and death. 'For whosoever will save his life shall lose it; but whosoever will lose his life, for My sake, the same shall find it.'

Our wills are ours, we know not how
Our wills are ours, to make them Thine.

H. B. KENDALL, B.A.

VIII.—THE VICTORIAN AGE.

SECOND PAPER.

THE Toryism of Sir Robert Peel was almost a perfect contrast to the Toryism which prevailed before the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832, and for many years after. He recognized the fact that any party to live must put itself into accord with the times in which its lot is cast, and to this end he educated the Tories. When he came into power he had many of the prejudices of the party to which he belonged, but he had also the power to learn and advance with the age in which he lived. As soon as he came into contact with the people he felt the influence of new light and new thoughts, and his prejudices gave way to large and liberal ideas. His tendency was so manifestly towards Liberalism, that he inspired the Radicals of the Manchester School with great confidence. His Budgets were laid on the lines of free trade and extensive financial reform. Unfortunately, he could not lead his party along the road he had chosen; but he succeeded in establishing a school of reformers who believed in and trusted him fully. It comprised such men as Sir James Graham, Mr. Gladstone, the Duke of Newcastle, Mr. Sidney Herbert. When Sir Robert Peel was cut off so suddenly it seemed as though this school might become extinct, for, while a wide gap existed between them and the Conservative party, they were not as yet prepared for incorporation in the Liberal ranks. But when the Derby Ministry fell from office, in 1852, there appeared a favourable opportunity to fuse the Peelites and Liberals. The task of constructing a new administration was entrusted to Lord Aberdeen, and the experiment of a Coalition Ministry was tried. Mr. Gladstone became Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir James Graham First Lord of the Admiralty, Mr. Sidney Herbert Secretary at War. The Duke of Newcastle went to the Colonial, Lord Russell to the Foreign, and Lord Palmerston to the Home Office. The last appointment was reckoned the most singular of all. After Lord Palmerston had spent thirty years in the direction of our Foreign affairs, he chose the Home Secretaryship, so that he might, he said, become acquainted with his own countrymen. He would give up interfering in the affairs of continental nations, and attend to the wants of England. And, certainly, he brought to his office an energy and freshness which were both beneficial and pleasing to the country. He took

steps to abate the smoke nuisance, he extended the Factory Acts, he shut up the over-crowded graveyards of the metropolis. He listened to the protest of the Colonies against the wholesale transport system, which landed our outcast and worst criminal population upon their shores; he instituted a searching enquiry into the whole question of transportation, which elicited the most startling and horrible facts, and in consequence he introduced a Bill in 1853 that brought transportation to an end, and instituted penal servitude, and ultimately led to the ticket-of-leave system now in practice. The financial policy of the Government was under the direction of Mr. Gladstone, now Chancellor of the Exchequer for the first time, and his first Budget convinced the country that the disciple of Peel had outstripped his master. His speech, in introducing it, lasted five hours, and he sustained the interest of the immense and splendid audience that filled every inch of space in the House of Commons with that perfect ease which has become so familiar to us. Sir Robert Peel had done much to simplify and reform the taxation of the country, but no man since his day had attempted to continue the work. Now, however, Mr. Gladstone took it up, and carried it forward with the most remarkable success. He made proposals for the consolidation of the National Debt, and for the reduction of both its principal and interest. He proposed to extend the Income Tax to Ireland, and make it include incomes as low as £100 per annum; he extended the Legacy Duty to real property, and increased the Spirit Duty. But he abolished the duty upon soap, and on one hundred and twenty-three other articles of consumption; and reduced the duty upon insurance, receipts, advertisements, carriages, servants, horses, tea, cheese, apples, and one hundred and thirty-three articles besides.

The Eastern Question was the most awkward business the Coalition Ministry had to deal with. Turkish rule in Europe had long been recognised as a danger to peace, good order, and progress. The Porte held sway over the fairest portion of Eastern Europe, and had under its rule about fifteen millions of people who professed the Christian faith. The whole governing classes, from the Sultan downwards, seemed to care little for the rich and vast provinces under them, if only they furnished the means for enjoying an indolent luxurious ease, which their souls and bodies loved. The most frightful mismanagement prevailed, and misgovernment was allowed to ripen into discontent, anarchy, and insurrection—a state of things that Europe felt ought not to continue, and that Russia was anxious to put an end to. But Turkey was regarded with positive affection when compared to

Russia, especially by the Government and people of this country. This feeling had been created by the persuasion that Russia was a grasping, encroaching power, which had, in a comparatively short time, pushed its way from an inland state of small importance to an empire of prime magnitude; a power that had set an envious eye upon our Indian Empire, and, as a preliminary step, had formed the design of laying hands on some of the fairest provinces of European Turkey. Three facts gave something more than a colour to the fear and mistrust of Russia. First, the Slavonic races under Turkish rule were constantly appealing to their Russian brethren in race and religion for succour against their rulers, who were in sympathy and profession followers of the Arabian prophet. Second, the Emperor Nicholas claimed to have a right to interfere in the affairs of Turkey on behalf of its Christian subjects under a treaty dated 1774, and made between Russia and Turkey when the latter lay conquered and at the mercy of the former. Third, the Emperor Nicholas, as far back as 1844, had ventilated the question of the partition of Turkey to the Duke of Wellington and Lord Aberdeen, and, as he understood, with satisfactory results. In 1853 matters in Turkey had come to such a pass that the Emperor was quite certain that 'the sick man'—as he called the Turkish Empire—was very sick, and might any day die on their hands; and before such an event happened it was most desirable that due arrangements should be made for the disposition of his property. The answer of the English Government to these representations was the only one that could be returned on such a subject: that it was not quite usual to enter into arrangements for the spoliation of a friendly power, and that England had no desire to succeed to any part of Turkish territory, an answer that threw the Emperor into a state of fierce anger; but he had to cool down and bide his time. There was another point from which trouble came to the Porte—the holy places at Jerusalem, the possession of which was claimed by both the Greek and Latin Church, while the soldiers of the Sultan stood by to keep the peace between the two. France had long been the natural protector of the interests of the Latin Church, which now made loud complaints as to the possession of the holy places, and led Napoleon III., who had determined to be Emperor, to threaten to occupy Jerusalem with foreign troops. But it was the claims of Russia to interfere in the internal affairs of Turkey on behalf of its Christian subjects that led to the Crimean war—a claim which, if allowed, would have placed fifteen million of Turkish subjects under direct Russian control, and disturbed that balance of power in Europe which

was dear to the hearts of so many statesmen at that time. It was a claim that Europe would not allow, and would fight to resist. Unfortunately, Turkey would do nothing to better the condition of its Christian provinces, and Russia struck the first blow by crossing the Pruth and taking possession of the Danubian principalities. Strange as it may now seem, the English people were delighted with the idea of going to war. There was a peace party in the country, led by Messrs. Cobden, Bright, and Gibson; but its voice was drowned and its efforts ridiculed in the clamour for war. The Cabinet did not want war, and did all they could to avoid it; but the stronger the efforts to avert it the stronger rose the cry to crush Russia. For forty years we had been at peace; the generation that had felt the horror and pressure of war had passed away, and another had arisen that wondered what war was like, and felt curiously anxious to know something about it. The army had long been lying in barracks, or playing at soldiers in safe places; but this brought no promotion to officers, and no distinction to commanders, and so in the army war was popular. All this time Lord Palmerston was in the Home Office, but in the privacy of the Cabinet he was urging the necessity of sending an ultimatum to Russia; and when he saw his colleagues hang back he resigned office, and would not return until he was assured that he should have his way. He believed that Russia was a danger, and must be checked; he believed that France was a desirable ally, and that a joint war would be the best way to secure it. The ultimatum was sent February 24, 1854, three days after diplomatic relations had been broken off; and soon after war was declared.

The allied forces against Russia were England, France, and Turkey, under the command of Lord Raglan, Marshal St. Arnaud, and Omar Pasha. The responsibility of fixing upon the Crimea as the point of attack upon Russia rests with the Statesmen who gave the order. And it appeared at the time to be backed by sound policy. Sebastopol was the great arsenal of Russia and the place from which Turkey was threatened. But it was not a soldier's project, though the Commanders would not venture to refuse to obey the order of invasion. On September 14, 1854, the allied armies began to land on the shores of the Crimea, and on September 20 the famous battle of the Alma was fought. Prince Menshikoff had taken up what he thought an impregnable position on the heights that fringed the river Alma, and this river the allied armies had to cross in face of the heavy guns and masses of soldiers that covered the hill. This battle was typical of nearly all that was to follow; it was a soldier's battle, and the bravery

of the troops carried all before them ; the river was crossed, the heights were mounted, the Russians driven from the field. But there was a thorough lack of generalship, and the enemy was not pursued. The news of this victory served to fan the war flame at home, and to make the people proud of the exploits of our men. Soon, however, the war correspondent of the *Times* began to send over the tidings that things were going wrong, and that our brave men were dying off for lack of medicine and food. Ample provision had been made, but when the stores were wanted, they were nowhere to be found. In the meantime, the Russians, taking advantage of our delays and disasters, determined that Sebastopol, which might easily have been taken, should not fall into the hands of their enemies without a struggle ; with the most commendable forethought, they sunk seven of their finest war ships at the mouth of the harbour, and effectually barred the way by sea. The allied armies then moved to Balaclava, where they made a futile attempt upon Sebastopol ; but brilliantly repulsed an attempt made by the Russians to take their position. It was here the Light Brigade, by some fatal mistake, charged the Russian army in position ; and out of 607 that joined in the charge only 198 came out alive. The battle of Inkerman was fought on November 5, and again the soldiers, in spite of bad generalship and fearful losses, obtained the victory.

But at this juncture an enemy appeared that inflicted heavier loss upon the Western armies than all the shot and steel of the Russians. The winter of 1854-5 was one of the worst ever known, and in the Crimea made desperate havoc among our soldiers. Stores were destroyed at sea, the thin canvas tents were torn up by the wind and carried away, the frost was so intense that to touch any iron substance in the open-air meant leaving the skin behind, and when the thaw came, the camp was turned into a dismal swamp. The hospitals were disorganised, and the doctors idle because of the want of stores, and the men died off as if a pestilence had visited them. Not until Miss Florence Nightingale went out with unlimited power was order restored in the hospitals and some sort of comfort secured for the suffering soldiers. When the true state of matters was fully known in England there was general indignation, and a demand that searching enquiry should be made to discover where the break down was and who was to blame for it. Mr. Roebuck moved in the House of Commons for a Select Committee to conduct the enquiry, which was in reality a vote of censure on the Government, and resisted as such ; but it was carried by a majority of 157 ; and the Coalition Ministry retired from office after two years' service. And then Lord Palmerston became Prime

Minister, and, as such, occupied the position for which, by long training, he was so peculiarly fitted at such a time; but when it became known that he was willing to concede the Select Committee, Sir James Graham, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Sidney Herbert resigned office.

Two events took place at this time which had a decided effect upon the war—the entrance of Sardinia into the quarrel as one of the allies, and the death of the Emperor Nicholas on March 2, 1855, a disappointed and broken-hearted man. Hopes were now entertained that peace might be concluded, and negotiations were set on foot with that intent; but they came to nothing, and the war went on. The end, however, was not far off; and when the Russians saw how hopeless it was to raise the siege they set fire to and abandoned Sebastopol the day after the splendid attempt of the English to capture the Redan, September 8, 1855. When the allies marched in next day there was nothing for them save a burning, deserted city arsenals and powder magazines blowing up, and flames leaping out over every public and private building; Sebastopol had been made another Moscow. A few minor advantages fell to the allies after this, and Kars was surrendered to Russia after a stout but fruitless defence; but virtually the war was over, and on February 26, 1856, a congress assembled at Paris, in which England, France, Austria, Russia, Prussia, Turkey, and Sardinia were represented. This congress was to settle the terms of a lasting peace, and to set at rest the Eastern Question—if not for ever, at any rate for many years to come. Kars was restored to Turkey and the Crimea to Russia. Turkey undertook to ameliorate the condition of the Christian populations, the Black Sea was neutralized, the navigation of the Danube was thrown open, Moldavia and Wallachia were to enjoy their liberties under the guarantee of the contracting powers, and the ancient rule of excluding ships of war from the Straits was reasserted. The congress did more than settle the terms of peace; it agreed upon rules relating to maritime war, and placed the kingdom of Sardinia in such a position as would secure its permanence and development.

Thus ended a war which cost this country forty-one millions sterling and the lives of twenty-four thousand brave men, only four thousand of whom fell in battle. And we had very little to show for the frightful expenditure. We had bolstered up Turkey, we had given the right hand to Napoleon and established his position in Europe, we had set on its feet the new kingdom of Sardinia, and inflicted some humiliation on Russia. But we had received no substantial advantage, not even glory, and the close of the war left the country

in a state of angry disappointment. Perhaps this will account, to some extent, for the cold reception accorded to two men who, in the long run, were destined to confer upon the world lasting boons—Mr. Field, the projector of the Atlantic Cable, and M. de Lesseps, the promoter of the Suez Canal.

Lord Palmerston had a keen sense of the authority and honour of England, and, as we have before remarked, was prepared to uphold that authority in all parts of the earth. His actions might be denounced by men who believed in justice even to a foreign nation, but he seldom failed to gauge the sentiments of the country at large. This truth came out in the Session of 1857, over a rupture with China, which happened in the year previous. That rupture was caused by the high-handed policy of our representative in that country, who undertook to chastise the Chinese for carrying out their own law against piracy on the Canton River. A vote of censure was carried in the House of Commons, and Lord Palmerston appealed to the country. But he won back at the hustings the power he had lost in Parliament on the plea that he had been upholding the honour of England against an 'insolent barbarian' who had dared to board a British vessel and take men from under the shadow of the British flag. Both Mr. Bright and Mr. Cobden lost their seats. But his Lordship's triumph was of comparatively short duration, for in less than two years from that time he was defeated on the Conspiracy Bill, which in an evil hour he was induced to bring in through the representations of French Imperialists, after Orsini's fruitless attempt to assassinate the Emperor Napoleon.

In the meantime, grave and perilous circumstances were transpiring in our Indian Empire. On June 27, 1857, the centenary of the battle of Plassey was celebrated in London for the purpose of raising funds to erect a statue to Lord Clive; and not one in that influential assembly suspected that already the Indian Mutiny had assumed alarming proportions. But the morning following a whisper ran round of what was happening, and soon there set in a stream of news which told the most horrible stories of outrage, and cruelty, and murder. And when the plain unvarnished truth came out, it was manifest that the north and north-west of the great Indian Peninsula was in a blaze, not only with a military mutiny, but with a social, political, and religious revolt against British rule—that the Indian people had sunk or forgotten their religious differences, and banded themselves together to drive their conquerors out of their country. The 'greased cartridges' might be the spark which fired the soldiers to revolt; but the combustible material that caught the fire had been collecting for a long

time. Ever since the battle of Plassey, the natives, and among them men of thought, and culture, and patriotism, had seen their vast territories gradually absorbed by the all-conquering British. Lord Dalhousie, the predecessor of Lord Canning, had, during his brief term of office, annexed the Punjab, Nagpore, Satara, Jhansi, Berar, Oudh, and part of Burmah; he had put down infanticide, thugism, and the suttee, and all these without much regard for the sentiments of the people. Reforms went on so rapidly and steadfastly upon the lines of western civilization, that the notion spread that *caste* was to be destroyed, and all the people compelled to become Christians. The mutiny broke out at Meerut, on May 10, 1857, when the Sepoys fired on their officers, and a colonel and others were killed, and then they made a rush for Delhi, where lived in a vast palace the King of Delhi, the descendant of Timour, and proclaimed him Emperor of India. Calcutta was soon in a state of wild alarm, and all the Europeans, save Lord Canning, called loudly for a war of revenge. His Lordship immediately saw the gravity of the situation, but retained his self-possession, and calmly studied the best means of meeting it. His mind was soon made up that the fatal blow to the mutiny must be struck at Delhi, an enterprise rendered all the more difficult on account of the scarcity of European soldiers under his command, the distance of England, and the fact that before reinforcements could arrive India must be either won back or lost. He knew that troops were on their way for China, and, judging that the quarrel there could wait, he pressed these into service for India. Sir J. Outram had brought the war in Persia to a close by a splendid victory, and thus rendered his troops, with Colonel Jacob and Colonel Havelock, available. At the same time, the Sepoys in the Punjab were disarmed by a clever stroke of policy, and thus rendered harmless, whatever might happen. On the other hand, the rebellion was breaking out at new points, and Lucknow was in the hands of the rebels, though Sir Henry Lawrence had been able to fortify the residency and withdraw the Europeans to it. Cawnpore, about fifty miles from Lucknow, was in great danger, with only 300 English to 3,000 native troops. In an evil hour Sir Hugh Wheeler asked the assistance of the infamous Nana Sahib. Sir Hugh had the impression that he could be trusted, though he had received warning to the contrary. The Nana reckoned he had been unjustly treated by the British Government, who had refused to concede claims he set up as the heir of the late Peishwa of Poonah. We can imagine with what readiness this injured man accepted the chance of getting Cawnpore into his hands with the English garrison. Soon he was made

chief of the rebellion, and determined to make the most of his position. About one thousand English, including soldiers and civilians, with women and children, had taken shelter in an old delapidated military hospital, with mud walls, and scarcely a roof to shelter them from the Indian sun and the fire of the Sepoys ; but they would not surrender until honourable terms were proposed—terms which neither the Nana nor his soldiers ever intended to carry out. As soon as the surrender took place, the men were shot, and the women and children reserved for the most horrible fate. They were slaughtered like beasts in the shambles, but not dishonoured, and then, while some were yet alive, thrust into a well, behind the house where the massacre had taken place.

Fortunately we were as happy in our generalship in India as we had been unhappy in the Crimea. Under Colonel Baird Smith and Brigadier General Nicholson, Delhi was re-captured on September 20, 1857. General Havelock and Sir J. Outram undertook the relief of Lucknow, and that enterprise was completed by Sir Colin Campbell on November 17. General Havelock did not long survive his victory, for on the 24th he breathed his last, worn out by disease and overwork, a few days before he was created a baronet by the Queen, who had heard of his brave deeds but not of his death. Sir Colin Campbell, who had been made a commander-in-chief of the Indian forces, then made his way to Cawnpore and attacked the rebels in conjunction with Sir Hope Grant, and Cawnpore was retaken. Returning to Lucknow, he completed the conquest by dispersing the rebel army on March 19, 1858. For his gallant and brave deeds, Sir Colin was made Lord Clyde when India was won back to the British Empire.

The end of the rebellion was also the end of the great Indian Company, which had existed for two-and-a-half centuries. Old as it was, it died hard, and, strange to say, Mr. John Stuart Mill was one of the stoutest advocates for its life. Practically, India had been under the Government of this country for many years, but it had been carried on by the agency of the company. The mutiny, however, showed plainly that henceforth India must be under direct British rule, and governed by statesmen directly responsible to Parliament, and so on September 1, 1858, the Queen was proclaimed Sovereign of India, and Lord Canning the first Viceroy.

The end of the Indian Mutiny found Lord Palmerston's government overthrown and Mr. Disraeli leader in the House of Commons, so that when Baron Rothschild and Mr. Solomon were allowed to take their seats, as Jews, in the House, a son of the once favoured race was leader thereof, and about the same time the property

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qualification for Members of Parliament was abolished. At the latter end of 1858 Mr. Gladstone was sent out to the Indian Islands to reconcile them to our rule, and stifle the cry they were raising for annexation to the kingdom of Greece. But it could not be done, and their cry was ultimately listened to, and their request granted.

In 1859 the demand for a more complete system of representation, and a liberal extension of the franchise, became loud and determined. Mr. Bright having regained his health, entered heartily into the question, and though years were likely to pass before success should come, his words were not without their immediate effect. He convinced Mr. Disraeli that the question could not be allowed to remain where it was, and this stirred up even a Conservative government to try its powers in reform. The result was not at all happy. The Bill proposed to confer votes not only on property and on a rental basis, but on an educational basis as well. It was defeated on a motion by Lord Russell, and the Government appealed to the country; but in the new Parliament a vote of want of confidence, moved by the Marquis of Hartington, was carried, and Lord Palmerston was once more Prime Minister. A strong cabinet was formed, and it was attempted to do great things: one of the first being the negociation of a treaty with the French. Mr. Cobden and the Emperor settled the terms by which the French reduced their customs upon various English manufactures and articles of English produce, such as iron, coal, &c.; and England swept away all duties on manufactured goods from France, and reduced greatly the duties on their wines. Mr. Gladstone, being Chancellor of the Exchequer, undertook to abolish duty on paper, which he succeeded in doing as far as the House of Commons was concerned, though after a hard fight with the monopolists. It was known that the House of Lords was strongly against the repeal, and, to the surprise of everybody, they took the bold step of reimposing a tax the Commons had repealed, by rejecting the Bill. This raised an important constitutional question, which was referred to a privilege committee, and the result was well put by Lord Palmerston in a private conversation, 'That it was a very good joke for once, but they must not try it again.' And the paper duty was doomed.

Lord Russell's Reform Bill was a good and substantial measure, and under it the County Franchise was to be lowered to £10 and the borough to £6, making at the same time a considerable redistribution of seats. But Lord Palmerston was not a Reformer, and never had been; and the Bill was allowed to collapse with the understanding that the subject should not be revived again during his day. Nor was the

Government without serious matters to occupy its close attention, specially in foreign affairs. France had just conquered Austria and turned that power out of Italy. China had been once more giving trouble, and had been duly punished. The disturbances in the Lebanon, in 1860, led to the intervention of France and England, and peace was restored, though at a sacrifice of Turkish independence. But the Civil War of America was the subject that overshadowed all others. John Brown's raid upon Harper's Ferry had borne its fruit, and when the slave dealers hanged him, they virtually slew their own-beloved institution. In 1860 Abraham Lincoln was adopted as candidate for President, and ultimately elected—a signal for the South to revolt. Delegates from the Southern States assembled at Montgomery, in Alabama, February 4, 1861, framed a constitution, and appointed Mr. Jefferson Davis first President. No war in the United States could be unimportant to this country, or fail to have a decided effect upon us socially and politically. The effect of the war was soon felt in Lancashire, where the cotton famine brought a great industry to a standstill and inflicted untold suffering upon the workman and his master. The fitting out of the 'Alabama' and other privateer ships in our dockyards, which committed great depredations on the shipping of the North, laid the foundation of a feud which almost brought us to war, and for which this country had, at a later day, to pay dearly. But it was the 'Trent' affair that nearly caused an immediate rupture between the two nations. It appears that Messrs. Slidell and Mason were coming to Europe, as agents from the Confederates, in the 'Trent,' when an American war vessel, under the command of Captain Wilkes, boarded her and took off the rebel. Our Government demanded the surrender of the agents and an apology; and the American Government had sufficient sense to see that this must be done, and so the trouble ended so far as the Governments were concerned. But the 'Trent' and 'Alabama' affairs left a sore feeling on the minds of the people on both sides the water.

At the close of 1861 Prince Albert died, in the full vigour of his manhood, at the age of forty-two, leaving the Queen to mourn his loss and the nation to learn, as time went on, how valuable had been his life, and how ceaseless his activity for the welfare of his adopted country. He had projected, but he did not live to see the Exhibition of 1862, which was a success, though it had neither the beauty nor the novelty of its predecessor of 1851.

Poland, in 1863, made a last attempt to regain its nationality, and hoped that England would step in and help them; but, by this time,

Lord Palmerston had grown tired of foreign intervention, and the last hope of Polish nationality perished.

In the same year the Schelswig-Holstein question came up for settlement. These provinces lay contiguous to Denmark, and for long had been under its sway; but they were, for all that, German in language and sympathy, and actually formed part of the German nationality. Von Bismarck had not yet been widely accepted as a man of strength and genius; but here he started that policy which ended not till he had placed Prussia at the head of Germany. It was a serious matter for Denmark when the German diet gave Austria and Prussia the work of recovering the Duchies from her. The little kingdom and its army fought with the courage of heroes, and its King and Government fully expected that England would come to their rescue; but here again non-intervention was the policy pursued, and Denmark had to submit to the terms imposed. In less than three years, however, Denmark could look on, while the nations that had conquered her were locked in deadly encounter over the spoil they had taken, and at Sadowa beheld the palm wrenched by Prussia from Austria, which had for so long borne it.

The election of 1865 was a memorable one, and excited great interest. Mr. J. S. Mill was returned for Westminster, Mr. T. Hughes for Lambeth, and Mr. G. O. Trevelyan began his political career. Mr. Gladstone was defeated at Oxford University and went down to South Lancashire unshackled, emancipated from the thralldom of the past and ready to take the lead in every measure of true reform. Lord Palmerston was in his eighty-first year, and could not expect to retain his position long—in fact, his end was nearer than many supposed—and when he was gone Mr. Gladstone was looked upon as the future leader of the great Liberal party. In October, 1865, while the elections were going on, Lord Palmerston breathed his last. Lord John Russell became Prime Minister once more, and went into the House of Lords, while Mr. Gladstone became leader of the House of Commons, face to face with his old rival, Mr. Disraeli. Much interest was excited in this country by the news of the so-called insurrection in Jamaica on the part of the coloured people, and when full information came to hand indignation was felt at the manner in which it had been put down by Governor Eyre. The cause of the discontent was to be found in the old institution of slavery, which had taught the planter that the negroes were an inferior race and not fit to exercise any political rights. But the emancipation had given rights to the coloured people, which would assert themselves

as time went on. The quarrel had arisen about the worked-out land which had been abandoned by the planters and reclaimed by the blacks, and, now they were reclaimed, the planters sought to evict the occupiers without compensation. That there was a resistance to legal authority no one will deny, but it was proved that no resistance had taken place amounting to rebellion. But for all that, martial law was proclaimed, and Mr. G. W. Gordon, a mulatto of position and education, was arrested as the leader, tried by court-martial, and executed with indecent haste, and, for weeks after the very semblance of revolt had disappeared, men and women were flogged and executed. Of course there were people in this country, and among them men of high position, who defended the Governor on the ground of upholding authority. A commission was sent out, and its report was fatal to the official career of General Eyre, who was superseded by Sir J. P. Grant.

A new Reform Bill was introduced by Mr. Gladstone into the House of Commons in 1866, which turned out to be a modification of the Bill brought in by Lord Russell. Its main features were a county franchise of £14 and a borough qualification of £7. It had a cool reception, and never evoked the enthusiasm necessary to carry it into law. Mr. Gladstone gave speeches upon it during the Easter recess, and declared at Liverpool that the Government had passed the Rubicon and broken the bridges behind them, which was true concerning himself if not of his colleagues. Mr. Bright also accepted it, and spoke warmly upon it. But it was defeated by a union of 'Adullumites,' led by Messrs. Lowe and Horsman, and Conservatives, upon which the Government resigned, and the Conservatives again found themselves in office, but not in power. The agitation still went on, and a few mild riots accompanied it in various parts. The authorities attempted to shut out those who attempted to hold a meeting in Hyde Park, but the rails were broken down and the demonstration held. These things convinced Mr. Disraeli that something must be done with the question, and the result was that a Reform Bill was passed in the session of 1867, such as the most sanguine Radical scarcely anticipated. The Bill, as originally introduced, was so overloaded with checks and counter-checks that, as Mr. Bright observed, what was given with one hand was withdrawn with the other. It was soon, however, discovered that the Government did not stake its existence upon carrying the Bill as it stood, and so all parties went to work, and the franchise, substantially as we now have it, passed the House of Commons and ultimately became law. The 'leap in the dark' was taken, and the only thing that remained to be done was to take Mr. Lowe's advice and 'educate our new masters.'

While the Commons was busy upon the Reform Bill, Fenianism was making itself felt, not only in Ireland and the United States, but in England as well. The movement had its rise in 1858, and attained something like maturity during the progress of the American war. Its base of operation was in the United States, and it had its provisional government in New York. Swarming as they did with Irishmen—some descended from old settlers, others fresh from the old country, but all animated with bitter hatred against England—the States formed an excellent recruiting ground. The American war developed the Irish-American soldier, and when it was over he was ready to fight for Ireland, in hope that before the struggle was over his adopted country would step in with substantial help, a hope that was cut off when the raid was made on Canada in May, 1866, and the States enforced the neutrality of their frontier. The attempt at a rising was a feeble affair and put down with little bloodshed, and the intended raid on Chester Castle was prevented. Something, however, more serious happened at Manchester, when an attempt was made to rescue Fenian prisoners, and Superintendent Brett was shot, for which five men were put upon their trial and three executed. In December, 1867, a barrel of gunpowder was exploded under the walls of Clerkenwell prison for the purpose of rescuing Fenian prisoners. They were not rescued; but twelve persons were killed and one hundred and twenty wounded—persons who had nothing to do with the oppression of Ireland. Mr. M'Carthy contends that these doings caused Mr. Gladstone to turn his attention to the condition of Ireland and seek for the causes which led to such a movement.

The trade outrages at Sheffield and Manchester led to close official enquiries, and ultimately to the adoption of legislation, giving a legal status to trades' unions and protection to their funds; and, at the same time, attention was called to the subject of co-operation and friendly societies, which stood much in need of legislation.

Early in 1868 Mr. Disraeli became Prime Minister upon the retirement of Lord Derby, and thus reached the position for which he had striven so long. There might be a few who begrudged him his high place, but the majority of all parties looked upon his elevation with pride, if not with absolute satisfaction, from this fact, that the first place in the realm, for a subject, is open to any who have talent, perseverance, and diligence. Lord Cairns became Lord Chancellor, and Mr. Ward Hunt Chancellor of the Exchequer. It was during Mr. Disraeli's Premiership that public executions were done away with; that the trial of election petitions was taken from the House of Com-

mons, and vote by proxy from the House of Lords. It was also then that the Government acquired the telegraph, and made it a department of the Post-office. In April, 1868, Sir Robert Napier arrived before the capital of King Theodore, released the prisoners, and reduced Magdala to ashes.

But the end of Mr. Disraeli's Government was near. Mr. Gladstone's study of Irish grievances had led him to the conclusion that the first to be got rid of was the Irish Church. On March 30, 1868, he introduced his famous resolutions on the subject, and the first was carried by a majority of 65. Parliament was dissolved, and the Liberals returned with an increased majority; and Mr. Gladstone became Prime Minister. He formed a Government which will ever be memorable for the men that composed it. Radicalism was represented by Mr. Bright, the Adullumites by Mr. Lowe, and the Whigs by Lord Hartington and the Duke of Argyll. Not long had the country to wait for the first instalment of reform for Ireland. The Bill to disestablish and disendow the Irish Church was introduced, and, after many debates and much resistance by the Conservatives, it became law. Lord Derby made his last speech in the Lords against the Bill, and then retired to Knowsley, and died October 23, 1869.

The solution of the Irish Church difficulty was a trifle compared with the problem presented by the Irish Land question. Englishmen are too apt to look at the question from the standpoint of the English Land Laws, which have not brought poverty and trouble in this country; and we are too apt to think that our Land Laws ought to be good enough for Ireland. But Ireland is almost exclusively dependent on the land, and England is not. Irish landlords are mostly aliens and non-residents, while here the landlord lives among his people, looks after them, and feels a personal interest in their welfare. Here tenant-right has become a custom, but in Ireland, as a rule, the tenant was a tenant at will, and if he had enterprise and capital, and used them to improve his holding, he might find his rent increased, and thus be made to pay interest on his own capital. In some parts the tenant was kept under perpetual notice to quit. In one province (Ulster) the principle of tenant-right had obtained the force of law, and here were industry and prosperity. Mr. Gladstone's Bill went to the heart of the subject, and recognised the tenant's interest in the soil by providing that no tenant should be evicted, while he paid his rent, without compensation, and created a tribunal to work the Act. But there was a clause which enabled landlords, in certain cases, to

contract themselves out of the Act—a clause of which many availed themselves—and there came a time when tenants could not pay the rent; bad seasons led to poverty and famine, and, instead of patience being exercised, the tenants were evicted wholesale without compensation. The Land Bill became law August 1, 1870, and has been a boon to Ireland in spite of its defects. The probability is that if it had not been passed no measure like that now before Parliament (Easter, 1881) would have been possible.

Side by side with the Land Bill ran the Education Bill, introduced by Mr. Forster and carried through with no small friction. He had to contend with Denominationalists, whom he conciliated, and Nonconformists, whom he offended. But he established national education by bringing the School Board into existence, and laying down lines for compulsory education.

In 1871 Mr. Cardwell brought in a Bill to abolish purchase in the army; but though it passed the Commons the Lords threw it out, and Mr. Gladstone found himself compelled to checkmate them by using the Royal Warrant. During the same session the ballot became law, and University Tests were abolished, so that lay students might enter Oxford or Cambridge upon equal terms.

While these reforms were going on, Prussia and France were at war. France had started for Berlin; but its armies were driven back at every point, till at last Prussia invested Paris, and dictated its own terms of peace, which were so hard that public opinion turned from Prussia and flowed to France. The victory of Prussia was the overthrow of the French Empire, and Napoleon was again an exile in this country; but it was the birth of the German Empire, and thus was consummated one of the dearest projects of Prince Bismarck. This war turned the trade of Europe to this country to such an extent that for awhile we went mad with prosperity.

It is pleasant to turn away from the bloodshed on the Continent to a bloodless contest going on at Geneva, where a commission sat round a table adjusting the 'Alabama' and other differences between this kingdom and the United States. The award went against us, and we had to pay three-and-a-half millions sterling. But what was this to the untold agony of war, and the waste of blood and treasure consequent upon a war? And yet there was an influential party here that would have preferred war and looked upon the settlement of Geneva as a dishonour.

The reforming spirit had not yet spent itself. The Licensing question came up for settlement, and Mr. Bruce's first Bill was a large and

comprehensive measure, which filled 'the trade' with dismay, but was coolly received by the teetotal party. Mr. Bruce had to drop it, and content himself with a mild measure, but good, as far as it went.

The Agricultural Labourer's Strike, under Mr. Arch, became an event of political importance. It convinced the ruling classes that the labourer was not so poor in spirit and submissive as had been thought, and that he was unwilling to be satisfied with small wages and no political power.

It was growing evident, however, that while the Government was as full of reforming spirit as ever, the country had grown tired of it. Several elections showed the turn of the popular tide, but it was upon the Irish University Bill that the Ministry sustained the defeat that determined Mr. Gladstone to resign. Mr. Disraeli, however, was not prepared to take office with the present Parliament, neither was he disposed to dissolve; and so Mr. Gladstone went on till the early part of 1874, when he suddenly dissolved Parliament. In his address to his constituents he made it known that he should have a surplus of over five millions, and intended repealing the income tax. But the tide had turned, and out of the ballot box came a large Conservative majority, for the first time since Sir Robert Peel was Premier.

Mr. Disraeli was once more Prime Minister, and this time he was in power; and it was soon evident that he intended to use it for the development of Imperial ideas. Home legislation had to be satisfied with the Patronage Bill for Scotland, and the Public Worship Bill to put down Ritualism in England. Mr. Plimsoll, by his 'splendid indiscretion,' obliged the Government to pass a measure to protect our merchant seamen.

Where were the Liberals? Disorganized! Mr. Gladstone announced his retirement from the leadership, and Lord Hartington took his place.

Mr. Disraeli may now begin his Imperial policy—England must be made great in the eyes of foreign nations. The beginning was the purchase of the Suez Canal shares for four millions of money, which turned out to be a splendid mercantile speculation. An attempt was made to found a South African confederation. The Prince of Wales was sent on a grand tour through India, and in 1876 the Bill was passed under which our Queen was proclaimed Empress of India.

Discontent had again ripened into insurrection in Turkey, and the disturbed provinces were becoming a danger to adjoining European states. Turkey neither had the will nor the ability to restore order. Austria—with the consent of the great powers—gently admonished

Turkey; the admonition was kindly received, but nothing came of it. But when it was proposed to present the Berlin Memorandum, in which the powers threatened to enforce reforms, the English Government refused to join, and the concert of Europe was broken. Not a few English people thought it a splendid thing that Europe could not go on without us; but Turkey understood the action to indicate that whatever came we would stand by her. Then came the Bulgarian atrocities, which roused a storm of indignation against the Porte that it should allow such gross violations of justice to its people. They were treated lightly by Mr. Disraeli, who chose to view the horrible tales as figments of the imagination; but they roused Mr. Gladstone, who began an agitation that restrained the Government from giving active help to Turkey in its approaching conflict; and when he thought he should meet Mr. Disraeli in the House of Commons, he found he had been transferred to the House of Lords as Lord Beaconsfield.

The Conference at Constantinople tried to force Turkey to give substantial guarantees for reform, but no satisfaction could be obtained; and Russia declared war on April 24, 1877, and invaded Turkey both in Europe and Asia. The Russians were checked and delayed; but nothing could hinder their advance towards Constantinople unless England should do so, and against such a cause public opinion was set. And when the Russian army was almost under the walls of the capital, the treaty of San Stefano was signed, by which almost complete independence was secured for the Christian provinces, and a new Bulgaria created. This was the treaty submitted to the Berlin Congress, which was attended by Lords Beaconsfield and Salisbury, and from whence they returned, bringing 'Peace with honour' in the shape of the Berlin Treaty. Lord Beaconsfield was on his return received with rapturous applause, and at that moment stood on the highest pinnacle of fame a man can occupy. It contrasted strangely with the demonstrations of the mob who broke Mr. Gladstone's windows, and the angry attitude of the 'Jingos,' from whose violence Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone had to take shelter when walking along the streets of London.

The Imperialism of Lord Beaconsfield, however, led him too far when, in an evil day, he resolved to send an Embassy to Cabul to counteract the influence of Russia in Afghanistan, whose Envoy had been received. When Shere Ali refused to receive our Envoy it was turned into an invasion, and some of the scenes of forty years ago were re-enacted. Cabul was reached and a resident forced upon the Ameer, and then the massacre of the gallant band occurred. The 'Scientific

Frontier' cost a great price, and was never obtained. The annexation of the Transvaal, the Zulu war, the bad weather, the bad trade, the unsatisfactory condition of our finances all at length had the effect of discrediting the Government and causing a widespread desire for a change of some kind. And when in the spring of last year, 1880, Parliament was dissolved, the Conservative majority melted away, and a larger Liberal majority was returned than ever before was known since the passing of the first Reform Bill; and Lord Beaconsfield resigned.

For a while it was doubtful who might be sent for to construct an Administration; but only one man was possible. Mr. Gladstone, now over seventy years of age, came, at the bidding of the country, to take up the thread dropped six years ago, and carry on, we hope, for years to come those splendid reforms with which his name will be connected throughout all future times.

JOHN GAIR.

IX.—FRANCES RIDLEY HAVERGAL: MUSICIAN AND POETESS.

ON June 3, 1879, the Reaper whose name is Death cut down in the glory and grace of her womanhood one of the loveliest daughters of poetry and music this generation has been privileged to hear and see. This is not a light thing to say, as the number of women singers of note who have of late years awakened the admiration of an appreciative public has been larger—much larger—than at any previous period of our national history.

In some respects the worthy Canon's daughter resembled the sweet singer who, more than a century ago, wrote under the *nom de plume* of 'Theodosia,' but who is better known as Anne Steele, and whose hymns are in all the churches of Christendom; but if the name of 'Theodosia' fades into obscurity as poetess, that of Frances Ridley Havergal will, we are sure, shine on with undimmed glory.

In his lecture delivered many years ago before the Young Men's Christian Association,* the learned Dr. McCosh asked, 'Is the time of great poets, as some would hint, necessarily passed away? I, for one, believe no such thing. But I am convinced, at the same time, that poets who would do in these times what the older poets did in their days must strike out a path different from that in which the ancients walked. The novelist has, it seems to me, already entered on this path. He has described human nature, or at least certain features of it, its passions, foibles, consistencies and inconsistencies; and so his works have had a popularity in these days far exceeding that of the poet' . . . But, says the same gifted metaphysician, 'I believe as the world advances in education and civilisation, and entertains a greater number and variety of thoughts on all subjects, and is susceptible of an ever-increasing range of emotions, poetry must take up the theme and make the workings of human nature its favourite subject. This is a mine of which the ancients gathered only the surface gold, but which is open to any one who has courage and strength to penetrate into its depths, and thence to draw exhaustless treasures. As the most inviting of all topics to the poet, I would point to the human soul, to its convictions and its doubts, to its writhings and struggles,

* The Imagination: its use and abuse.

in boyhood and manhood, in idleness and in bustle—to its swaying motives, its desperate fights, and its crowning conquests.’

This has been the theme of Miss Havergal’s pen for many a year. Her success as a poetess dealing with the difficulties of the soul is not less signal than that of George Eliot in another sphere of literature. Since the death of this elect lady [many biographical sketches of her have appeared, and the surroundings of her life are now pretty well known to multitudes who had no personal knowledge of her; but though the leading events of her life have now become generally known, yet her inner spiritual life, though laid out before us in the ‘memorials’ which her beloved sister has published, through the firm of Nisbet & Co., has not been, we think, sufficiently dwelt upon in any of the magazine sketches that have appeared; certainly, a large number of them have failed to do justice to this element in the memorials.

Remembering that there is often a very close connection between the character of the worker and the character of work done, the one being the outcome of the other, it is desirable that we form something like a correct idea of character in order to our justly and fairly dealing with the nature of the work attempted and done.

These remarks we hold are specially applicable to the career of Miss Havergal. Thousands who, during the last few years, have read her works, both poetical and prose, have found their hearts strangely stirred by a calm, holy influence, like that which one has felt while reading Thomas A. Kempis, or Jeremy Taylor. Like theirs, the writings of Miss Havergal are the expression of her spiritual life; we shall therefore look at her work as a devotional writer in the light of her spiritual history.

In the year 1859 she wrote an autobiography for her sister to unseal at some future time. This sealed packet was opened only a short time ago, and a perusal of it shows what manner of life she lived from about seven years of age to the period of early womanhood. In this confidential sketch she refers to the fact that she was anxious to relieve her friends from all anxiety on her account, assuming that they must often have grieved because her early life had not always been such as becometh the gospel of Christ. She assured them herein that, even in her darkest and most careless days, she was not utterly forsaken of that Spirit who she prayed might never cease to strive with her.

She states that, though up to six years of age she had no definite religious ideas, a very different state of things occurred when be-

tween six and eight. Archdeacon Phillpotts preached a sermon about this time, which produced an impression that lingered with her for years, yet she disliked 'being talked to,' as she puts it, and for her dear friend, Marian P., to read a chapter of the Bible in her hearing was a 'terrible bore.' Yet it was at this age when, one spring, as she gazed upon the beauties of Nature, she wanted to feel that God, who had made all things so beautiful, would make her a Christian. For half a dozen times a day during the spring did she exclaim, 'O, if God would but make me a Christian before the summer comes?' That summer came and passed, but she was yet a stranger to the joys of God's salvation.

In 1845 her father, having resigned the Astley living, removed to Worcester, where the spiritual concern awakened in her young heart by the Holy Spirit under the ministry of Archdeacon Phillpotts was deepened under the ministry of a curate who assisted Mr. Havergal. She had an idea that, by praying a good deal—although at that time she had no clear ideas of faith in Christ—she would experience a very sudden change; but this sudden change came not.

That strange abhorrence to 'being talked to,' to which she alludes, was now wearing off, and one day, while alone with the curate, she ventured to open her lips to him with reference to her state of soul. As Eli failed to see that the Lord had called the child, so the Worcester curate failed to recognise the voice of God's good Spirit in the heart of Frances at that time. Sorely disappointed, she did not make known her state to any one but God for the next five years. During those years there came a trial to her that was heavy to bear. Her mother sickened and died. In a little book, entitled 'Four Happy Days,' she tells of a prayer which her dying mother offered for her, and which Frances made a life prayer. 'Fanny, dear,' said the dying one, 'pray to God to prepare you for all that He is preparing for you.' The bitterness of the bereavement which fell upon her in the July of 1848 intensified the sorrow which had been generated within her since the day when Archdeacon Phillpotts preached the sermon to which we have referred. She tells of the shiver which came over her, as from her little room window she saw the funeral pass out of the gate into the church, doubtless like that which came over Cowper when, as he says, referring to his mother's burial—

I heard the bell toll'd on thy burial day,
I saw the hearse that bore thee slow away,
And, turning from my nurs'ry window, drew
A long, long sigh, and wept a last adieu.

The very thought of God frightened her. True, she thought 'how good it was of God to send Jesus to die;' 'night after night she fell asleep crying because she was so bad, while God was so good.' How many have, by-the-bye, felt just as she did at this time.

In 1850, when in her thirteenth year, she was sent to school. While there she found what she had sought for nearly seven long years. It was in the autumn that Miss Havergal went to the school in which there occurred a 'revival' among the young ladies. First one and then another testified of peace and joy through believing; and in secret she wept and prayed that she, too, might be able to rejoice with the same joy. One day, after months of very earnest prayer, she entered into conversation with one of her schoolfellows, and declared 'how, for the knowledge of God's favour, she could freely give up father, brothers, sisters, and all else.' Yet there seemed to be a hindrance. Her companion happened to say, 'Why cannot you trust yourself to your Saviour now? Supposing that now, at this moment, Christ were to come in the clouds of heaven and take up His redeemed, could you not trust Him? Would not His call, His promise, be enough for you? Could you not commit your soul to Him, to your Saviour, Jesus?'

The set time to favour her had now come, or, to speak more correctly, she saw how plain the way of salvation was. She had been putting feeling in the place of faith.

She writes, 'Then came a flash of hope across me which made me feel literally breathless. I remember how my heart beat.' Leaving her companion, she rushed upstairs, and, kneeling there, says she, 'I committed my soul to the Saviour, I do not mean to say without any trembling or fear, but I did, and earth and heaven seemed bright from that moment. I did trust the Lord Jesus.'

Such is the history of the spiritual struggle through which she passed, and by which she became pre-eminently able to teach others the way of peace, and especially young children and adults; but not these only. Every day her hymns are being used by many of the leading evangelists both in England, America, and our colonies, not to mention other lands, because they find her hymns are so greatly and generally blessed to the conviction and conversion of sinners, and also to the comfort and consecration of saints.

After her conversion she was placed in circumstances where her faith was tried to the last degree. In November, 1852, Miss Havergal went to a large school at Düsseldorf. While there she came face to face with the splendours of Romanism; but, as a descendant of Ridley,

the English Protestant martyr, she let her light shine before the 110 pupils in the Düsseldorf school, of which pastor Schulze-Berge, was the principal. A few lines from a letter written by him may be given as a testimony to her moral worth: 'What imprinted the stamp of nobility upon her whole being,' says he, 'and influenced all her opinions, was her true piety and the deep reverence she had for her Lord and Saviour, whose example penetrated her through and through.'

In 1854, having returned to England, Miss Havergal was confirmed in the Worcester Cathedral. Whatever may be our opinion as to the scriptural validity of the rite of confirmation as administered by the Bishop, and we do not scruple to say that it is altogether adverse, yet when Bishop Pepys confirmed Miss Havergal, her ardent and believing soul entered into a covenant with the Lord. A verse written on that day shows her spiritual state:—

Only for Jesus! Lord, keep it ever,
Sealed on the heart and engraved on the life;
Pulse of all gladness, and nerve of endeavour,
Secret of rest, and the strength of our strife.

And just as the Poet of Methodism used to commemorate the day of his conversion at times by writing new hymns suitable to the occasion, so Miss Havergal composed in successive years hymns bearing upon her 'covenant' with God.

Miss Havergal's religion was by no means asceticism, although some of her habits were what some were pleased to call puritanic. The picture which an Irish girl drew of her when she visited the Emerald Isle, in 1856, is a very appropriate one: '*her fair, sunny curls falling round her shoulders, her bright eyes dancing, and her fresh, sweet voice ringing,*' will be the picture that rises up before any one's imagination who had the privilege of seeing her in the flesh. Outwardly all was bright and happy, and her hands were full of work for many years; yet there had been a suspicion rising up every now and then that she was not living in the enjoyment of full salvation, perfect love, or entire sanctification. Before the year 1873 doubts often clouded her faith, and fears disturbed the quiet of her peace. The circumstance which led to a joyous change from the dawn to mid-day splendour was the following: A friend, very dear to her, sent a little book, headed 'All for Jesus.' Every word of it seemed to carry light and power. Thankful for it, she wrote as follows to her friend: 'I do so long for deeper and fuller teaching in my own heart. I know I love Jesus, and there are times when I feel such intensity of love to Him that I have not words to describe it. . . . but I want to come nearer still, and

to have the full realization of John xiv. 21.' Soon this deeper teaching was given. Just as in 1851 she found pardon through faith, so, in 1873, through the same faith, she found the full cleansing spoken of by 1 John i. 7. 'I saw,' she says, 'I saw it as a flash of electric light, and what you see you can never unsee. . . First, I was shown that the blood of Jesus Christ, His Son, cleanseth us from all sin, and then it was made plain to me that He who had thus cleansed me had power to keep me. One of the intensest moments of my life was when I saw the force of the word 'CLEANSETH.''

In the light of that hour she wrote the beautiful hymn now so well known, and which we learn is becoming increasingly used in meetings and conferences for the promotion of Christian holiness, 'From glory unto glory.'

Wesley advised his people not to be afraid of speaking about the 'second blessing,' or that of perfect love. This worthy canon's daughter was not ashamed to speak of it. Bringing the newly-written hymn from the secret place of the Most High, she read it aloud to her friends.

It is too long to quote, but it is published in 'Under the Surface.' Speaking of this happy period, Miss Havergal says: 'It lifted my whole life into sunshine of which all I had previously experienced was but as pale and passing April gleams compared with the fulness of summer glory.' The remaining six years of her life were spent in labours more abundant; like 'the beloved Persis, she laboured much in the Lord.' Of the kinds of labour in which she engaged we do not propose to write, excepting that by the pen and the voice. The sketch we have here given of her inner spiritual life is the key to her literary work, which was from the first laid upon the altar.

Miss Havergal had not only grace, but gifts also, some of them of a high order. Her musical talent was remarkable. She inherited the musical power of her gifted father. Her power as a composer was scarcely second to that of the executant. She found great pleasure in exercising the musical powers which God had given her; in fact, she at length began to fear that the Giver of the gift was being forgotten in the joy of the gift, and began to pray that 'if, indeed, it hindered her usefulness, even the gift of song might be withdrawn.' For a time it was withdrawn. Suspecting that in this matter she was not always acting from the purest of motives, this sweet singer began to pray that 'Jesus would purify her and make her white at any cost.'

In 1865-6, when about twenty-nine years of age, she had an opportunity of consulting the celebrated continental musician, Hiller. The

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account given of this interview is told in a style quite in keeping with her frank and open spirit. 'He took my book of songs and sat down to read it through. He was about three-quarters through when he turned and said, 'What instruction have you had?' I told him of Hatherley's having corrected my first six songs, and that I had a musical father. 'I do not care anything about that,' said he, 'I mean, what regular musical course have you had, and what professor?' I told him I had had nothing of the sort. He looked very hard at me, as if to see if I was telling the truth, and then turned back to my music, saying, 'In that case, I find this very remarkable.' When he had finished he delivered his verdict, the worst part first. He said my melodies bore the stamp of talent, not of genius. 'In the early works of great composers,' he continued, 'one comes across things that startle and strike you, ideas so utterly fresh and novel that you feel there is great creative power. I do not find this in your melodies. They are not bad; on the contrary, I find them very pleasing and really very good, but they are thoroughly English in character and type.' While this was Hiller's opinion as to the melodies, he gave the following verdict as to her harmonies:—'As for your harmonies, I must say I am astonished. It is something singular to find such grasp of the subject, such power of harmonisation, except where there has been long and thorough study and instruction; here I can give almost unlimited praise.'

The secret of this wonderful power of harmonisation is given in a paragraph of her memorials on pages 151-2, and the passage reminds us of an almost paradoxical saying of Keat's: 'Heard melodies are sweet, but those unheard are sweeter.' 'I hear,' says Frances, 'strange and very beautiful chords, generally full, slow and grand, succeeding each other in most interesting sequences. I do not invent them. . . . The chords seem to fold over each other and die away down into music of infinite softness, and then they unfold and open out as if great curtains were being withdrawn one after another, widening the view, till, with a gathering power and intensity and fulness, it seems as if the very skies were being opened out before one, and a sort of great blaze and glory of music, such as my outward ears never heard, gradually swells out into perfectly sublime splendour. . . . I seemed to hear depths and heights of sound beyond the scale which human ears can receive, keen, far-up octaves, like vividly twinkling starlight of music, and mighty slow vibrations of gigantic strings going down into grand thunders of depths, octaves below anything otherwise appreciable as musical notes. Then, all at once, it seemed

as if my soul had got a new sense, and I could see this inner music as well as hear it; and then it was like gazing down into marvellous abysses of sound, and up into dazzling regions of what, to the eye, would have been light and colour, but to this new sense was sound.'

This is undoubtedly a very curious and musical psychological phenomenon. Frances remarks that such curious musical visions only very rarely visited her, and when they came they lasted but for a short time. We have met with similar psychological phenomena in the biographies of Handel, Beethoven and Mozart, though we do not remember such in those of Mendelssohn, Hiller, and others whose biographies we have seen. Miss Havergal's musical memory was most retentive, she could play 'through Handel, and much of Beethoven, and Mendelssohn without notes.' As a musician she possessed most unusual gifts. Before the year 1873 she did not scruple to sing songs that were of a secular character, but from the time of her full consecration nothing but sacred music was heard from her lips and fingers. The couplet in her consecration hymn was literally her aim:

Take my voice, and let me sing
Always, only, for my King.

One of the rules to which Charles Wesley, the poet of Methodism, set his seal for the regulation of the early Methodist societies, but which we suspect is much ignored in these days, was 'that they should not sing those songs which do not tend to the knowledge or love of God.' It was the spirit, and almost the letter of this old Methodist rule which Miss Havergal adopted in the day of her entire consecration to Christ.

In her 'Kept for the Master's Use' she has a chapter on the subject of 'Singing for Jesus,' which is well worth a careful study, especially by those to whom the Lord has given the power of song.

Having sketched her spiritual history, and also her musical career, it remains for us to notice her as a poetess.

What Hiller said with reference to her harmonies can scarcely be said of her poetry as a whole. There is at times an abundance of words, which takes away the point and force of others which are well chosen. We also meet with too many Americanisms in some of her hymns; still, as we shall see, there are many rare excellences. The following is her conception of poetry:—

She seems to me
Most like a God-sent sunlight, rich and free,
Bathing the tiniest leaf in molten gold,
Bidding each flower some secret charm unfold,
Weaving a veil of loveliness for earth,
Calling all fairy forms to wondrous birth.

It will, perhaps, be thought by some keen-eyed critics that her reputation would have been more unquestioned if some of her poems—'Our Gem Wreath,' for instance—had not been published. Certainly they are not so suitable for public as for private circulation amongst friends.

The poems published in 'Under the Surface' are, for the most part, her best. We think she has given the real secret of her success as a poetess in the following lines:—

I do but spend
That which the Master poured into my soul,
His dewdrops caught in a poor earthen bowl,
That service so with praise might meekly blend.

The same fact is stated in a letter addressed to a friend: 'I can never set myself to write verses. I believe my King suggests a thought and whispers me a musical line or two, and then I look up and thank Him delightedly, and go on with it. That is how the hymns and poems come.' To one who had asked her to write a poem on 'Satisfied,' she wrote: 'The Master has not put a chest of poetic gold in my possession and said, 'Now use it as you like!' But He keeps the gold, and gives it me piece by piece just when He will, and no more. Some day, perhaps, He will send me a bright line of verse on 'Satisfied' ringing through my mind, and then I shall look up and thank Him, and say, 'Now, dear Master, give another to rhyme with it, and then another,' and then, perhaps, He will send it all in one flow of musical thoughts, but more likely one at a time, that I may be kept asking Him for every line. There, that is the process, and you see there is no 'I can do it' at all.'

Such poems as 'The Right Way,' 'Peace,' 'A Great Mystery,' may be taken as a fair sample of the religious tone of her poetry.

We think that no impartial reader of her letters as published in the Memorials can doubt whether she had a deep insight into the intricacies of human emotions. She knew better than many of her rank and station human nature in the humbler ranks of life. She had seen enough to convince her that any one who would successfully teach others must herself be a learner. Hence, she writes—

Every lesson you shall utter,
If the charge, indeed, be yours,
First is gained by earnest learning,
Carved in letters deep and burning
On a heart that long endures.

Still, if you but copy truly,
'Twill be poetry indeed,
Echoing many a heart's vibration,
Rather love than admiration,
Earning as your priceless need.

Will you seek? Will you have it?
 'Tis a strange and solemn thing,
 Learning long before your teaching,
 Listening long before your preaching,
 Suffering before you sing.

In another poem, referring to what she has learned from the past, she writes—

I have not tried
 To analyse my faith, dissect my trust,
 Or measure if belief be full and just,
 And, therefore, claim Thy peace. But Thou hast died.
 Return!
 O chosen of my love!
 Fear not to meet thy beckoning Saviour's view;
 Long ere I called thee by thy name I knew
 That very treacherously thou would'st deal.

In many of her poems we are reminded not only of the perfect harmony of the lines, but also, at the same time, of very sharp antitheses. We might allude to her well-known piece, 'This I did for Thee; what hast Thou done for me?' By special permission, this hymn, which first appeared in *Good Words*, is inserted in songs and solos sung by J. D. Sankey. Thousands of eyes were at times moistened with tears as Mr. Sankey sang these words to the tune which Miss Havergal's father composed. As an illustration of this remarkable power of antithetical composition, we may refer to a beautiful hymn of hers that appeared in the *Sunday Magazine* for July, 1877, entitled 'By Thy Cross and Passion.' It reminded us of George Herbert's forcible way of putting the truth by antithesis.

Many of her hymns have settings that are very suggestive. The one commencing with—

Reality, reality,
 Lord Jesus Christ, Thou art to me,

was suggested as a young workman prayed the following prayer:—
 'Lord Jesus, let Thy dear servant write for us what Thou art, Thou living, bright Reality, and let her do it this very night.'

The famous poem, 'Tell it out among the heathen that the Lord is King,' was composed one morning while the family were at church. Not only were the words composed, but also the music in all its parts; and so we might go on giving the circumstances under which she wrote others, but we must cease after referring to her most beautiful consecration hymn—

Take my life and let it be
 Consecrated, Lord, to Thee.

She had gone to visit, in a household of ten persons, some of them were unconverted. The Lord gave her the prayer—‘Lord, give me all in this house.’ Although she remained but five days, every one got a blessing. She says:—‘The last night of my visit I was too happy to sleep, and passed most of the night in praise and renewal of my consecration, and these little couplets formed themselves and chimed in my heart, one after another, till they finished with, ‘Ever, only, all for Thee.’ This was in the December of 1873, and from this time she actually lived in the spirit of the hymn. The large collection of jewellery she owned was, in the year 1878, made over to the funds of the Church Missionary Society, thus giving proof of her sincerity in writing the couplet—

Take my silver and my gold,
Not a mite would I withhold.

Had space permitted, we should like to have dwelt upon her work as a teacher of the young and also a temperance advocate, but we refer our readers to her Memorials. Frances Ridley Havergal was an elect Christian, saint, singer, and poetess.

HENRY SMITH.

X.—UNSYMMETRICAL LIVES.

AN enterprising artist once printed a picture, after the fashion of the school which, with all its exaggerations, has done much for the reformation of modern art, as much as Wordsworth's startling, yet grand puerilities once did for that of modern poetry. Not a bad picture, though very pre-Raphaelite. Two decidedly plain young people leant against a wall, or rather seemed growing out of it; and the wall itself was painted minutely down to the last brick, over which a large green beetle was meditatively walking. The landscape beyond rose almost perpendicularly up to the sky, against which, sharply outlined on the top of a very verdant tree, was a solitary black crow, so large, that if seen on the ground he would have been as big as a sheep. He and the green beetle together quite distracted one's attention from the melancholy lovers; and though many parts of the picture were well painted, still there was a lack of proportion, which marred exceedingly the general effect. It was unlevel, irregular; a sacrifice of the whole to particular parts, which were carefully 'worked up,' while others were totally neglected. In short, it made one feel, with a sad moralizing, what a fatal thing in pictures, books, or human lives, is a lack of proportion.

It is a plausible theory, that neither good nor evil, in concrete forms, is absolute; that each vice is the exaggerated extension of a virtue; each virtue capable of being corrupted into a vice; so that the good and wise man becomes simply the man with acuteness enough to draw the exact line between both, and then to obey the advice, '*In medio tutissimus ibis.*' If this be a sophism, there is yet truth in it. Undoubtedly the best man, the man most useful to his species, is he whose character is most equally balanced; and the most complete life is that which has been lived, so to speak, symmetrically. People with enormous faults and gigantic virtues may be very interesting in novels, but they are exceedingly inconvenient in real life. An equal person, with no offensively exaggerated qualities, is far the safest to have to do with, and especially to have to live with. When you marry, be sure you choose a woman with no strong 'peculiarities;' let her soul be well rounded and shapely, like her form; above all, take care that she has, in all her doings and thinkings, a clear eye for the fitting relations of things which make up what I call the symmetry of life.

How shall I explain it? Perhaps best by illustration, beginning with the root of all evil, and of a very great deal of good—money.

It may be a most immoral and unpoetical sentiment, but those are always the best people who have a carefulness over, and a wise respect for, money. Not *per se*—not the mere having it or amassing it—but the prudent using of it, making it our servant, and not our master. As a test of character, perhaps money is one of the sharpest and most sure. A man who is indifferent and inaccurate in money matters will be rarely found accurate in anything. He may have large benevolence, externally; you will see him throw a fifty-cent piece to a beggar, and subscribe to every charity list in the newspapers; but true charity consists, not in hasty acts of astonishing liberality, but in persistently managing one's expenses so that one has always a margin left wherewith to do a kindness; and if he forgets to pay you that two dollar bill he borrowed of you for hack-hire, you may be quite sure that the beggar's half dollar, and the hundred dollars in the printed subscription list, will have to come out of somebody's pocket—probably not his own. There is nothing like the meanness of your generous people, always robbing Peter to pay Paul. A liberal man is a glorious sight; but then he must be just as well as liberal, evenhanded as well as openhanded. His expenditure must be, like his character, justly balanced, and in due proportion. And since how to earn and how to spend are equally difficult arts, and that a large part of our usefulness, worthiness, and happiness depends on our learning them—aye, and they can not be learned too soon—is it wrong to put money as the crucial test of a well-regulated, well-balanced life?

My friend Smith has an income the exact amount of which is known to everybody. We also know that he has no private fortune, and that he had the manliness to marry a woman without a dollar to hers. Nevertheless, when he married he took a house the rent of which is out of all proportion to his income; and we know (somehow, everybody does know everything) that he and his expensively-dressed wife are continually in society, frequently have company to dinner, and generally ape the luxurious habits of people with four times their income. Therefore we shrewdly suspect that either they are getting deeply into debt, or that there are sharp economies practised somewhere, that their private fare is mean and innutritious, their home attire very shabby, and their upper rooms very poorly furnished and uninhabitable. Clearly the Smiths are living out of perspective. Smith is a thoroughly good fellow, too; he is a man who would rather starve than not pay his butcher; and his wife, though crazed with an inordinate anxiety to

‘keep up the dignity’ of her husband’s house, as she phrases it, is really a good little, unaffected creature at heart: why should not two such worthy people take their stand in society upon higher ground than petty rivalry in meats and clothes? Why not say, openly or tacitly, ‘We have just so much a year, and we mean to live accordingly. We enjoy society, but society must take us as we are. We will attempt no make-believes; we will not feast one day and starve another; appear *en grand tenue* at our neighbour’s house, and lounge about our own in shabbiness and rags; have a large, well-furnished, showy drawing-room to receive our company in, and let our family sleep in upper chambers bare and comfortless. Whatever we spend, we will spend levelly; then, be our income large or small, we shall always be rich, for we shall have apportioned expenditure to income. The man who is said to have an income of a thousand a day can do no more.

Not less unreal than the Smiths, or more devoid of that fine sense of the proportion of things which distinguishes a wise man from an unwise, is our other friend, Brown. He is a ‘self-made man.’ He and his wife began life in a second floor over their store in the street they never visit now. There, by steadfast industry, he developed from a tradesman to a merchant, from a merchant to a millionaire. Now, in all his wealthy mercantile city, no house is more palatial than the one built by Mr. B. When he gives a dinner party, his plate-glass and china dazzle your eyes; and his drawing-room, on these rare occasions when you are allowed to behold it, is the very perfection of the upholsterer’s art. But, ordinarily, its carved marble chimney pieces gleam coldly over never-lighted fires; its satin damask is hid under brown holland; its velvet-pile carpet you feel, but cannot see, not an inch of it, under the ugly drugget that covers all. The chandeliers, the mirrors, and picture-frames, nay, the very statues, are swathed in that dreadful gauzy substance, sticky, flimsy, and crackly, which must have been invented by the goddess of sham, as if anything not too good to buy was too good to use!

Yet even in this dreary condition the splendid apartments are seldom opened. Brown and his wife live mostly in their little back parlour, where are neither books, pictures, statues, nor handsome furniture; nothing pretty to delight the eye, nothing comfortable or luxurious to pleasure the old age of Brown himself or of excellent Mrs. Brown, who was such a faithful, hard-working wife to him in his poverty days, and who now richly deserves all that their well-earned wealth could give her. But alas! both had grown so used to narrowness that when good fortune came they could not expand with it. Save on show occasions,

they continue to live in the same unnaturally humble way, approaching actual meanness ; as much below their income as Smith lives, or appears to live, above his ; and both are equally wrong.

Poor old couple ! They cannot see that riches were given to a man richly to enjoy, and, what is higher still, to help others to enjoy also. How many a young fellow with a full brain and an empty purse would keenly relish those treasures of art which the merchant prince buys so lavishly just because other people buy them, but does not understand nor appreciate one jot ! How often some sickly invalid would feel it like a day in paradise to take a drive in Mrs. B's easy barouche, which, six days out of seven, stands idle in the coach-house ! For she, with her active habits, prefers walking on fine days ; or, afraid of spoiling the carriage or harming the horses, she has been seen tucking up her old black dress and popping surreptitiously into a horse-car. A noble economy, were there any need for it, but there is none. The childless couple had far better spend their income in making other folks' children happy. As it is, for all the use or benefit their wealth is to them, they might as well be living in those two little rooms over their first store ; and that heap of countless dollars, which they can neither spend nor carry away with them, is, for all the enjoyment got out of it, of no more value to them than the dust-heap at their stable-door. Their folly is, in its way, as great as that of the spendthrift, and only a shade less sinful.

Money is, I repeat, the point upon which this want of balance in living most plainly shows itself. There are many other sad ways in which people may live out of proportion. Your great philanthropist, for instance, who devotes himself to one or more pet schemes for the improvement of the race, firmly convinced that his scheme is the only one, until it absorbs his whole time, and becomes, like the great black crow on the tree-top, a mere blot in the otherwise fair landscape of his life, and out of all proportion to the rest of it—how can he condescend to such small duties as to be the kind husband, whose smile makes the evening sunshine of the house ; the affectionate father, who is at once the guide, companion, and confidant of his children ? Your great author, too. It is a pathetic thing to see a wife sit smiling under the laurels of an illustrious husband, and

‘Hear the nations praising him far off,’

while, near at home, she knows well that the praise never warms the silent hearth, from which he is continually absent, or, if he comes to it, only brings sulkiness and gloom. Alas ! that shadow of fame

rather blights than shelters the weak womanly heart which cares little, perhaps, for ambition, but is thirsting for help, comfort, and love. Doubtless many a time that great man's wife envies the lot of a woman married to some stupid, respectable spouse, who goes to his office at nine and returns at six; goes with the cheerful brow of the busy, active man, and comes back with the kiss and the smile of the honest man who has done his work and got it over, and has room for other cares than bread-winning, other thoughts than of himself and his celebrity.

And the 'auri sacra fames' is as great a destroyer of all domestic peace, as great a blot on the level landscape of a man's life as the 'cacoethes scribendi.' See it, in all its madness, in our poor friend Simpson. He has made a fortune, but did not consider it large enough, and is now busy making another. He is off to business at 8 a.m., never returning till 8 p.m., and then so worn and jaded that he cares for nothing beyond his dinner and his sleep. His beautiful house and conservatories delight not him; he never enjoys, he only pays for them. He has a charming wife and a youthful family, but he sees little of either—the latter, indeed, he never sees at all, except on Sundays. He comes home so tired that the children would only weary him. To them 'papa' is almost a stranger. They know him only as a periodical incumbrance on the household life, which generally makes it much less pleasant. And when they grow up it is to such a totally different existence from his that they usually quietly ignore him. 'Oh, papa cares nothing about this;' 'No, no, we never think of telling papa anything,' until some day papa will die and leave them half a million. But how much better to leave them what no money can ever buy—the remembrance of a father! a real father, whose guardianship made home safe; whose tenderness filled it with happiness; who was companion and friend, as well as ruler and guide; whose influence interpenetrated every day of their lives, every feeling of their hearts; who was not merely the 'author of their being'—that is nothing, a mere accident—but the originator and educator of everything good in them: the visible father on earth who made them understand dimly 'our Father which is in heaven.'

One of the strangest, if not the saddest, forms taken by lives lived unsymmetrically is one which belongs not so much to men as to women, and that is with regard to the affections. We laugh at the lady with whom every second person she chances to name is 'my very dearest friend.' We know that there can be but one 'dearest,' or else the phrase means nothing at all. We take these demonstrative people for what they are worth; extremely obliged for their friendship, but

not breaking our hearts about them, and well assured they will never break their hearts about us.

But while we smile with a sort of half-contemptuous pity at those who have such shallow and thinly-spread affections, such small capacity for loving, we are forced to admit that it is possible to love too much. I mean, to allow one passion or affection of whatever kind to absorb so much of a life that the rest of it, with all its duties, tendernesses, and responsibilities, becomes dwindled down into unnatural proportions. Who has not seen with sorrowful bitterness some woman—it is usually a woman—wasting her whole time, thoughts, and feelings upon one individual, friend or relative (we will not add lover, because that is, at all events, a natural engrossment leading to natural and righteous duties), and sacrificing to this one person everything in life? An unholy sacrifice, and generally to an unworthy object, or it would not have been accepted. Gradually this influence narrows the worshipper's whole nature. She, poor voluntary slave, cannot see that the essence of honest love is perfect freedom, exacting no more than its just rights and being delicately careful of the rights of others. No friend ought to be the only friend, no tie of blood the only tie; our affections, like all else, were meant to be fairly divided. When they are concentrated upon one object a wholesome attachment becomes a diseased engrossment, which, instead of elevating, deteriorates the character, and makes an ardent love more injurious than an honest hate.

For love itself may be degraded from a religion to a mere superstition. Sometimes even a mother will neglect her other children to waste her substance upon an undutiful scamp, whom everybody knows to be a scamp, and treats accordingly. And continually one sees sisters condoning and palliating in some ne'er-do-well brother errors which in any other man they would condemn and scorn. Worse still, how many a wife, who has unhappily borne children to a man whom it is ruin for them to have as a father, hesitates and quails before her conflicting duties; God help her! Yet how can He help her unless she sees clearly what is her duty, which is not to let even the divine tie of marriage obedience blind her to compromise with sin? There may be cases in which the only salvation is escape.

And this brings us to the last and most fatal phase of an unbalanced life. There are people who to one special duty which, by some morbid exaggeration of fancy they have been led to believe a duty paramount, will sacrifice everything else. The balance of conscience is in them quite lost. They see all things in a distorted light. They

are unable to take a just estimate of either their own rights or those of others; nay, their very moral consciousness becomes diseased, and, all the more so, because these victims are generally among the best and noblest of natures, the most single-minded, devoted, and self-sacrificing. While the mass of the world is made up of exceedingly selfish people, passionately pursuing their own interests, there is a proportion in whom the element of self seems to be altogether and fatally absent. I repeat fatally, because a certain quantity of *ego*, just sufficient to make one weigh oneself, one's own capabilities and rights, in equal measure with those of other people, is not only beneficial but necessary. Nothing is more detestable than the egotist, the selfish epicurean, whose one little 'I' is the centre of the universe. Yet, on the other hand, it is sad to see a person, man or woman (and here again it is generally a woman), in whom the quality of self esteem or self-respect is so totally wanting that she allows herself to be continually 'put upon,' follows everybody's advice, succumbs to everybody's tyranny, is the victim of all the injustices of friends and the caprices of acquaintances. Sadder still, because the woman is almost invariably a very good woman, only devoid of that something, intellectual or moral—which is it?—which forms, so to speak, the centre of gravity in a character, enabling the individual to see clearly and decide fairly the balance and duties and the relative proportions of things.

Otherwise, too, as we continually see, many a noble and useful life is actually wrecked for the sake of some self-created, or, at best, strongly exaggerated, duty into which circumstances had drifted the individual, and for which all other duties (including the one, not to man, but to God) are completely neglected. A mother will sacrifice all her children and herself, upon whom her whole family depends, to some one child who happens to have more influence over her than the rest; a sister will strip herself of every penny, and, perhaps, come to subsist on charity in her old age, to supply the wanton extravagance of some scapegrace brother, for whom a workhouse crust of his own earning would be a salutary lesson; or—though of this evil let us speak with tenderness, for it verges on the noblest good—a daughter will waste her health, her strength, forfeit all the enjoyment of her youth, perhaps even sacrifice woman's holiest right, love and marriage, for the sake of some exacting parent or parents, who consider that the mere fact of having given life constitutes the claim to absorb into themselves everything that makes life pleasant or desirable. These are hard words, but they are true words, and, though it may be a touching sight to see one human life devoted, nay sacrificed, to another, woe be

to that other, ay, even though it be a parent, who compels the sacrifice! Even as nature made this tree at which, while I write, I sit looking, in such marvellous proportion as well as perfection, the strong rough trunk, the slighter boughs, the slender branches and twigs, all hung with green leaves and rosy blossoms, foretelling wealth of fruit; so were our lives created to be lived in proportion, and our duties to be fitted into one another, none taking an exaggerated size, or assuming a false relation, to the injury of the rest. And, truly, the art of living is to learn the secret of this.

What is it? Where is the one point from which, speaking geometrically, we may safely 'describe' all lines so as to make our confused lives into that Divine, harmonious figure which alone constitutes completeness, rest, and peace? Not self, certainly. However conceited and egotistic we may be in our youth, we rarely grow to middle age without discovering that egotism, *per se*, is a huge mistake; not merely an ugliness, but a ridiculous mistake. He who dwells wholly in himself, who sees all things with reference to himself, makes a blunder as patently ludicrous as he whose feeble self-dependence and low self-esteem cause him to lean always on the judgment and be guided by the opinion of others. Both err in precisely the same way as our friend, the pre-Raphaelite painter, who took his point of sight anywhere, or nowhere in particular, and so lost altogether his power of comparison between objects; made his crow as large as a donkey, and his green beetle a more interesting personage than his unfortunate lovers leaning against the wall.

In this strange landscape of our mortal existence there is but one true and safe point of sight, and that is neither from self within us, nor from the world without us, but according to the clearest vision we have—from above.

National Repository.

PRACTICAL HOMILETICS.

MOSES—HOW TO ENDURE.

'By faith he forsook Egypt, not fearing the wrath of the king; for he endured, as seeing Him who is invisible.'—Hebrew xi. 27.

AN earnest spiritual life is a life of suffering and sacrifice. Such seems to have been the experience of men in all ages of the world, and such appears to be the will and purpose of God. 'In the world ye shall have tribulation.' It is a false philosophy which makes happiness the end of life, and it is a false religion, whatever it may be called, which makes happiness its chief good. The purpose of life is discipline and its chief lesson and good submission. Those who go laughing through the world, boasting of their large freedom, have shallow-surface natures, and have never realised the great mysteries within them and around them. They live in a delusion, and mistake shadows for substances and the jingling of the bells on the fool's cap for the music of the spheres. Those who have been awakened from the dream of sense-life to the presence of the realities and to the need of their immortal souls, who have risen to their full station and realised their own individuality, who have heard the call of God and, like the child Samuel, have gone forth into the darkness enquiring, have felt the pressure and hardness of the fate hemming them round, and have only, through great tribulation, passed to the perfectness and freedom of the sons of God. To find the path of life from the place to which we have wandered we must push our way through briars and thorns, which lacerate our flesh and test our faith and endurance. And 'blessed is he that endureth unto the end, for he shall be saved.' How to endure—how to submit without grudging, without murmuring or repining—how to yield our will to the supreme will, and yet to preserve our individuality—how to endure the sorrows, conflicts, sacrifices, and disappointments of life without becoming apathetic, hard, or stoical, without losing any of our sensitiveness, enthusiasm, or hope—how to endure to make even our trials the means of our spiritual enlargement, emancipation, and even of our comfort and well-being—that is the secret of life, that is the object of religion; and it is of that this text speaks to us, 'He endured as seeing Him that is invisible.'

'He endured.' That is a summation of the life of the great Hebrew chief and lawgiver. His life was a great sacrifice, a submission. Like the Son of God, like all the sons of God, he was made perfect through suffering.

Passing over what Moses endured in his infancy, which was, no doubt, included in the purpose of God, and was of importance in his discipline, we find his life divided into three stages of equal length in time, in each of which he was called to bear a cross and submit to a great trial of faith.

Taking the first part, which includes his life in Egypt, we find him called by the sense of duty to make sacrifice of all that men usually count worthy of possession—position, wealth, and pleasure. He refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter, choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt. It is questionable if we can realise what is involved in this election. We have so idealised these ancient worthies that we have difficulty in thinking of them as ordinary flesh and blood, as men of like passions, moved by the same impulses and desires as ourselves. We must, however, bring ourselves to realise the common humanity of Moses before we can form any adequate idea of the sacrifice here recorded. We must think of him as a man naturally ambitious and fond of place and power—for such he must have been, being purposed for place and power—with a strong, passionate, and sensuous nature, fond of indulgence, pleasure, and outwardness. Think of him as a man and not as a god, and then look at what he surrendered: the offer of a principedom in the oldest, most civilised, and powerful nation in the world, the prospect, perhaps, of becoming a Pharaoh and of having the resources of a great empire at his command by which he could gratify his ambition, the certainty of being at the top of the most cultured, refined, and indulgent society in the world, the possibility of being a great scholar, a great warrior and conqueror, of being a great lawgiver, and of founding a great family—place and honour, wealth and power, pleasure and indulgence, such as falls to the lot of few men. All this lay within his reach; nay, was offered to him, pressed urgently upon him. And what had he to look forward to as compensation if, in obedience to the inward voice, he elected to refuse it and identify himself with his own people? Certainly nothing of an outward kind. Among his own people there was slavery, poverty, misery, degradation, everything that flesh and blood shrinks from, struggles against, and hates. You and I to-day, con-

templating his choice, see the whole of his life. We take it all in at a single glance, and can judge of the relative importance and value of each action; but you must remember life came to him as it comes to you and me in detail—one point at a time. He did not see all that was to come out of the choice he was now called to make. The future was hidden from him, and he was called to act in faith. Do not think that it cost him no struggle to part with all the bright prospects opened to him, and which he had been, by education, prepared to expect. Do not think that his decision was made without a prolonged and severe conflict. Do not think he did not suffer in the sacrifice he made. But whatever it cost him, whatever struggles he passed through, whatever pain he bore, he endured, and went out homeless, friendless, choosing rather to suffer affliction than disobey the voice of God within him.

In the generous enthusiasm of youth he surrendered all the prospects of the palace to ally himself with his own people, in the hope that he might be of service to them. He came to his own, in their suffering, sorrow, and degradation, and threw in his lot fully and heartily with them. They were his people, and their God his God; and he would rather be with them, and of them, and bear all the suffering and sorrow they had to bear, than enjoy the wealth and pleasure of the palace. He came to his own, supposing that his brethren would have understood how that God, by his hand, would deliver them. But they understood not. He came to his own, but his own received him not. They resented his kindly interposition; they misinterpreted his action; they misjudged his motives; they despised the sacrifices he had made; and threatened disclosure of secret service he had done on their behalf. They showed themselves ungrateful, unworthy, and utterly unwilling to accept the service he had made such a sacrifice to offer to them, and nothing now was left for him but to make his escape into the wilderness. His life was apparently wasted, was a failure; all his sacrifice had been in vain. All his generous hopes and prospects were blighted. All his plans and schemes were thwarted, and he felt himself drifting out upon the sea of life, not knowing whither he was going or where he should find anchorage. Do you think that as Moses fled that day toward Midian, despised and rejected; as he fled, homeless, friendless, and without any certainty in life, do you think that his mind was not beclouded, and his faith and patience tested? Do you think no sense of wrong and injury stung him, that no feeling of alienation and bitterness rose in his heart, and that he was not haunted by doubt, misgiving, and the bitter sense of failure? If you do you misread his life,

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and will fail to profit by the lesson it teaches. He was human, injured as you are injured, pleased as you are pleased. Interpret him from your own feelings; identify yourself with him, and say would you, after such a sacrifice, after such generous self-abnegation, after such honest intention, and such cruel rejection, have felt no pain, no doubt, or misgiving. You certainly would. As the fugitive fled toward the Midian frontier his sufferings would be keen enough, the darkness him dense enough. But, severe as they were, he enshrouding endured—endured patiently, meekly, heroically.

And then think of that forty years in Midian! Educated and accustomed to life in the palace, to every refinement, luxury, and comfort, and doomed to the coarse, hard life of a nomadic shepherd. A man of education, associating with the vulgar and worldly,—how distasteful all the conditions of his outer life must have been, a source of pain and annoyance to him; and then to think of him spending forty of the best years of his life tending a few sheep in the wilderness. Such a calling was perhaps right enough for Reuel, but to a man with a nature like Moses it must have seemed a waste of time. He must have felt the movement of his greater powers, and the consciousness that God had called him to the discharge of some greater work; and it must have seemed to him a weary, dreary time, as he wandered among the sombre solitude of the mountains, waiting for the call to go forth to his true place and work. You and I know something of the reason of this long waiting. We know that God was preparing him for the work he had to do. He gave him time to discipline himself, to feed up and strengthen his own heart, to think out his principles, and develop his plan of government. But was this equally clear to Moses at the time? Certainly not. Present to him were only the discomforts, trials, sorrows, and loneliness of his position; yet it is said, ‘Moses was content.’ Like Paul, he learnt in whatsoever state he was to be content. He knew how to be abased and how to abound, how to be full and how to be hungry, how to abound and how to suffer need. He endured.

And now we approach the last stage of his life, and surely we will find that all the previous sacrifice and suffering has borne fruit, and that in the latter years he will have an abundant reward. Yes, he had a reward, but it was not such as the worldly would appreciate. It was not exemption from toil, sacrifice, and sorrow; not worldly ease, pleasure, and honour, but the power to endure more and to do more for the glory of God and the good of his people. The greatest good in life is increased power to do good with increased disposition. That day, as the ransomed nation passed over the Red Sea and Pharaoh and

his host lay scattered and broken, the people spontaneously burst into that rapturous song recorded in Exodus xv. 1-19. That day Moses may have felt, as so many have felt who have secured some great deliverance for the people, as if his work was ended and the triumph had come. But if he did, certainly his illusion was not allowed to last long, for as you read the history you find that in a day or two this jubilant demonstrative crowd are murmuring and complaining against their deliverer, and in a short time you find them insubordinate and rebellious. Never trust to the gratitude of an ignorant people; never be misled by popular applause. Day by day during the long weary years of the pilgrimage the work of Moses began anew. Harassed, perplexed, and alone, for forty years he led them through the wilderness, disciplining and fitting them for the work that lay before them. During all that time he was suspected by them, complained against, and shamefully treated. The people for whom he had lived, whom he had sacrificed everything to serve, and to whose interest he was giving all his time, thought, and strength were ungrateful, suspicious, and complaining. For forty years there was neither rest, nor peace, nor ease for him. Yet it is said he endured. Only on one occasion did his faith, heart, or patience fail him, and for that one failure he bore the heavy penalty of not entering Canaan.

And now, at the very end, after the sacrifice he had made in Egypt, after the rejection he had borne, after the long waiting in Midian, after all the toil, and travail, and sorrow of the wilderness; now, at the very last, when the end is reached and they have come to the banks of the Jordan, beyond the river lies the Promised Land, where the bones of the fathers of his race lie buried. Yonder is the land promised by God, and where He will establish His people and dwell among them. Yonder is the land flowing with milk and honey, the realisation of the dreams, and hopes, and labours of his life. The prize is in view; one more effort and all is over. Just at that moment, when the work seems done, when the crown is in sight—at that moment the voice of the Lord came to Moses, saying, ‘Get thee up into this mountain Abarim unto mount Nebo, which is in the land of Moab . . . and die in the mountain whither thou goest up. Thou shalt see the land before thee, but thou shalt not go thither.’ And so it is recorded ‘Moses, the servant of the Lord, died there in the land of Moab. And Moses was an hundred and twenty years old when he died; his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated.’

Now, do you realise that? Can you sympathetically take all in that is meant? I take it that that death on

Nebo's lonely mountain
On yon side Jordan's wave

is one of the grandest and most heroical things in human history. Cut off in sight of the prize for which he had sacrificed, suffered, and laboured so long, cut off in the vigour and prime of life, with his eye undimmed and his natural force unabated, cut off when the work appeared done and the reward was to be given. Tell me, looking at it from the ordinary standpoint we occupy, does it not seem hard, almost harsh, and cruel? Do you think Moses was able to relinquish the bright vision without a struggle, that he was able to make full surrender without a conflict? Do you think there was no falter in his step as he approached Nebo, that he had no great passion and agony before he could say, 'Thy will be done?' Yet he endured calmly, patiently, meekly. It was the work of a life-time; but he had learned to submit, to surrender, to obey; and in his sacrifice and obedience he had learned to find his highest good and honour.

We now proceed to enquire how Moses endured, the source from which he drew his spiritual power. We enquire how he was able so patiently, heroically, and constantly to subdue himself and sacrifice what men ordinarily hold so dear. How was it that he conquered himself and the world so completely? What was the spring from which he drew such power of self-culture? Is it within our reach, and may we rise to such a height of moral heroism? This is to us a question of great importance. If we would lead an earnest, noble life, there is for us sacrifice, rejection, isolation, conflict. The incoming of grace has not altered the conditions of the spiritual life. If any man will follow Christ, if any man will live an earnest, real life, and will enter into the life that is eternal, if any man will, in the true and proper sense, be a Christian, it will be necessary for him to endure, to take up his cross daily, and deny himself. How are we to gain the power? That is the question, and that is answered in the text. He endured as seeing Him that is invisible, not by the will of the flesh, not by the maxims of philosophy, but by faith in God—that is how Moses endured, and that is how you may endure, my brother, and how you may overcome. This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith.

By 'Him that is invisible' is meant God, the invisible God. No man hath seen God at any time. No man can see God. By the constitution of our nature, it is an impossibility. The finite cannot comprehend the Infinite. The Infinite can alone be known to Himself, and to the finite ever must remain the invisible God. God cannot be

seen by the eye, nor perceived by the mind. The logical intellect can no more see God than the sensuous organ. The veil is dense and impenetrable—it cannot be withdrawn or pierced. By the eye of his mind man can penetrate into the depths of the earth and the heights of the heavens; but he cannot, by searching, find out God. God cannot be demonstrated. This is our answer—the answer of the living Church and of the Word of God to the demands of unbelieving science. The materialism of the Sacramentarians is false Scripturally and philosophically, and can only end in an enlightened and enquiring age in increasing unbelief. Mortal cannot look upon the beatific vision. God is and must be the ‘Invisible.’

But, though God is necessarily invisible, He is not, therefore, unknown. Though we may not see Him with our eyes, though we may not handle Him with our hands, though He may not be demonstrated, yet we may have as full and satisfactory assurance of His existence and helpful presence as if we did see Him with our eyes. We may know Him through faith; know God. Mark you, we do not say that we see God by faith. That is the error of the mystics. It is not said that Moses saw God, but that he endured as seeing, that is, as if he saw. To the eye of faith all that is seen—all the material universe—is but the garment of God; and in and through all things we may see the evidences of God’s presence and nature—

In all things, in all natures, in the stars
Of azure heaven, the unenduring clouds,
In flower and tree, in every pebbly stone
That paves the brook, the stationary rocks,
The moving waters and the invisible air.

There are abundant and overwhelming evidences of the existence and presence of God. And if we turn and look within ourselves, what evidence have we there that there is a Being behind the material universe with whose spiritual nature ours corresponds, and from whom we look for good and guidance, and to whom we can do no other than offer worship and praise? And in these latter days we have a fuller revelation still in the person of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the express image of God, and in whom dwelt the fulness of the Godhead bodily—who is Emmanuel, God-manifested, God with us. To-day God is seen and known in the face of Jesus Christ. ‘No man hath seen God at any time but the Only-begotten, who is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared Him,’ revealed Him, imaged Him forth, made Him known in all the greatness of His love and the infinitude of His mercy.

Now, it is said that Moses endured as seeing Him that is invisible, that is, he had faith in God, and through faith in God he was enabled to overcome. God was to Moses real, the living God. He carried with him in everything the conscious sense of the eye of God upon him, and he felt that he must please God no matter what the immediate consequence to himself might be. He felt that he must do the will of God, and he would leave the consequences with God. This was the source of his power, this the cause of his triumph. He was able always to fall back upon God, to realise the presence and aid of the Invisible; and through faith in God he overcame.

Now, my brothers, do you learn the lesson this subject teaches and illustrates. Would'st thou live an earnest, real life—and none other is worth living, is living?—then expect suffering, sacrifice, rejection, disappointment, the various forms of pain, perplexities, and loss. No easy indulgence will life be for thee, no bed of roses if thou wilt lead a real life. Take the model life and look at it. Was Christ not a man of sorrow and acquainted with grief? and thinkest thou to escape? If thou would'st be perfect, if thou would'st be at all passable, it will be necessary to pass through great tribulation—tribulations from which your flesh will shrink, and in which your heart will fail. You will be called upon to make the election of the good you shall seek in life, to sacrifice the material, and live for the unseen. You will, perhaps, be rejected. You will suffer isolation, curses, trials, and disappointments. The way of life is steep and rugged; but, my brother, if thou would'st live, if thou would'st save thy soul, if thou would'st enter into the fellowship of the saints—that is the path thou must take.

You say you are not equal to it, that you are weak and sensitive. That may be; but you are not sent upon this warfare on your own charge. You are not left depending upon your own strength. Listen to Paul: Of myself I can do nothing, but, through Christ strengthening me, I can do all things. Blessed thought! That is the source of power, and power equal to your utmost need, power to go to the martyr's stake, power to overcome the world or a stouter enemy still—thine own evil heart. Realise the living God, waken up to the sense of His presence, feel that to Him you are responsible, and that it is His voice that calls you, and though of yourself you may be weak, yet you shall have power to overcome. Read in this chapter women now received their dead raised to life again, and others were tortured, not accepting deliverance, and others had trial of cruel mocking and scourgings, yea, moreover, of bonds and imprisonments. They were stoned, they were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain with the sword, they wandered

about in sheep-skins and goat-skins, being destitute, afflicted, tormented. They wandered in deserts and mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth. Yet they overcame, and, through faith, subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, and obtained promises. And what was done in the past may be done to-day. Thou may'st become a hero in the strife of life, thou may'st endure and overcome. Have faith in God. All things are possible through Him.

H. G.

THE MYSTERY OF MYSTERIES, AND SUMMUM BONUM OF THE WORLD.

'God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself.'—2 Cor. v. 19.

THE heavens give us constellated stars—each star a sun; and the Bible gives us constellated truths—each truth a world. The text is short, but the meaning is vast. What a combination of words! each of them infinitely suggestive—*God, Christ, Man, Reconciliation*. To get to the bottom of terms like these, eternity may have a fathom-ing-line, but we may rest assured time has none. Standing together here, in vital contact, like the petals of a flower, or rather like the elements of a substance, these four words make one essence. This essence is Christianity: a system superadded to Nature, and harmonised with her principles, by a hand reaching down from the supernatural. In reading the chapter through, we see how grand a thing this Christianity is—how vital its action, and how wide its reach. The one regenerative and saving agency under the sun, it finds us ruined in one world, and raises us renewed to another. When 'our earthly house' fails, 'an house not made with hands,' but of thoughts and affections, stands ready to receive us. Being made 'partakers of the divine nature' in this world, we are thereby fitted for fellowship with that 'nature,' in a higher. We call that higher world 'heaven;' and for us, its origin and basis lie in that one stupendous fact and mystery, that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself.

This was the problem to be solved: How to bridge over the mighty gulph that separated between God and Man. The Being that has always existed, and cannot but exist; the Being that has made this mighty universe, and that keeps its forces going, its stars shining, and its flowers blooming, from age to age, nothing failing, and nothing losing its native glory, and primeval freshness, what a being He! and what an immeasurable reach of dissimilarity and distance between such a one and ourselves, 'who come like shadows and so depart.'

whose breath is in our nostrils and who are crushed before the moth! Well might it be asked, 'Canst thou by searching find out God?' and well it might be confessed: 'The more I think of God, the less I seem to know about him.' Idumean Zophar, and Grecian Simonides, are simply types of ourselves, to whom 'the Mystery of God' is still a darkness that may be felt. Not less than the natural, is also the moral interval, between Creator and Creature. How, then, are we to get at God? and how is God to get at us? Our case is utterly hopeless, unless He can stoop down to our depths, or unless we can reach up to his heights.

A sick woman said to Mr. Cecil, 'Sir, I have no notion of God. I can form no idea of him. You talk to me about him, but I cannot get a simple thought that seems to contain anything.' 'But you know how to conceive of Jesus Christ as a man,' replied Mr. Cecil. 'God comes down to you in him, full of kindness and condescension.' 'Ah! sir, that gives me something to lay hold on. *There* I can rest. I understand God in his Son.' Truly, the great fact, that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, gives us 'something to lay hold on.' Something which at once constitutes the central truth, the speculative solution, and the practical principle, of the Christian scheme.

As a thoughtful writer truly says, 'The only notion man can form of the Infinite God, is that he is infinitely incomprehensible.' 'Infinite,' however, can go for what it is worth. The Bible never affirms *it* of the Divine Essence. The following sentences express the opinion of the late Canon Kingsley on the point:—'Infinite and absolute are fine words, but I do not understand them, and I do not care to understand them. I do not deny that God is infinite and absolute, though what that means I do not know. But I find nothing about his being infinite and absolute in the Bible. I find there that He is righteous, just, loving, merciful, and forgiving; and that He is angry too, and that His wrath is a consuming fire, and I know well enough what those words mean, though I do not know what infinite and absolute mean.' If they mean anything theologically, it is Pantheism. Except figuratively, I hold it to be alike unscriptural and unphilosophical to call God infinite. Surely the Deity is sufficiently inscrutable without predicting of him such incomprehensibles as infinite and unconditioned. If 'infinity' were more than abstraction, and had objective reality answering to it, it would necessarily signify *all things*, for what could there be outside of 'the Infinite?' In which case, therefore, we should have to dismiss the idea of personality as ascribable to

God, and accept the impersonal 'one substance' of Spinoza and his school. Out of these very terms, 'absolute,' 'unconditioned,' and 'infinite,' more false philosophy, and more false theology, have arisen, than from almost any other source. In fine, I am not afraid to confess myself unable to do otherwise, unless I would be a pantheist, than endorse the position thus expressed by a contemporary writer, that 'the infinite is a chimera, a nothing, a phantom produced by the human imagination, and corresponding to no reality.'

A personal God is the veriest necessity to a rational religion. Religion were a farce, if God were not a person. We must have a God who is personal, nay, *human*: in part, at least. Man, we are told, was made in the image of God; that is, as I understand it, in the image of *some* of the Divine attributes. At the same time, God, as such, or outside the human properties, must be held as having senses, faculties, powers, both in kind and compass, which thought cannot grasp, nor language express. And even his human qualities, must as far exceed ours, in point of power, and of compass, as the ocean-sea, exceeds the bucket-drop; or as the literal sun in the heavens, exceeds the reflected sun in the modicums of morning dew. Meanwhile, as has with truth been said, 'There is no doing without the Humanity of God, so far as this world is concerned.' 'Christ is God stooping to the senses, and speaking to the heart, of man;' 'Christ is the greatness of man' on the one hand, and 'the power of God, and the wisdom of God,' on the other.

I profess to know nothing of the *modus existente* or *how*, of God's being in Christ. I believe the fact, but I cannot grasp the philosophy. I believe not in a mere figurative, and not in a mere moral, union of the two natures, but in a physical and literal one. As St. Paul says, 'great is the mystery,' and all that we can do is to bow with reverence, and with gratitude, before it. I would, however, answer the question, How was God in Christ? by asking another: How is God in Nature? Behold the lilies of the field, how they grow, and how they glow! grow by means of a vitality *in* them, which is a mystery; and glow by means of a beauty *on* them, which is also a mystery. But the philosopher has yet to be born, who can answer the queries: What is life? and, What is beauty? The Heavenly Father knows it, and the Heavenly Father does it. By him, and by him alone, are the flowers on a thousand hills, and in a thousand vales, 'clothed;' nor was even Solomon in all his glory arrayed like one of them. *How* it is done, none can tell. He that 'seeth in secret' also worketh in secret; but neither the flower on its hill, nor the star on its height, reveals the secret of the power by

which it has its being. 'It is the glory of God to conceal a thing.' And although creation be 'an open secret,' yet it is a secret which no one can open. Persons who are born blind, cannot lay claim to the 'glory' or personal excellence of such as possess the marvellous sense-power, we call vision. Our external senses are the gateways of our knowledge, and apart from these, the reasoning principle having nothing to work upon, and to work with, would be necessarily as a 'sheet of white paper.' It is the glory of man to see and to reason, but is it for a moment to be thought, that man with his five senses, can, by any possible means and appliances, comprehend the essence and working of a Being who for aught he knows to the contrary, may have five thousand? It is the glory of God to conceal, because it is the glory of God to possess powers, and to exert modes of activity, with which we have nothing in common, and of whose working, therefore, we can find no analogy.

We can only use the faculties we possess; and these cannot possibly make us to know otherwise than imperfectly, or 'in part,' about anything whatsoever. About many things these faculties know nothing at all, nor can know. The mystery of things, however, dwells not so much in the things themselves, as in the defect and deficiency which attach to our powers of knowing. The darkness we complain of, lies, I fear, in our own 'small head,' which, of course, 'carries all we know,' but which can by no means carry comprehension of God and his ways. The old Protagorean position, that 'man is the measure of the universe,' is simply absurd. Imagine a tailor, with his 'goose' in one hand, and his 'tape-yard' in the other, looking large, and saying, 'With these I will smooth and measure the Immensities'! Are, now, the 'goose' and the 'tape-yard' of the philosopher, think you, adequate to the measurement of God, whether in His outgoings in the lines of Nature, or in His grander march in the lines of Grace? God, and God in Christ, are incomprehensibles, no doubt. God only can speak 'appropriately of God.' But can we tell, even what the soul is; or how it is in the body? Nay, is not the body itself as great a mystery as the soul? How grow together, the bones in the womb? and how keeps in tune so long, that instrument of a thousand strings—the human personality?

Answer me the following two questions: If God were *not* in Nature, would Nature be what it is, and do what it does? and, if God was *not* in Christ, could Christ have been what he was, and have done what he did? To appropriate a thought of Butler's: It is as if God were in both the one and the other. Philosophers, strictly so called, may per-

haps be classed under two heads—those who dive in deep waters for that rare pearl, the How of things, which they never bring up, and they who adopt the more excellent way of inquiring into the Why of things. The latter method alone is applicable to the subject before us. The text, in fact, gives us the *raison d'être*, or practical 'why, of God's manifestation in the flesh: it was to reconcile the world unto himself. We have before us a Fact, and a Reason:—

I.—THE FACT—*God in Christ*.—This fact was shown to be such, in various ways. By the testimony of inspired affirmation. This is too self-evident to need dwelling upon. It was shown in ancient prophecy and in universal expectancy: also, in Christ's own life-history and in his death-triumph.

1. *In ancient prophecy and in universal expectancy*. God's own declaration in Eden, that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head, was the grand and gracious keynote of all succeeding Messianic prediction. What is the ulterior significance of revelation? It is Redemption. What the burden and point of all Messianic prophecy? It is Redemption. And what is Redemption? It is God in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself. I need not occupy the time with allusion to particular prophecies. Suffice it to say, that 'the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy,' and that 'to him gave all the prophets witness.' It is obviously a *Divine* personage; no less a one than 'the Almighty's Fellow,' who, in the prophet's view, was the Coming Man. They knew it was the Good, that must antagonize the Bad; the God in Christ, that must vanquish the Devil in man, and wherever else he is to be found. Evil *is*, whatever its origin; and shall not Heaven march to its overthrow? To overcome evil with good, is God's method; and where it is not man's also, he never succeeds. As in chemistry, an acid is only to be neutralised by an alkali; so in the moral sphere, an evilness can only be effectually conquered by a goodness. A soft word turneth away wrath; and a soft heart contains the only magnetism that can melt a hard one. Blows make moral adamant—a kiss turns hate into love. To this effect, history is full of instances, and every-day life fuller. Sin, Death, and the Devil, is the triple charm, not to be broken by man's wisdom, which God in Christ was to untwist from the soul of Humanity, and cast into the lake of fire. The good Abraham rejoiced, therefore, to foresee his day, and all nations desired his advent. He was called *The Desire of all nations*. In the prophecy of Haggai, God says, 'I will shake all nations, and the Desire of all nations shall come.'

In what sense was, and in what sense is, Jesus Christ the Desire of

all nations? The nations have had too much of 'philosophy,' because they have had too little of *true* philosophy. True philosophy is *truth*. But in almost any given case, where will you find two philosophers who agree as to what is the truth?

'Our judgments like our watches, none go just
Alike, yet each believes his own.'

Hence the thousand and one diversities of opinion,—each shouting from its little eminence,—which are ever keeping the world in a state of ferment and uncertainty. In the time of Cicero, and among the Romans alone, there were no less than some two hundred different opinions, as to what constituted the *Chief Good*! One needs but to sound them properly, and your philosophers are found to be just as ignorant and impotent, as everybody else. Can the most famous of them, tell us what is the beginning, the essence, or the end of any one thing under the sun?

'. of God above, or man below,
What can we reason, but from what we know?'

Now, it is God that *knows*, and God in Christ that *reveals*. For Christ is God's oracle; God's heart, and God's mouthpiece to the world. Yes; 'all nations,' which of 'one blood,' have had more than enough of man. 'That Other Man,' is the one they need and desire. They desire light: and Jesus Christ is 'the light of the world.' They desire a true knowledge of God: and Jesus Christ is 'God manifest in the flesh.' They bend and groan beneath the burden and mystery of sin: and Jesus Christ is 'the propitiation for the sins of the whole world.' They desire a prevailing intercessor with God, for the pretentious priest is everywhere a failure: and Jesus Christ is our 'advocate with the Father to save to the uttermost.' All nations tired alike of toryisms, and liberalisms, desire a righteous King to cure the 'rotteness of the states of their Denmarks': and Jesus Christ is the 'King of righteousness and Prince of peace. All nations are in bondage through fear of death; having tasted of the sweets of existence, and communed with the stars, they fear 'to lose this intellectual being,' 'those thoughts that wander through eternity': and Jesus Christ 'has abolished death, and brought life and immortality to light'—that is, has *made of none effect* that last terror, and *illustrated* by his own personal resurrection, the grand secret of what awaits us, when we have shuffled off this mortal coil. Finally, all nations desire rest for the soul: and Jesus Christ says, 'Come unto me, and I will give you rest.' As Hercules unbound Prometheus; so Christ will lose the

nations, and let them go. 'Righteousness exalteth a nation,' and Righteousness is Christianity.

'With force of arms we nothing can,
Full soon were we down ridden;
But for us fights the proper Man,
Whom God himself hath bidden.
Ask ye, Who is this same?
Christ Jesus is his name,
The Lord Sabaoth's Son;
He, and no other one,
Shall conquer in the battle.'

The fact that God was in Christ was shown—

2. *In the claims, the teaching, and the miracles of Christ.* Son of Man, and Son of God, he claimed equally to be. Not *a*, but *the* Son of Man, and *the* Son of God. In which self-assumed titles, we have plainly indicated to us, a *sui generis* individuality, or peculiarity of personal nature, raising its possessor as high above the rest of mankind, as stands a mighty Alp above the valleys from amid which it towers aloft. And think of the position and prerogative involved, involved in such uniqueness of personality! No wonder that Christ has 'a name above every name.' Would any one sensitive to opinion, and careful of his reputation, have stepped out of the ordinary ranks, and facing the multitude, expressed himself in a fashion like the following: 'All things are delivered to me of my Father: and no man knoweth the Son, but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son?' The man who did it, ought clearly to have been more than man. Mark also, deliverances like these: 'Before Abraham was 'I am'; 'I am the way, the truth, and the life, and no man cometh unto the Father but by me'; 'He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life: and he that believeth not the Son shall not see life; but the wrath of God abideth on him.' Truly, if God was not in Christ, in a peculiar and extraordinary manner: then in Christ was guilty conscious falsity, or self-delusion. As Dr. John Duncan has pertinently said: 'Christ either deceived mankind by conscious fraud, or was himself deluded and self-deceived, or he was Divine. There is no getting out of this trilemma. It is inexorable.' In heaven and earth, there are more things than our philosophy dreams of; and the substantive indwelling of God in Christ, is one of them. The subject is above our reason, but not contrary to it. Is it not obvious, that it would be necessary for us to know the essence of God, on the one hand; and the essence of man, on the other, to be competent to affirm, that God could not be in Christ. Of *ultimate* basis and constitution, our phi-

losophy knows nothing. This much I can say for myself: that to me, at least, God out of Christ, is a greater mystery, than God in Christ.

Then, as to the Teaching of Christ. It is obvious to ask, Was ever teaching like it? Surely, it was no ordinary teaching, that in three centuries, hurled mighty Jupiter from her ancient Capitol, and saw Cæsar and his Empire worshipping at the foot of the Cross. Some men's personality is more important than their words; that of others less. Christ's personality and doctrine, are equally great. What makes 'the highest style of man?' The teaching of Christ. But is it not simple teaching? It is; and therein, lie its beauty and its power. The simplicity that was in Christ, has its analogy in the simplicity that is in Nature. Nature has, for instance, but two forms of line—the straight line and the curve: and yet, with these she moulds her flowers, builds her mountains, and rounds her worlds. By means of a straight line and a curve, we see the immensities measured, and the universe bound to the laws of order and beauty. What, then, has Christianity? Just two simple principles—but grand as simple, and effective as grand. They are the spiritual straight line and curve, if you will. These are the alpha and omega, of Christ's teaching. The one is, 'Love the Lord thy God, with all thy heart;' and the other, 'Love thy neighbour as thyself.' Christ is the Sower who went forth to sow a world's regeneration. In the centre of Judaic orthodoxy he gave out no shibboleth, for he himself said *sibboleth*. One knows not the language in which the Father converses with the Son; but the Son breake that speech of God, into the music of human thought, and the beauty of human solitudes. Christianity is God's truth, translated, into man's words. The splendour may be lost, but the substance is there. The sunlight is around, though the sun himself makes the clouds his tabernacle; thereby modifying the intensity of his beams. 'It has often been asserted that Christ did not set down in sequential order what is known in these modern days as a system of divinity. The assertion is not only true as a matter of fact, but true as an evidence of his Godhead. The Divine, the immeasurable, the eternal, cannot be formulated. Life cannot be systematised. Architecture may, so may astronomy, botany, and all the arts and sciences. But life is not a science: the soul is not an art.'

Do we stumble at Miracles? Then, we should stumble at God himself. 'Admit a God, all other wonders cease.' Of the miracles of Christ, I will merely observe, after the thought of John Foster, that they were the ringing of the great bell of the universe to call men to hear stated and expounded the principles of the Kingdom of God. Put

together the following; 'My Father doeth the works,' 'My Father worketh hitherto, and I work,' 'I and my Father are one,' 'I am in the Father and the Father in me.' In other words, 'God is, and I manifest him, to the extent of human faculties, and human needs.' That God was in Christ, was shown—

3. *In the resurrection of Christ from the dead.* No other man ever came as he did; and no other man ever went as he did. Those events were grand enough to have awoken the Thunders. But when God works he makes no noise. His footsteps are not heard. Worlds rise into being, silently as thoughts in the mind. Our planet is turning and rushing, in three directions at once; and yet a babe can slumber amid it all; not a molecule of the working brain is jolted. The chariot of the universe drives too softly to crush a pebble: the infinite spaces mean the infinite silences. The kingdom of heaven cometh not with observation. Divine births and Divine resurrections make no sound. God can afford to be silent; and so his Well-Beloved comes noiseless as the sun, and goes in like manner. The true Spiritual 'cries not, nor lifts up its voice in the streets.' When men *know*, they do not need to hear. Silence is golden, because it is Divine.

The resurrection of Christ—is it too good to be true; too wonderful to be believed? I think not. There are certain things, patent to thought, which it is utterly impossible to account for, apart from belief in the action of the supernatural. Whence this orderly and beautiful world? how did life come to be at first? and by what power did man awake from nothingness to find himself surrounded by the light of worlds? If you *could* trace back the bones of the man, to some 'monster of the prime,' you would feel some misgiving, me-thinks, in trying to derive the beauty of the woman from such a source.

'Grace was in all her steps, heaven in her eye,
In every gesture dignity and love.'

Not much savour of the baboon, there, I think. Which, now, is the more difficult to make, a first Adam, or to re-make a second? To my thinking, Adam, in this garden of Eden, was as great a wonder as the risen Christ in the garden where Mary saw him. The creation stands on miracles, and the Christian scheme does the same. The existence of the Church to-day, proves the resurrection of Christ, eighteen hundred years ago. That resurrection is the Central Fact of Christianity. Take *it* away, and the whole thing collapses, never to form again. The *body* of Christ was an accident, a condescension, an adaptation, an instrumentality. The *essential* Christ consisted in the spiritual and Divine,

concealed beneath the wrappage of his physical framework. This was sufficiently shown at the Transfiguration. The same day he died, he was with the believing thief in the spirit world. And is not such a rising-up as great a marvel as any resurrection of the body? But the bodily Christ too, must rise again. The Disciples had to be convinced, and through them, the world. 'Reach hither, thy hand, Thomas.' Yes; surely enough, it is the identical Jesus who has risen again. As a recent writer well observes: 'It is a little unreasonable to affirm confidently that at the end of eighteen centuries we are in a better position for judging what was the real history of the resurrection of Jesus, than was the learned and originally unbelieving Jew Saul, who moved in the very centres of those quickening influences which proceeded, no one denies, from the person and story of Jesus. Now, if the resurrection of Christ, as an historical fact, be once conceded, of course the general theory of the professors of Christianity is established: that mysterious personage could not have belonged to the normal type of mankind, and his mission must have been Divine: which granted, no contention will any longer be made about the miracles he is said to have performed.' Surely the universe is big enough, and wonderful enough, to admit of the resurrection of a dead body. We tread on miracle, we see it, we breathe it:—

'All we behold is miracle, but seen
So duly, all is miracle in vain.'

Let me just say, in passing, that the whole matter of our Christianity is built on faith in Jesus Christ. Who is not struck with Dr. Punshon's dying attitude towards his sustaining Saviour. 'Am I going?' 'Yes.' 'Thank God,' exclaimed Dr. Punshon, 'Jesus is a bright reality!' In such a frame may we also, 'Go'!

II.—THE REASON—*'Reconciling the world unto himself.'*

Now, Reconcile, means to call or bring together again. From *re*, again, and *concilio*, to call together. Reconciling the world—

1. *To the idea of God's personality and fatherhood.* Judaism was the divine seed, Christianity the bright consummate flower, of revelational truth. 'Jehovah' was, of course, a being of personal attributes; but the difference between the God of Moses, and the God of Christ, is very great. Power, severity, majesty, and aloofness, are the chief predicates of Jehovah; whilst tenderness, compassion, lovingkindness, and nighness-at-hand, are represented as being the dominant characteristics of 'our Father who is in heaven.' *Righteousness* is the motto of the Law; *Love* is the motto of the Gospel. Nay, that God

is Love, constitutes the entire spirit of the truth as it is in Jesus. Beyond the little circle of Judaism, which was the silver rim of the cloud, only pantheism and polytheism reigned. The few said God was impersonal, and the many, that He was a multiplied essence, there being thousands of gods. How a world's theology was revolutionised by the teaching of Christ! 'Ye believe in God, believe also in me,' said he, the meaning being, 'By me, God's character is revealed and manifested; I am personal and he is personal; I and my Father are one; God is your heavenly Father, and know, that as a father pitieth his children, so your Divine father pitieth you. God and Nature are not one, but two; Nature existing, not because God is a creative principle, but because he is a creative person. God is a spirit—conscious, intelligent, potent, righteous, loving, and omnipresent, the Father of the spirits of all flesh, too holy and just to clear the guilty, but having no pleasure in the destruction of the wicked, wishing, rather, that all should be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth.' With large ideas like these, the Great Teacher familiarized His disciples, and reconciled the world to God and His moral government. Thus, to primitive truth and to newness of spiritual life, was the world brought back again. Reconciling the world—

2. *To the idea of a supernatural order and an invisible source of Providence.* Familiar with Nature and its laws, and seeing the universal dominance of secondary causality, we are apt to conclude that, whatever God had to do with things in the past, now, at least, things get on very well without Him. This, in fact, is the prevailing view in the science, philosophy, and literature of modern thought. It was called *Deism* in the last century, and is thus described in Pope's great satire, the *Dunciad*:—

Philosophy, that leaned on heaven before,
Shrinks to her second cause and is no more.
Physic of metaphysic begs defence,
And metaphysic calls for aid on sense!
See mystery to mathematics fly!
In vain! they gaze, turn giddy, rave, and die.
Religion, blushing, veils her sacred fires,
And, unawares, morality expires.

A portion of the Jews, even the Sadducees, embraced this God-ignoring doctrine. Had they forgotten the Red Sea receding from the rod of Moses, and Sinai in its thunder-throes at the Giving of the Law? Did not the chariot come down and the Tishbite go up? Where were the laws of Nature when that widow's barrel of meal did not waste, nor her cruse of oil fail? O, ye Sadducees! your scepticism is long,

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but your memory is short. Would you even be persuaded, if one rose from the dead? Then why does not your own Samuel at En-dor convince you? Did you ever hear this,

He that's convinced against his will
Is of the same opinion still?

Do you not know that the heart is an active factor in the matter of belief, and that not frequently it has even more to do in that matter than the head itself?

Now, our blessed Lord laid the axe to the roots of Deism and Naturalism in three ways—by His personal nature, by His miracles, and by His teaching. Does not the great All-Father care for the sparrow, and number the hairs? And what have angels to do in our world if the laws of Nature are the be-all and do-all of the world's ongoings? Surely He who gave the laws is superior to the laws, and can suspend or modify them at will if he see fit. But what are laws of Nature but methods by which power in Nature acts? and what is power in Nature but God at work in Nature? The minds of men are a nature within a Nature, and it is in and by the world of mind that 'particular Providence' principally works. A thought directly suggested by heaven, or a thought directly withdrawn; nay, even a feeling quickened or a feeling deadened, might change the history of a life or the fortunes of an empire. God is the Great Spirit, we are the little spirits, and it is in the spirit-sphere where we must look for 'the finger of God.' As 'cerebration' can go on 'outside the consciousness,' so can the special providence of God. Reconciling the world—

3. *To belief in the principle of pardon and adoption through faith in a sovereign mediator.*—Under this head the following remarks of Butler, commend themselves. 'The constitution of the world (he says), and God's moral government over it, is all mystery, as much as the Christian dispensation. . . . therefore it is most evident we are not judges, antecedently to revelation, whether a mediator was or was not necessary to obtain certain ends; to prevent future punishment and bring mankind to the final happiness of their nature. . . . when the reasons of God's dispensations are concealed, to argue from our ignorance, that such dispensations cannot be from God, is infinitely absurd. . . . let not such poor creatures as we go on objecting against an infinite scheme, that we do not see the necessity or usefulness of all its parts, and call this reasoning.' That Christ offered himself a propitiatory sacrifice, and made atonement for the sins of the world, is unquestionably the revealed doctrine,

if words have any meaning. 'But now once in the end of the world, Christ appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself.' Scores of similar passages might be cited. The rule to be observed by those professing to receive the Bible as God's word, is this: to accept whatever is revealed, whether it square with our philosophy, or not. Our only hope, as sinners before God, centres in Christ's Divine person, and Christ's accomplished work. Reconciling the world—

4. *To the doctrine of reward and punishment in another world.*—'Science has no voice beyond its own province'; that province lying within the limits of sense and the experience thence arising. To revelation alone, and to Jesus Christ more especially, are we indebted for knowledge of those great facts of the universe—a Heaven, and a Hell. Prior to the time of Christ, the notion was in the world, but not the *certainty*. The Great Revealer brought that truth, as out of the misty dawn, into the clear and cheering light of day. He seemed himself ever to stand, as it were, within sight and hearing, of the things not seen.' Hence the sanctity of his life, and the marvellous grandeur and power of his utterances. The good people of Verona used to point out Dante, as the man who had been in the other world. But here is one who *had* been there, who, in fact, came from there. He walked, therefore, not by faith, but by knowledge. 'We walk about 'mid worlds unrealised,' but not *He*. His aspect and thought seemed like the echo of higher worlds, and eternity looked nearer while he spake.

'He saw a hand they could not see,
He heard a voice they could not hear.'

And speaking as out of the infinites of hidden being, he rolled out 'THESE SAYINGS OF MINE,' upon the currents of the world, as with the authority of a god. Stooping to touch the loftiest thought, and, at the same time, uttering new truth, and imparting fresh significance to old, his words fell like drops of fire upon the stubble of a world's dead conscience, and so burnt themselves into the consciousness of Humanity, that the gates of hell shall not prevail against them. 'Plato *reasoned* well; but this man *knew*. And the quintessence of his wisdom was this:

'I think not much of thine or mine,
I hear the roll of the ages;'

for 'what shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?'

JABEZ COLE.

CHRISTIAN ALMSGIVING.

'Take heed that ye do not your alms before men, to be seen of them; otherwise ye have no reward of your Father which is in heaven. Therefore, when thou doest *thine* alms, do not sound a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and in the streets, that they may have glory of men. Verily I say unto you, They have their reward. But when thou doest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth, that thine alms may be in secret; and thy Father which seeth in secret Himself shall reward thee openly.'—Matt. vi. 1-4.

IN the judgment of competent scholars the marginal reading should be taken into the text, and the first clause be read, 'Take heed that ye do not your *righteousness* before men.' Accepting this word as genus, almsgiving, prayer, and fasting range under it as species. And the same caution which is given respecting alms-deeds is enforced respecting devotion and bodily mortification. The admonitory word, 'take heed,' knits the group together. The desire of human applause is a vitiating element in any of the three.

In a philological point of view the word '*righteousness*' is interesting. By a licence of language, it was formerly applied not only to matters of strict justice, to which it properly belongs, but also to acts of generosity, or voluntary kindness. The indeterminate virtues which cannot be challenged of us by the stern voice of law, do not class easily with honesty and fair dealing, which belong to justice. The law enforces these. We *must* be just; but we either *may* or not be generous, bountiful, and compassionate. Relative to these the law cannot touch us. And yet in a world like ours a high and noble character cannot be maintained without some proportion of the softer virtues entering into combination with the exactness of justice. Rigid adherence to the square virtues, so as to shut out the tenderness of charity, would not be right. The distinction between them is undeniable, but, in practical life, a conjunction of them is what is desirable. To call them both by the same name is, therefore, a warrantable licence. Accordingly, the Scripture does so. 'When thou dost lend thy brother anything, thou shalt not go into his house to fetch his pledge. Thou shalt stand abroad, and the man to whom thou dost lend shall bring out the pledge abroad unto thee. And if the man be poor, thou shalt not sleep with his pledge; in any case, thou shalt deliver him the pledge again when the sun goeth down, that he may sleep in his own raiment and bless thee; and it shall be *righteousness* unto thee before the Lord thy God' (Deut. xxiv. 10-14). Another suitable reference is Psalm cxii. 9—'He hath dispersed, He hath given to the poor; His *righteousness* endureth for ever.' A

third appropriate reference is Dan. iv. 27—‘Wherefore, O King, let my counsel be acceptable unto thee, and break off thy sins by righteousness and thine iniquities by showing mercy to the poor, if it may be a lengthening of thy tranquility.’ As these quotations speak of deeds of mercy under a name properly applicable to acts of justice, they strongly intimate that the two are not antagonists. Nothing prevents them being joined together in sacred wedlock. Such a marriage is most happy in its effects. Mercy takes off the asperity of justice, and justice reflects a manliness upon mercy, and prevents it from degenerating into downright weakness.

Deeds of charity form a considerable branch of Christianity. The text before us contains no formal command to give, nor are we anywhere directed how much we are to give. To go into such detail would not comport with the dignity of the Christian economy. But when we are directed how a thing has to be done, it is fairly implied that the said thing is expected of us. Charitable actions being required of us, it is important to know how they are to be executed. The value of an action of this kind depends quite as much upon the manner and spirit in which it is done as upon the magnitude of the gift. How, then, should our alms-deeds be done? Privately and free from ostentation; and privately, that they may not be open to such a charge. The clause in hand requires to be twice emphasised in order to reach its full import. ‘Take heed that ye do not your alms *before men*.’ But there is something deeper. ‘Take heed that ye do not your alms *before men to be seen of them*.’ If circumstances are such at any time that you cannot keep your acts of kindness from public observation, at any rate, take care that to be seen of men is not your aim. In an earlier part of this Sermon on the Mount it is said, ‘Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.’ What is thus commanded is in another of the great Teacher’s utterances commended. ‘But he that doeth truth cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest, that they are wrought in God’ (John iii. 21.). Yet the same Teacher admonishes us to hide the hand with which our bounties are distributed, and to do such deeds behind men rather than before them. Such deeds are surely good! Well, they are presumably so. But as the quality of an action depends upon motive, and publicity might cause the good work to be evil spoken of, as having been done to win applause, it is better done privately since that cuts off occasion.

In cases where it is impracticable to avoid observation in our beneficent actions, we will require to watch our hearts and guard against

self-complacent vanity. When it is quite at our choice to do the one way or the other, let us prefer the covert style. Private charities are the sweetest. They are most acceptable to God, who witnesses them, and who, as the common Father, requires men to act kindly towards each other. They are the most agreeable to the needy creatures who receive them, and whose feelings might be wounded by open bestowment. And, further still, they are the most profitable to the benefactor himself. They do not debar him of future reward, nor operate unfavourably on the purity of his motives. Carefully concealing his benefactions from public notice, he cannot win applause, and evidently does not wish to have it. On these several grounds, then, it is better to do alms in private.

There are virtues that may be safely practised on the open stage of life, and that ought to be: 'Let your moderation be known unto all men' (Philipp. iv. 5.). Let your honesty in social dealings, your veracity in promises and engagements, your conformity to the laws of the State, be manifest to the world, so that you cannot be accused of any breach of order. There are matters, however, that are better kept in the shade. If you fast for a religious purpose, it is better not to advertise the fact by wearing a rueful countenance. If you devote special periods of the day to private worship, you should shut the door of your closet. And so, if you feed the hungry and clothe the naked, it is needless to inform the town by the public crier, or to advertise it in the gazette.

The second verse expressly forbids publication. 'Do not sound a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and in the streets, that they may have glory of men.' Whether such a custom as the distribution of alms by sound of trumpet existed amongst the Jews, or whether the receivers of charity carried a horn and blew a blast to the honour of liberal givers, it is not important to decide. Neither need we accept the interpretation that our Lord condemns the clashing noise some made in casting their gifts into the trumpet-shaped holes of the poor's-box. The caution lies against display and hunting for applause. 'Do not sound a trumpet *before thee*,' that is, prior to the bestowment of a benefit. To report it after would equally violate the precept. And further, as the donor must not himself blow the trumpet, neither must he hand it to another to do that office for him, nor put any means into operation to make the public aware of his generosity. The margin reads, 'Do not cause a trumpet to be sounded.'

In the time of our Lord's ministry benevolent action must have been prompted largely by corrupt motive. Synagogues, gathering

places, streets, and open spaces were the points at which it was done, where many eyes might rest upon it. It is conceivable that some might practise this open charity who had no respect to the reputation it would secure. But He who knew what was in men, and could read their hearts like an open book, saw some whose bounty flowed in the prospect of a revenue of applause, 'that they might have glory of men.' He brands them accordingly with the approbrious name of hypocrite, a name which we should be slow to apply to anyone, since we cannot penetrate men's motives as He could. Hypocrite is equal to a stage-player, an actor, who wears a borrowed dress, and is not what he appears. On the stage he is a hero, a king, a saint, or some shining magnate. Off the stage and stripped of his borrowed costume, he is just a common man, very often only a moderate character. So these would-be benefactors were not what they passed themselves off for, but just a set of merchants seeking an article hardly worth the price they paid for it. They lived upon the public breath, and expected to be clapped and encored. We proceed to

Verse 3. 'But when thou doest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth.' Whether intended to do so or not, this language seems to suggest that we are to do good with the best hand we have. It might have read, 'Let not thy right hand know what thy left hand doeth.' So good a deed as helping the indigent should not be a left-handed action. Let it be done with promptitude by the dexter member, which is the seat of 'cunning.' But take this for what it is worth.

The meaning may be—do not disclose your private charities to others, however close they may be to you, even if they be as near as your left hand is to your right. Your *neighbour* who lives in the adjoining street, or in the same block of houses with you, it may be next door, is as your left hand. If, to raise yourself in his esteem, you tell him you have helped some needy one very efficiently, you tarnish the deed by a low motive, and if he suspect you as seeking praise, he will secretly despise you. If you did the kind deed for God's sake, then be content for Him alone to know it. Your *relatives*, wife, husband, brother, or sister, may be your left hand. Provided you do not infringe on their rights by your liberality, they have no claim to know what you do. Your left hand is a part of *yourself*. Though it is impossible to do these works of love without knowing that we do them, it is advisable not to mark them heavily in our memory, nor to be thinking freely about them, lest there should spring up in our minds a foolish pride about our own goodness. Sometimes even the

receivers of our bounty might properly be kept in ignorance of us as their benefactors. Noble deeds of this nature have been done after sun-down. The gift was silently pushed under the door, or safely deposited in the passage, or sent by post, and the hand-writing disguised.

The reward of beneficence is sure and ample. The true benefactor thinks little about his recompense. He is not like the husbandman who casts his seed into the furrows in order to realise increase. Far nobler feelings and finer impulses prompt him. But the reward comes without being looked for. Even for ostentatious charities there is a requital answerable to their aim. 'Verily I say unto you, they have their reward.' They have it from men. Their names are spoken with respect, and their doings come forth in loud echoes. Strange it would be if a benefice of higher birth and nobler aim should drop into oblivion. It will not be so. The Omniscient Eye observes the kindness done under cover, and the reward will be open. 'Thy Father, which seeth in secret, Himself shall reward thee openly.' The reward is determined and bestowed by One who is able to estimate the worth of the action, because He sees in secret and looks even into the crypt of the heart. He will not depute some one else to bestow the recompense. He will do it 'Himself.' And He will do it so as to secure thee the honour thou didst not seek. He will do it *openly*. The time when is not specified. It will, perhaps, be done in time, certainly in eternity, possibly in both. Promises relating to temporal good are plentiful, especially in the Old Testament. The reader may turn up and read to advantage Psalm xli. 1-3, Isa. lviii. 7-10, Prov. xix. 17, Eccles. xi. 1. The full reward comes at the last, when the Judge of mankind, according to the forecast given of the final audit, will make honourable mention before men and angels of all the good works ever done out of respect to His authority and for the good of His followers (Matt. xxv. 35-40). Thus, when the ostentatious charities of hypocrites shall have faded from recollection, the deeds of true philanthropists will bloom in perpetual remembrance. My soul, come not thou into the secret of those who *have* their reward from men, but seek rather to be enrolled with those who *hope* for 'the honour that cometh from God only!'

T. G.

CONSECRATION—A REASONABLE SERVICE.

'I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service.'—Rom. xii. 1.

At the close of the previous chapter the Apostle ends the doctrinal part of the epistle. Doctrine established, he comes to practice.

Having laid the foundation deeply, he now builds upon it. This verse is the key-note to the whole piece of subsequent exhortation. We may best reach the Apostle's climax—consecration to God—by treating the text verbally—that is, taking its leading terms as lines or way-marks for travelling to the desired end, 'Beseech.' Moses in the Law commands; Paul persuades and entreats, how powerful in pathos and appeal his words, 'We beseech you in Christ's stead.' This is the more excellent way—force and authority may be resisted, but kindness, entreaty gets into you, goes into the heart.

'Therefore.' Wherefore? From all that's gone before, because of the doctrines of Grace so indisputably established. Christian doctrine is the basis of Christian duty. We believe and act. The men who have done most have believed most.

'Brethren.' The family idea seems to be a favourite one in New Testament to set forth the Church. We may, we must, differ in many things, but we are all one here—may be Jews and Gentiles, yet brethren. No place for priestly rank, no tolerance of priestly assumption or lordship. 'One is your Master, even Christ.' The lowest is a brother, and the highest can be no more.

'Mercies of God.' Common and covenant mercies, hourly and eternal mercies, temporal and spiritual mercies, from the daily bread up to the gift of 'the only begotten Son.' They have all one fountain—the loving heart of God, and they have all one channel—the hand of God. This is the ground of obligation—not mere authority, not, I Paul say so and so; no, but because you have been loved much and have received much. Large receivings should lead to large givings.

'Present.' The same word in chap. vi. is 'yield'—'yield,' that is, present, 'yourselves unto God.' The thought is the same as the word is—willinghood; surrender what you might keep back, but what you should not, what you ought not to keep back. Gratitude, loyalty, self-interest, reason, love—all demand the gift, the present, the yielding to God.

'Bodies.' In Pauline philosophy it appears that man is a tripartite being—body, soul, spirit. The spirit is the noblest side of man. Here he is capable of seeing, knowing God, and of union with Him. The soul is the intellectual faculties and reason. The body, the fleshly organisation, with appetites and affections. Why did Paul claim the body, the lowest part of man, for God? Was it that there was most danger there? The body hinders and clogs the soul, and seduces to sin. Whatever our answer to the question, this is clear that God must be served with the body—hands, eyes, feet, all must be instruments of

righteousness. 'Ye are not your own' sounds strange. If my body is not my own, what is mine? Hear why—'Ye are bought with a price.' And what a price! Not silver and gold, but 'the precious blood of Christ.'

'Living Sacrifice.' God does not want beasts, but bodies; not corpses, but 'living' sacrifices. Not Cain's fruit, but Abel's living beings—pointing onwards to the Lamb of God. Dead sacrifices are an abomination; the Living God requires living sacrifices.

'Holy.' No mere ceremonial holiness—but personal holiness. No washings nor fastings can make holy. There must be entire personal consecration to God. We catch his meaning when he says, 'Ye are the temples of the living God.'

'Acceptable.' What is pleasant, what we approve, what we would choose—this is acceptable. It is no degradation for the Divine Majesty to say that He wants you; yours He will get when He gets you. 'Thou requirest not sacrifice, else would I give it.' The whole world as an offering would not be 'acceptable' if you kept yourself back. To live to God is to please God.

'Reasonable.' Rational. This surrender to God accords with reason; it is the highest dictate of reason. The confidence of the Jews that they would be accepted because they were Jews was irrational. The cruel services of the Gentiles and heathens to their gods was unreasonable service. The same word 'reasonable' is used in other parts of this epistle. We have it rendered, 'conclude.' 'We conclude, then, that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law.' It is reasonable that a man is so justified. In another place it is 'Reckon.' 'For I reckon that the sufferings of this present time,' &c. It is reasonable 'that the sufferings,' &c. We have here the office and place of reason in religion. We reject Baptismal Regeneration and Transubstantiation, not only because the Bible is against them, but also because of their intrinsic unreasonableness.

'Service.' Not mere acts of devotion, performed at times, but a service always and in everything. This will hallow every duty, and ennoble every relationship. If you be in any position incompatible with this service, you dare not hesitate as to what you should do. God's claims must be conceded cheerfully and at once. We want this text as the law of our life, and then, as Faber says,—

Our lives would be all sunshine
In the sweetness of our Lord.

H. G. E.

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND POLITICS.

LITERATURE.

STUDENTS of Philosophy will rejoice to have placed within their reach an excellent translation, by S. F. Alleyne, of Zeller's *History of Greek Philosophy from the earliest Period to the time of Socrates*. (London: Longmans and Co.) Especially will these volumes be welcome to those who have any acquaintance with Dr. Zeller's writings on the later periods of Greek thought. His 'Socrates and the Socratic schools,' and his 'Stoics, Epicurians, and Sceptics,' are works the value of which is well known and appreciated in this country. The volumes now translated by Mr. Alleyne examine and expound the philosophy of Greece from its supposed origin with Thales to the times of the Sophists and the rise of the Socratic schools in the fifth century before Christ, and in point of time precedes the other works with which English readers have been for a while familiar. This is a history in the true sense, a record of the movements and developments of thought extending over two centuries, with an exposition of their significance and relations, without being designed to serve and suit any particular theory. In this respect Zeller's work contrasts with similar works written by English-speaking men. Maurice's account of the ancient philosophies reveals a distinctly theological bias, while the history of Mr. Lewis is designed to show that the theological and metaphysical views of the world were not scientific, nor in any way fruitful in good results. Zeller, on the contrary, has no theory to serve and writes without the prejudices begotten of such prepossessions as influenced Maurice and Lewes. Ueberweg's 'History of Philosophy,' which was presented to English readers in a tolerably good translation a few years ago, is not characterised by any particular bias; but it is more like a chronicle of the developments of thought, and does not unfold, as this work of Zeller's does, their significance and relations. It is a chronicle of philosophic speculation rather than a history of philosophy. There is no history of ancient philosophy which at all equals this of Zeller for accuracy, impartiality, and comprehensiveness. The period over which it extends embraces the speculations of the early Ionian physicists, the Pythagorean mathematicians, the Eleatics, and the Athenian schools, that prepared the way for Socrates and Plato. The first volume is largely devoted to a consideration of the origin of

Greek Philosophy. The Ionic speculations concerning the constitution of things, as well as those of Pythagoras on number, have been attributed to an Egyptian origin, while the Pantheism of the Eleatics has been regarded as a derivation from the East. Zeller, while admitting that in many points ancient Greek philosophy shows striking resemblance to systems of thought indigenous to other countries, still maintains that in many points it was essentially a native growth, and is fully accounted for by the genius, resources, and state of the Hellenic times. The conditions under which Greek philosophy arose and the means by which it was fostered and developed are next examined, and here there is much light shed upon the religion, cosmology, ethics, and politics of the Greek-speaking peoples during the period preceding the times of Thales, and out of which Greek philosophy took its rise. There is not in any other manual of philosophy available to English readers so full an account of Pythagoras and his teaching as in the first of these volumes of Dr. Zeller's, while the latter part of the second volume shows how the transition began which, through the Sophists, prepared the way for Socrates. The speculations of the physicists led to the conclusion that knowledge of the essential nature of things could not be gained by means of the senses. The wars in which the Greeks were engaged exercised a disturbing influence upon the people; the old limits of social usage, intellectual ideas, and national attachment were removed; as the conservatism of the Greeks grew feebler, their scepticism and indifference grew stronger. It was out of some such state of things that Sophism took its rise; and of the teachers and doctrines of this school Dr. Zeller gives a full account. This work of Dr. Zeller is without a peer for fulness of information and accuracy of critical analysis, so far, at least, as works in the English tongue are concerned; and the many criticisms of the views of other writers which are contained in the notes afford the student an opportunity of considering many questions discussed under a variety of aspects. This work is simply indispensable to all who desire to study the ancient systems of thought; and it shows how little progress has, after all the boasting about modern advancement, been made in metaphysical speculation and research.

SCOTLAND has been prolific of noble men, and the grand chapters in her history are anything but like angels' visits, 'few and far between.' Among these chapters that connected with the rise of the French Presbyterian Church occupies far from a rearward place, and among the men who played a prominent part in this period of Scottish ecclesiastical history a position with the foremost must be assigned to Robert S.

Candlish. Recently there has been published by Adam and Charles Black, of Edinburgh, a somewhat bulky volume, containing *Memorials of Robert Smith Candlish, D.D., Minister of St. George's Free Church and Principal of the New College, Edinburgh*, that will be sure to command a widespread and careful reading. The author is W. WILSON, D.D., and so far as he has done his work, there is not much to complain of. The faults of the volume are of a negative rather than a positive character. The ecclesiastic is fully portrayed in Dr. Wilson's pages, but the personal biography of the man, his mental progress and development, his spiritual struggles and growth; his close human friendships, his tastes, habits, and modes of study; indeed, the whole personal life of the man is scantily described. Neither is there much account given of Dr. Candlish's unrivalled power as a preacher and a debater, though he ranked among the foremost men of his day in both these classes. He was a great preacher among great preachers, and a masterly debater among men whose argumentative skill was of no mean order. He was one of the profoundest and most scholarly theologians of his time, and a Biblical exegete who had few peers. But in relation to all these matters Dr. Wilson is almost entirely silent. It is the ecclesiastic whom he portrays, and he certainly does it with elaborate carefulness. Still, it is to be regretted that so little is said about the man. Robert Candlish was the son of an Edinburgh doctor; but when he was only five weeks old his father died. His mother removed to Glasgow, and maintained herself and family by teaching. Robert Candlish never went to any school. His mother and elder brother superintended his education till he entered the University, in his thirteenth year. Five years after this, having pursued a successful course of study, he graduated M.A. in 1823. Other three years he spent in the Divinity Hall, and for a short time resided at Eton as tutor to a young Scotchman there. In 1828 he was licensed as a preacher, and became assistant to Dr. Gibb, of Glasgow; but neither here nor at Bonhill, where he served in a similar capacity, did he acquire any popularity. He next moved to St. George's as Assistant to Mr. Martin, whose health was impaired, but had no intention of any permanent settlement there. However, on Mr. Martin's death, in 1834, he was appointed minister, and never had another charge, for his church and congregation left the Establishment along with him in the Disruption. His splendid powers found ample scope for exercise in his Edinburgh parish, and with characteristic ardour he threw himself into the work of his charge. He was an admirable organiser—a rare manager and leader of men, and to this, undoubtedly, is due the

amazing amount of work he did himself and got others to do. As a pastor, he was diligent and painstaking to a fault; but he was also equally active in the wider field of general ecclesiastical matters. A speech that he delivered on the Auchterarder case in 1839—and it was the first that he delivered in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland—revealed his remarkable powers of debate and placed him at once in the foremost rank. From the day that he delivered that speech till his death no question of importance was discussed in the ecclesiastical assemblies of which he was a member without his voice being heard upon it. During the intense excitement and stormy times which immediately preceded the disruption he performed prodigies of labour; and it is difficult to realise how any man burdened with an important pastorate as Dr. Candlish was could find time for the multifarious duties he discharged. He conducted a large correspondence, was a member of several important committees, was in frequent consultation with members of Parliament in London, and watching closely the progress of the controversy with the Government relative to the freedom and liberties of the Church; and yet he attended to the demands of his pulpit, took an active part in missionary and other public movements, and, in the midst of all this public work, prepared for the press the first volume of *Contributions towards an Exposition of Genesis*. He was one of the foremost men in connection with the Disruption crisis in 1843, and contributed more than any other man—except, perhaps, Chalmers—to the organisation and consolidation of the Free Church. In 1847, after the death of Dr. Chalmers, he was elected to a Professor's chair in the New College; but he did not long occupy the position, for the minister dying who had succeeded him in Free St. George's, he gave up the chair and returned to his pastorate. In 1861 he was elected Moderator of the Free Church, and the year after he became Principal of the New College, still continuing his connection with his church, having secured the Rev. J. Oswald Dykes as a co-pastor. In 1873 he finished his work, and was gathered to his fathers, esteemed and honoured by all who knew him, and by thousands who had never seen his face. For more than thirty years, extending from 1837 to 1873, no man in Scotland exercised a greater influence over church matters than Robert Candlish; and the history of his public life is in the main the history of the ecclesiastical affairs of that period. It is this which, despite the scanty information respecting the personal life of Dr. Candlish, invests Dr. Wilson's volume with so much interest, and will lead the students of one of the finest pages in Scottish church history, and all

who care for noble-mindedness and disinterestedness of action, to give it a hearty welcome and carefully peruse it.

WE invite the attention of all lovers of cultured saintliness to the *Letters of Thomas Erskine, of Linlathen*, edited by WILLIAM HANNA, D.D., LL.D. (Edinburgh: David Douglass). Our notice of this book comes, perhaps, a little late; but we hasten to make amends for our tardiness by saying that we are here brought face to face with as finely spiritual a personality as ever was enwrapped in the garb of mortality—a man of whom Mr. Alexander J. Scott, late Principal of Owen's College, used to say that he could never think of God without thinking of Thomas Erskine. These letters were originally published in two volumes, but, by omitting some of the less interesting and shortening the connecting narrative, Dr. Hanna has managed to compress the materials at his disposal into one volume of not quite 600 pages. Two things we regret, first, that Dr. Hanna has not carried the process of excision a little further, and, secondly, that he has not supplied us with something more of genuine biography than this work furnishes. Many of the letters in the earlier part of the volume, especially those addressed to members of Mr. Erskine's own family, and which contain delicate religious confidences, expressed in evangelical phraseology of the most pronounced sort, might well have been allowed to remain in their original appropriate privacy; indeed, we are almost certain that Mr. Erskine would never have written in such a strain if he had suspected that the innermost secrets of his heart would thus have been published on the house-tops. As a matter of fact, he always shrank from such self-obtrusions. And then we wish that Dr. Hanna had given us something more, rather than less, in the way of 'connecting narrative.' It is true that, as he says in the preface—quoting the late Bishop Ewing—'what he has to depict is spirit and not matter, that he has to convey light, to represent sound;' but we still think that a little more of direct biographic portraiture of Erskine might have been very successfully attempted by the accomplished author of the *Life of Chalmers*. He has confined himself too closely to the bare mechanical office of editor, and so it results that this book fails to become what it might easily have been—one of the most attractive pieces of biographic literature in the language. Nothing was wanting either in the way of subject or of ability in the narrator; and it is a pity that Dr. Hanna has either not been allowed, or has felt too timid, to limn a more vivid picture of this singularly pure and cultured Scotch laird. But what Dr. Hanna has not done himself is furnished, to some extent, by certain reminiscences of

Erskine from Miss Wedgwood, Principal Shairp, and Dean Stanley. These admirable recollections, taken along with the letters to such persons as Dr. Ewin, Dr. McLeod Campbell, Vinet, Gaussen, Maurice, and Thomas Carlyle will help any careful and sympathetic reader to form for himself a tolerably clear and vivid conception of the life of scholarly leisure and calm spiritual meditation which Thomas Erskine led at Linlathen during the last thirty years of his earthly sojourn. Erskine's chief distinction is, that he is the father of that new and spiritual school in the Presbyterian communion which has raised such a noble and clear-toned protest against the arbitrary iron decrees of the Calvinian scheme of theology. And in thus inaugurating this movement of insurgency against the theology of favouritism, it cannot be denied that Erskine exhibited both great boldness and deep spiritual insight. True, he had a competency, which placed him above the need of considering whether Presbyterianism would accept or reject his utterances; but Erskine's was a nature which would feel the social ostracism which he risked far more keenly than he would feel any mere monetary disability. And, as a writer in the *Contemporary* beautifully remarked, shortly after his death, 'How high must that peak have been which caught the light so early.' He not only caught it, but clearly and brightly reflected it—and reflected it not only on his own land, but on the men of other lands as well. Frederick Denison Maurice expressly tells us that it was this saintly laird of Linlathen who first brought home to his mind the conviction that we have a gospel for *all* men—a gospel intended to deliver them from all evil. Adolphe Monod, the French preacher, says that Erskine uprooted his intellectual prejudices by showing him how to reconcile the gospel with a sound philosophy, and that he dissipated his melancholy by the contrast of his own perfect calm and his tender charity. Erskine was a heresiarch, but one of the most reverent, pure, and spiritual heretics who ever lived. His attitude towards the received beliefs of his church was certainly one of antagonism and aggressiveness; but his antagonism was always so reverent and unobtrusive that we are almost inclined to wish we had a few more of such heretics in all the churches. There was unquestionably a vein of mysticism in Erskine, which comes out quite prominently in the later letters of this volume. He used to say that the conscience in each man is the Christ in each man—the ray of light coming straight from the great Fountain of Light—and that the great thing is to identify duty and conscience hourly with God. He read the works of William Law with much delight and appreciation. Principal Shairp says that 'when left

alone to himself he was a man absorbed in the thought of God.' There is a saying of Boehme's which he loved to quote: 'The element of the bird is the air, the element of the fish is the water, the element of the salamander is the fire, and the heart of God is Jacob Boehme's element.' As I have heard him quote these words I used to think, 'Thou art the man that Boehme describes himself to be.' But we are running on too long. We have said enough, we trust, to send our readers, with longing appetite, not only to these letters, but also to Mr. Erskine's published works, of which a list is given at the end of this volume. We need not assure all who may act on our advice that they will make the acquaintance of one of the most beautiful human spirits who ever breathed in this world.

The name of Dr. Livingstone will be familiar enough to the readers of this *Review*, and most of them will have read the volumes narrating his missionary labours and travels in the 'dark continent,' and his 'last journals,' as he bravely struggled on amid multiplied difficulties and in much weakness, seeking to promote the interests of civilisation and science, but not this so much as the interests of humanity and religion, and died in the work to which his life was so cheerfully and willingly devoted. But this knowledge of Livingstone, the missionary and explorer and philanthropist, will only prepare them to welcome more heartily a volume of a more purely biographic character, *The Personal Life of David Livingstone, LL.D., D.C.L.*, by W. G. Blakie, LL.D., (London: Murray). This volume has been prepared from unpublished journals and correspondence in the possession of Dr. Livingstone's family, and exhibits the man as he is not seen, and cannot be seen, in the works from his own pen in which he narrates his travels and experiences of African life and the scientific results of his varied wanderings. Dr. Blakie relates, in a pleasing and instructive way, the story of Livingstone's childhood and youth, and traces the earlier working of those elements of character which in completed development contributed to place him among the foremost men of his age. Livingstone, as is well known, was in his youth a mill-hand by the banks of the Clyde, and from this position, without any special advantages or help, he worked his way up by his indomitable will, his great patience in labour, and a persistence that nothing could intimidate or damp, to a position that the most ambitious might covet. Underlying this singular strength, which from his earliest years he manifested, was a deep conscientiousness. His concern was to be assured he was right; satisfied of this, he counted no cost too great that he might secure his end. His first wages were spent in the purchase of 'Ruddiman's Rudiments of

Latin,' and so ardently did he apply himself to the study of this language, that he was soon able to read and enjoy some of the classics written in this tongue as he pursued his mill-work. All along he was the subject of strong religious convictions, and was resolved to take some part in spreading the religion of Christ among men. When about twenty years of age he seems to have definitely decided to enter the mission field, and offered himself to the London Missionary Society with a view to work in China. The inner life of Livingstone during this period, and the difficulties he had to overcome, as these have been recorded in his papers, are presented in this volume with careful discretion, showing not only the quality of the man, but the manner in which that quality was developed and matured. Livingstone's idea was to combine the profession of a medical man with his work as a missionary, and he devoted himself with his characteristic ardour and determination to gain the requisite equipment for the full accomplishment of his design. During the summer months he worked hard to gain the means to support himself at the University for the winter sessions. He had marked his goal, and he would gain it. He never became what may be called a 'scientific theologian,' though his attainments in this department of knowledge were respectable. In medicine he made considerable progress, and his attainments stood him in good stead many a time in after years. China, however, was not to be the scene of his labours, and in 1840 he was sent by the London Missionary Society to Africa. Dr. Blakie does not in this volume pretend to repeat what has been so fully told by Livingstone himself and by the editor of 'The Last Journals' concerning the years of toil of various kinds spent by him in Africa; but he gives an account of personal experiences, anxieties, troubles, and encouragements, which do not appear in any of the other works in which the great missionary traveller's explorations and labours are recorded. He relates what Livingstone's native modesty led him to omit, and introduces his readers to an acquaintance with the inner life of the man. The narrative, as Dr. Blakie writes it, gains additional interest from the accounts of Livingstone's visit to his home after his first and second journeys to the interior of Africa. To see a man as he is we need to get behind the scenes. When he is before the footlights he is under the public eye, and demeanes himself accordingly. It is another thing when he is off the stage. Dr. Blakie introduces us to Livingstone the man, and we learn not how he appeared to feel and act in the public work he did, but how he actually felt and acted; and Livingstone is all the more to be admired for what Dr. Blakie has to say concerning him. In relation to his fellow-workers

in the mission field belonging to other communions, Livingstone cherished and manifested the most charitable and brotherly feeling. Where he considered them in error, or their methods to be faulty, he did not hesitate to express his opinion, but he never permitted this to interfere with his charity and his hearty sympathy with every effort to ameliorate the condition of Africa. Some of his opinions on questions relating to South Africa are of special interest just now. Evidently, he had no great opinion of the Boers, and considered them treacherous and cruel in their treatment of the natives, and the cause of much of the ill feeling with which the Kaffirs regarded the white men. The volume is one that will be extensively read, but not more extensively than it deserves. It places the life of David Livingstone in clearer light, and brings out in fuller relief the character of the greatest traveller of this century, showing that the esteem in which his memory is held and the influence he still exercises are due to the unselfishness of his life and his great personal merits, and that these in turn sprang from his love of God and his intense desire to be Christly.

The history of the Christian Church in any part of the world is fraught with interest, but there is a peculiar, though it may be in some respects a melancholy, attraction about its history in those countries where its glory has waned, or where it has altogether ceased to influence and shape the life of the people, as is the case in Northern Africa, where the only representative of a once powerful Christianity is found in the Abyssinian Church, with its corrupt faith and practice. For those who care to look into the past of the Christian Church the 'Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge' has done good service in publishing, in a cheap and handy form, *The North African Church*, by J. LLOYD, M.A. This volume is not to be regarded as furnishing the results of original and independent investigation, for it makes no claims to this; neither is any attempt made to minutely examine and carefully appraise the grounds upon which the statements it contains are based, or to shed any fresh light upon the obscurer portions of North African Church history. What the author has done is simply to compile from the best Church historians a brief and comprehensive account of the Church of Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine, from the earliest times down to our own day. The work is merely a compilation, but it is written in a very interesting and agreeable style, and is full of information concerning Christian work in the countries to which it relates. In a work of this kind inaccuracies are more or less frequent, and Mr. Lloyd's volume is not free from them; but the manner in which he has confined himself in the main to the general lines of historic events

has helped to reduce error to quite a minimum quantity. The pages of Mr. Lloyd's volume afford evidence that he has striven to accomplish his task with candour, and in the main he has succeeded. In the same handy and compendious form it will be difficult to find so excellent and reliable a record of the life and work of the North African Church. The three great Christian lights of Northern Africa, Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine, receive lengthy biographic notice, and their action and influence upon the Church are brought under review with considerable fulness and a large reference to their respective ecclesiastical careers. There is no profound treatment of the men and their works, and few of the difficult questions connected with their lives are examined; but a lot of information is given respecting them, and given in a very pleasant and agreeable way. As a popular compendium relating to an interesting field of Church history, reliable in the main and instructive, this volume has its place and serves its purpose.

It has recently become quite a fashion to publish series of works between each of which there is a connecting tie more or less evident, and hence 'Men of Letters,' 'Ancient Classics,' 'Foreign Classics,' 'Men worth Remembering,' and others who are considered to have some claim upon the attention of English readers, are in course of introduction to them. In addition to those we have named, there is in course of publication a series of *Philosophical Classics for English Readers* (Blackwood and Sons), and a series of *English Philosophers* (Sampson Low, and Co.) As may be expected, the volumes in these series are of varying merit; some of them are really excellent, indeed, all that can well be desired; others are not what might be expected, and add neither to the reputation of the author nor his subject. The series published by Blackwood is under the general editorship of Professor Knight; and the three volumes now issued are in the main excellent works—they deal with Descartes, Butler, and Berkeley, and each volume is produced by an author who has devoted special attention to the life and studies of the philosopher concerning whom he writes. The volumes consist of biography and exposition. Professor Mahaffy, of Dublin, writes the volume on Descartes. The life-story is well told; but the expository parts of the volume are scarcely up to the mark as a presentation of Cartesianism. It is difficult to gather from Professor Mahaffy's pages what the peculiar views of Descartes were concerning the external world out of which his followers in their systems produced such strange results. The relations of indebtedness on the part of Descartes to his predecessors are not indicated, nor are the pages devoted to a consideration of his influence upon his suc-

cessors satisfactory. The volume on Butler contains very fair expository work, and the life-story, void of anything eventful, is dismissed in one brief chapter. The work is a trifle heavy in style, and lacks in vivacity; but the reader will gain a tolerably full and accurate knowledge of Butler's ethical theory from its pages. Professor Fraser's volume on Berkeley is a model biography, and furnishes a full and clear view of the philosophy of the Bishop of Cloyne. The life of the man and the exposition of his views are not separated, but combined, and presented in a way which renders them most agreeable reading. The volume embraces the new material relating to Berkeley's life and opinions discovered since Professor Fraser wrote his larger work. The most important of these materials are the letters of Berkeley to Sir John Percival, extending from 1709 to 1730, and the volume is also enriched with references to the chief discussions on the Berkeleian philosophy that have taken place during the past ten years on the Continent and across the Atlantic. Altogether, it is an excellent work, supplying within narrow limits an admirably full and clear account of the life and opinions of the famous philosophical bishop. The series of 'English Philosophers' is of more limited range than that of the 'Philosophical Classics,' though, as a matter of course, it will embrace some of the same names. The first volume in this series is devoted to 'Adam Smith,' and it certainly is not all that could be desired. The biographical part is a mere outline and chronicle, and the exposition of Smith's philosophical views is limited almost entirely to an abstract of his 'Theory of the Moral Sentiments.' We get to know little of Smith from this volume, and almost as little of his philosophy. A very different volume is that on Sir W. Hamilton, in the same series, by Professor Monck. Hamilton's views, not always in harmony with each other, are carefully considered and criticised with intelligent appreciation. Full allowance is made for the circumstances under which the 'Lectures' were published, and these are criticised in the light of what may be regarded as the authoritative utterances of Hamilton in the 'Discussions' and the 'Notes' on 'Reid.' Professor Monck gives a very clear statement of the Hamiltonian teaching on natural realism—the law of the conditioned—the theory of causation—unconscious mental modifications in psychology, and the quantification of the predicate in logic. He also supplies a glossary of Hamilton's philosophical terms, which considerably enhances the value of this work. It would be difficult for anything better to be done within the same limits than what Professor Monck has accomplished. As an introduction to the study of one of the

greatest among modern 'English Philosophers,' this small volume is invaluable. Both these series will be found well worth attention.

LITERARY JOTTINGS.—Those who wish to learn something concerning the formation, constitution, and work of the Church Missionary Society may have their desire gratified by consulting a volume published by Longmans on *The Missionary Secretariat of Henry Venn, B.D.* The Rev. H. Venn was the secretary of the society from 1841 till his death, in 1872, and the volume, while containing a short biographical sketch by his sons, is really a contribution to the history of the society with which he was so long and honourably connected. Dr. Geikie, who is favourably known by his 'Life of Christ' and other works, is at present issuing at intervals a series of volumes which he calls *Hours with the Bible*. The two volumes now published embrace the Old Testament from Genesis to the Book of Judges, and they contain a large amount of pleasant and profitable reading. Dr. Geikie makes considerable use of recent Egyptological researches, and sheds a flood of light upon many allusions in the earlier books of the Old Testament canon. The work is well suited for private study and family reading, and cannot fail to do good service in spreading Scriptural knowledge. Persons interested in the archæology of Jerusalem will find the *Temple and the Tomb*, by C. Warren, C.E. (London: Bentley and Son), a book that cannot in connection with this subject be overlooked. It is a controversial work, and devoted mainly to an examination and criticism of Mr. James Fergusson's *Temples of the Jews*, another work on the same topic—Jerusalem archæology—that will repay a perusal. The question in dispute between these authors is as to the site of the Jewish Temple and other cognate matters relating to the ancient topography of the Holy City. Elliot Stock publishes a volume by the Rev. Stanley Leathes, D.D., under the title of *Studies in Genesis*, which throws considerable light upon many passages in the first book of the Bible from the Creation to the time of Joseph, and will be found a valuable help to those who are perplexed by the difficulties which undoubtedly exist in this ancient record. The 'Studies,' while upholding the genuineness and authenticity of the passages with which they deal, indicate a generous and liberal spirit, and are far above the level of commonplace in their suggestiveness. South African affairs are just now commanding a great deal of attention in this country, and there is a manifest anxiety to know something more than has been generally known concerning the character and influence of British rule there. A volume just published by Macmillan & Co., from the pen of Mr. F. R. Statham, under the title of *Blacks, Boers,*

and British, is most opportune in relation to this state of public feeling. It is a careful and effective discussion of the whole South African problem by one conversant with the subject, and who is aware of the responsibility that belongs to his utterances. Mr. Statham was intimately connected with South African journalism from 1877 to 1880, first in Natal and then in Cape Town, and carefully watched during these years the course of events there. He has also carefully studied the history of our South African colonies from the very beginning of our rule in that part of the world. His work is a direct impeachment of the policy latterly pursued under the sanction of British authority. He points out with even-handed candour the faults and merits of the Kaffirs and the whites who have settled in their territory and assumed the rule of the country. He ridicules the idea of confederation, and charges upon the imbecility of the Colonial Office much, if not, indeed, all, the ill and mischief by which South Africa has been and is afflicted. Mr. Statham writes with strong conviction, supports his statements with ample evidence, and there will be some difficulty in meeting satisfactorily the essential points he advances. The Christian Knowledge Society have recently published *Africa seen through its Explorers*, by C. H. Eden. This little volume contains a clear and succinct account of the progress of discovery in the African continent, from the times of Bruce and Park to Schweinfurth and Livingstone, and will be found a handy and reliable compendium on this subject. The same Society have also published a couple of volumes on 'Stoicism' and 'Epicureanism,' containing a compact and readable statement of these ancient systems of philosophy. The subjects are handled with great candour and freedom, and there is a frank recognition of what is good in these old systems of thought. Hodder and Stoughton have just published a new and revised edition of Dr. Stoughton's *Ecclesiastical Histories*, covering the period of the Long Parliament to the end of the eighteenth century. The results of Dr. Stoughton's labours in this field of research were originally published in seven volumes. The new edition consists of six, without any abridgement of the matter, and at a much lower price.

SCIENCE.

RECENTLY reports relative to the discovery of human remains in a deposit near Nice, previously undisturbed, were laid before the French Academy. Where the remains were found the surface of the ground consisted of a layer of vegetable soil, about four feet in thickness; below this was a tufaceous calcareous mud, over three feet in depth,

and beneath this again a bed of siliceous sand, in which Pliocene and Eocene fossils occurred; lower down still was a thick gravel bed, more or less conglomerated. The bones were found in the calcareous deposit under the vegetable soil, and at a height of ninety feet or more above the bottom of the valley. There were no traces that the strata had ever been broken for the purpose of burial; and some of the bones were found almost on the top of the same bed. The strata affords evidence of having been deposited under the action of the strong torrents so common in quaternary times; and it seems not unlikely that the body to which the bones belonged was conveyed to its position by the action of a current. Great changes have evidently taken place in the locality where the bones were found since they were deposited. The present watercourses had not then hollowed out their beds, but were spread out over the Tertiary plateaus, so that the remains belong to a period dating back to the period when the diluvial formations in the neighbourhood of Nice were deposited in connection with the erosion of the Tertiary plateaus. The bones are only part of a skeleton, and, according to Dr. Neipee, who has carefully examined them, have belonged to a person of small stature, and probably a woman. M. de Quatrefages seeks to determine the race to which the individual belonged, but the data for the decision of this question only appears to be slender.

INTERESTING observations continue to be made of the changes which are taking place in the cloud strata of the planet Jupiter. The white spots on the equatorial belt of the planet still remain visible, but are growing less regular in form and size, and their edges are toning away and losing their sharpness of definition. These white spots still move more rapidly than the great red spot, which is gradually becoming paler. The dark irregular spots on the northern equatorial belt which were visible during the winter are changing in form and appearance, and the period of their rotation cannot now be so easily determined. They appear to be moving more quickly than the white spots, though their motion was at one time considered to be slower. The greyish belt north of the dark spots has undergone considerable change and become thicker and darker lately, and further north still there are fresh signs of change and indications of a new belt. The causes of these phenomena are still matter of speculation; but the planet is being narrowly watched with reference to them, and probably ere long something definite may be learned respecting their origin.

CONSIDERABLE attention has been directed of late to the reported prevalence of trichinosis in American pigs and the consequences follow-

ing. Swine's flesh is largely imported to Europe from the United States, and no small alarm has been occasioned by the accounts that have been published of its diseased condition. The trichina are thread-worms belonging to the class Entozoa, or internal parasites, and infest the lower animals and man. Trichinous flesh is, of course, prejudicial to the public health, and hence the alarm that has been created in this country, and especially in France, by the reports of widespread trichinosis in the bacon and hams imported from America. There is considerable difference of opinion as to what will destroy the trichina in flesh infested by them. Some maintain that the ordinary process of salting is sufficient for this purpose, while others contend that neither salting, smoking, nor even ordinary cooking, will accomplish this purpose. It will need, it seems, further investigation to settle this question. The usual experiment for deciding whether the trichina can be destroyed or not is to expose the meat in which they are to a high degree of heat and then examine it to see if the encysted larva show any signs of movement. If they are perfectly still, the meat is held to be innocuous. But doubt is thrown upon the value of this experiment, and it is maintained in certain quarters that they may survive a high degree of heat. The whole question is one of great importance, and needs to be carefully investigated till some certain conclusion is reached. In the meantime the greatest care ought to be taken to inspect the hogs' flesh imported into the country for food.

THE Royal Geographical Society have in course of preparation a large map of Equatorial Africa, the eastern portion of which is about ready for publication, if it be not actually published, by the time these lines are read. The map will be on the scale of $15\frac{1}{2}$ miles to an inch, and will include that part of the African Continent lying ten degrees north and twenty degrees south latitude, and twenty-five degrees and fifty-two degrees east longitude. It will be seen that this comprehends the whole of the Equatorial lake region, the upper courses of the Nile and the Congo, and the eastern side of the Continent, from Somâli-land to the region immediately south of the Zambezi. In the compilation of this map advantage has been taken of many manuscript documents in addition to all the published material available. A Bibliography of African geography and travel is also in course of preparation, and will eventually be published as a companion to the map.

It might have been thought that, Europeans having been so long acquainted with the Andaman Islands, the native tribes would by this time all have been well enough known. Such, however, is not the

case, and a hitherto unknown tribe, called the Jarawas, has been discovered in the forests lying between Port Blair and South Andaman. They speak a language quite distinct from the friendly Andamanese. Like the other islanders, who are tolerably well known, they smear their bodies over with red earth or white clay, but their weapons, canoes, and many other articles they use are of quite a different construction to those possessed by their neighbours. They are spoken of as a very timid people. It is singular they should have remained so long a time undiscovered when for some scores of years they have been within a short sail of European settlements.

THERE is a remarkable capability in blind persons to localise sound, and so add largely to the enjoyments of their lives. In the school for the blind sons of gentlemen at Worcester this capability is turned to account in connection with certain games that would be thought were about the last in which blind persons could take any part. Bowls is one of the games regularly played. A bell is rung over the nine-pins just as the player is ready to deliver the bowl, and, guided by the sound alone, it is thrown with considerable accuracy of aim. In windy weather this game cannot be played by the blind, the disturbance of the atmosphere apparently interfering with their localisation of the sound. Football is another game in which the blind at the Worcester school engage, and they can play this game with great enthusiasm and not a little skill. Bells are rung at the goals while the game lasts, and the ball also contains two little bells. Guided by the sound of these bells, the boys are able to follow the ball and drive it in the direction of the goals. Observation shows that, with a little training, the blind can easily and readily localise sound: and this result of observation, simply applied, introduces those deprived of sight to spheres of physical exertion and enjoyment from which they would otherwise be debarred.

POLITICS.

THE Government are steadily pursuing their policy of reform in domestic legislation. They are not aided in this course in any way by the Opposition. So long as coercion was the question of the day, the Conservatives lent all the support of their party to the Cabinet, but as soon as questions of reform came to the front this was no longer afforded, and, we judge, was no longer expected. The work the Government have in hand only progresses slowly; perhaps this is not to be regretted, providing the work is only done well. The Budget Mr. Gladstone introduced was a quiet, sober, financial statement, con-

taining nothing startling, but framed by strictly sound economic views. The estimated revenue for the year, supposing no change to take place in taxation, was calculated at £85,990,000, and the expenditure at £84,704,085. This large outlay included extra payments for India and additional charges in the two great war departments consequent upon the policy of the late Government. It is certainly regrettable that the cost of ruling this Empire should stand at the figure it does, above a million and a half a week—more than £200,000 every day. The surplus of £1,285,915, which Mr. Gladstone anticipated on his Budget, he disposed of at once by remitting the penny income-tax imposed last year, and discharging some payments required by barrack loans. The making of these concessions reduced the surplus to a deficiency of £275,000. This was met by a rearrangement in levying the spirit duties, and an exchange of the one per cent. legacy duty for an additional one-and-a-half per cent. probate duty. By this means Mr. Gladstone provided for the deficit he had created and secured a surplus of £295,000. Some disappointment was felt at the character of the Budget, but it was generally acknowledged to be economically sound in its proposals, and this conviction has been growing since it was introduced. Mr. Gladstone indulges in no fantastic finance, nor is he disposed to shirk unpleasant responsibilities by handing them on to the future. The Land Bill which the Government have introduced embraces in the main the features we indicated three months ago. It contains substantially the three Fs.—fair rent, fixity of tenure, and free sale. A tribunal is to be established for deciding the question of rent and the value of the right the tenant has in his holding. The tenant-right will be saleable property, but under conditions that will not inflict injustice upon the landlord. The Bill, in fact, protects both landlord and tenant. It has been received by the Liberal party with general approval, though it will probably undergo some amendment in minor points in Committee—probably the term for which rent may be fixed, which the Bill puts at fifteen years, will be enlarged, the principles of the measure will probably be applied more fully to leaseholders and to future tenancies, and perhaps the amount of aid it is proposed to give tenants in purchasing their holdings may be increased; but, substantially, the measure will pass the House of Commons as it is. The Duke of Argyll has left the Cabinet in consequence of the Bill, the provisions of which impinge upon the theory of absolute ownership which he holds. The difference between him and his late colleagues is certainly a radical one, but it is not likely that the Duke will offer any captious oppo-

sition to the measure. The Irish members, with the exception of a few extreme Land Leaguers, are prepared to support the Bill, endeavouring, of course, to amend it according to their views in Committee. The Conservative party have had some difficulty to decide what to do. Sir S. Northcote did not regard with favour the extreme views of Lord Elcho and some others who denounced the Bill as economically unsound, unjust, and impolitic; and he suggested a vague and indefinite course, approving of something being done for Ireland, but not just this thing, the development of the industrial resources of the country, or something like that, being more likely to meet the case. Delightfully vague; not rejecting the Bill, and so driving off the Ulster Tories; nor approving of it in any part, and so not alarming the Tories this side the Irish Channel. The action of the Lords is doubtful. The majority don't like the Bill, and if they pass it, it will be because they have regard for consequences, and consider it impolitic to risk a collision with the popular will. The want of Lord Beaconsfield's presence will be greatly felt in the Lords. He had the faculty of seeing what could or could not be done with the popular will, and was not trammelled in his action by class prejudice; and the Tories believed in him, so that, however unpalatable the dose his hand had administered, they would probably have just made a wry face and swallowed it down. He, however, sleeps at Hughenden, and Lords will have to act without his guidance. Mr. Bradlaugh is to the front again. The Law Courts deciding that he was not a person that could make affirmation instead of taking the oath, his seat was declared vacant. He was re-elected, and presented himself to take the oath, a proceeding that has not at all improved his case, but has cast some doubt upon the conscientious character of his former scruples. Sir Stafford Northcote opposed this action, and the House decided by a majority of thirty-three that Mr. Bradlaugh, after what he had said concerning the meaninglessness of the oath to him, should not be permitted to take it. No one connected with this transaction was altogether blameless, and unless some alteration is made in the law, a precedent has been established that may lead to awkward consequences. The Government have introduced a Bill to meet the case by making it optional with elected members whether they affirm or take the oath. But the fate of this measure is doubtful—if not in the Commons, yet, in the Lords. We hardly expect to see Mr. Bradlaugh take his seat this Session. The policy of the late Government in Afghanistan has been emphatically condemned by the House of Commons. The Peers got up a debate to whitewash Lord Lytton and those under

whom he acted in seeking a scientific frontier, and they did whitewash him as best they could by a vote disapproving of the action of the present Government in evacuating Candahar; but the Commons have rubbed off the whitewash by decidedly approving of what the present Cabinet have done. Several important measures of reform, as, for instance, the Bankruptcy Bill, the Corrupt Practices Bill, and some others, have just advanced a stage, and unless the work of legislation goes on more rapidly the next three months than it has done the last three, hon. members will have to exercise self-denial again when the twelfth of August comes.

THE dignity of the Empire is still maintained by the Government in their relations to foreign Powers. There is no bluster nor menace, but a steady adherence to those principles which were so strongly advocated by the Liberal party when in opposition, and the result is seen in the deference paid to British opinion in all European countries. Through the influence of this country in the main, a course has been agreed upon by the Powers in relation to Greece, which, though not all that ought to have been, is still a considerable advance towards fulfilling the expectations of the little peninsular State. The Tory party were for doing nothing save frame a treaty that was permitted, so far as Greece was concerned, to remain a dead letter. Mr. Gladstone's Government has succeeded in giving some effect to the provisions for rectifying the frontier line between Turkey and Greece, and though the whole of Epirus is not to pass from under Turkish rule, a portion of it will, and Thessaly will come entirely under the government of Greece. Prevesa will be dismantled as a fortress, and the Porte has engaged to hand over the territory at once. More than this would have been done had it not been for conflicting interests among the Continental Powers; but had the late Government continued in power neither Montenegro nor Greece would have obtained the concessions now secured to them. Candahar has been evacuated and the city handed over to the representative of Abdurrahman, who will now rule in Southern Afghanistan as well as in Cabul. The Conservatives cry out against this policy, though they themselves, when in power, decided upon evacuating the Candahar district, and Lord Lytton maintained that the possession of Candahar alone added nothing to the security of our frontier. But for the Liberals to do it was cowardly, dishonourable, ruinous, and nobody knows what. The Afghans, however, are left to the management of their own affairs, and in a little time we shall be wholly within our own borders again, and our prestige in India will be none the less for the just and conciliatory policy pur-

sued. The effect of the late Imperialistic swaggering will be felt by the Indian Exchequer for some time, though the Home Government take over five millions of the nineteen and a half which the search for a 'scientific frontier' that has never been found has cost. One deplorable result of the policy of bluster—now happily at an end—is, that its effects are likely to prevent, for a while at least, the financial reforms that would tend to make Indian finance independent of the opium traffic. War has ceased now in South Africa. The Government did not hesitate to open up negotiations with the Boers, even though the British arms had achieved no success, but the contrary. Neither the Boers nor any one else, notwithstanding all that the Conservatives say otherwise, will interpret this as a confession of weakness. The world knows that the Boers would have been crushed in a few days, but, with a magnanimity that cannot be too highly praised, the Government stayed the tide of war and consented to a friendly conference over the matters in dispute. There is no doubt the Boers were deceived in the matter of confederation, and the English people were deceived as well, and there is no reason why an amicable settlement should not be accomplished, if that can be honourably done, as there is every ground to believe it can. A Royal Commission is appointed to settle affairs in the Transvaal according to instructions given, the most important of which is the concession of self-government to the Boers, with the reservation to the British Crown of all control over the relations of the 'Transvaal State,' as it is suggested it shall be called with foreign Powers. A resident representative of British authority, subject to the High Commissioner, will reside in the Transvaal. Care will also be taken to secure the safety and rights of the natives. There is every prospect of the whole South African imbroglio coming under something like a satisfactory settlement. The Basutos have placed themselves unconditionally in the hands of Sir H. Robinson, and care will be taken that no injustice is done them. Altogether, in the foreign relations of the country there is a clearer outlook than there has been at any time during the past four years.

FIVE of the persons connected with the assassination of the late Emperor of Russia have met their fate at the hangman's hands, and searching investigation has been made on every side to discover and check the plans of the revolutionary party. But, despite all this, the representatives of revolt publish their manifestoes and warn the new Emperor that if he does not grant to the people the liberty to which they have right, he will meet his father's fate. And there is reason, judging from the past, to conclude that this is no idle threat.

They say that they regret the loss of so much life in a work of destruction and sanguinary conflict, but that there will be no lack of men ready to sacrifice themselves as others have done, if need be, in order to advance the cause of freedom. The demands made are somewhat large—a free Assembly elected by universal suffrage, with constituent power, an amnesty for all political offences, and freedom of speech, writing, and public meeting. These are among the principal demands they make, but, presumably, any movement on the part of the Emperor in the direction of their requests would be regarded with approval. The agitation and conspiracy that ultimately compassed the death of Alexander II. is not confined to the poor and illiterate peasantry. It embraces many of the educated classes, and shows no signs of weakness for lack of resolute, determined men and women to carry it on. The state of insecurity in which the Emperor must feel himself to be can hardly fail to affect him seriously. Men who have no fear of looking danger in the face have a depressing dread of it when it lurks about them in secret places. Steps have been taken towards forming municipal institutions, and a council is to be elected for St. Petersburg on the basis of household suffrage, whose vote, if confirmed by the Czar, will be final. But this is only a short step towards what the Nihilists ask for. This proposed council, when elected, can only consider business placed before them by the Town Commandant, and there is no provision suggesting that debate shall be public. There have been declarations of a change in the policy of Russia in Central Asia and the cessation of forward movements in that region. If this is so, perhaps it may have a soothing effect upon a certain class of politicians in this country, and may not be without influence upon the course of affairs at St. Petersburg in relation to reforms with respect to the internal government of the country.

The leader of the Ultramontane party in Germany, Herr Windthorst, has proposed at a meeting of the various groups in the German Parliament to ask Prince Bismarck to use his influence in prevailing upon the several European Governments to agree to such an international arrangement as will admit of a person accused of assassination being surrendered to his own country, and of the punishments of attempts at assassination, even if they do not amount to a commencement of the actual crime, and the branding as penal of any public incitement to assassination. The various groups have agreed to this proposal, and the German Parliament will endorse the agreement. This country now acts upon the first and third parts of this proposal. If evidence can be produced showing a man to be an assassin, he would

be surrendered now if such surrender was demanded. And if a man does in any way publicly incite to assassination, he is dealt with as criminal. But to punish men for intentions to assassinate is quite another thing. Intentions cannot be proved in evidence, and to adopt this part of Herr Windthorst's proposal would simply be to punish men on suspicion, a course that cannot be considered just. Recent action in Russia has evidently caused widespread alarm in Germany.

A LITTLE uneasiness, especially in Italy, is caused by the action of France in relation to Tunis. Some border tribes invaded Algeria, and the Bey did not comply with the demands of France, as the Government of that country are of opinion he should have done. The consequence is, that some thousands of troops have been sent over to Africa, and vessels of war have entered Tunisian waters. The Bey's territory has been invaded and his coast line menaced. This demonstration of force on the part of France is regarded with some degree of suspicion by Italy. It is thought that ulterior designs are entertained, and that it is intended to reduce Tunis to an appanage of France. Of course, all intention of annexation is repudiated by France, but a rather ugly fact has leaked out about an understanding arrived at between Lord Salisbury and M. Waddington at Berlin, that if the occupation of Cyprus was permitted, Great Britain would offer no objection if France ever saw it desirable to occupy Tunis. Lord Salisbury has denied this, but correspondence published by the French Government is rather against Lord Salisbury in the matter. Still, the French say they don't wish to annex Tunis; perhaps not just now, though the way events are tending, such a consummation does not appear to be far distant.

THE
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I.—CHARLES KINGSLEY.

THE issue of a new and cheaper edition of these memoirs and of the Eversley edition of his works has reminded us of a purpose formed some time ago to lay before our readers a brief statement of Canon Kingsley's life, as well as an estimate of his life and character as Chartist, novelist, theologian, and preacher. To be known wherever the English language is spoken, to be quoted as an authority on literature, to be the intimate friend of such eminent and diverse persons as Carlyle, Bunsen, and Max Müller, yet to be loved and trusted by the horny-handed artizan and labourer, show him to have been a man of very exceptional gifts and character. There was a unique beauty in his life the like of which we have rarely met with. To know a man like this, even through his memoirs, is an elevating and stimulating thing. The question has often been started: will Charles Kingsley's name go down to posterity? If so, in what form? As an earnest, powerful preacher—as one of our best expounders of science—as a poet of much genius—Chartist and Social Reformer—or, as author of popular historical novels? In all these capacities he possessed great influence and swayed many minds, because all his words and works were the outcome of genuine sympathy and unflagging zeal in the promotion of human welfare. He had greater and more legitimate power over the intelligent youth of his day than perhaps any other single man; and largely through that beneficent and stimulating power some of these hopefuls have become names known to fame in church, literature, or science. Wielding an influence like this,

His kingship was kinglier than to reign
K ng of the world without.

P P

These are not memoirs in the ordinary sense, where the story is told by the biographer. The life-story is related by Kingsley's own letters, memoranda, extracts from his works, and interesting reminiscences by friends. Mrs. Kingsley supplies the connecting or explanatory links, or paragraphs. The first three chapters relate the facts of his personal history down to 1842, when he was twenty-three years of age. From this point each chapter contains the record of a year's events. It is a bootless thing to quarrel with an author's plan or arrangement, so we content ourselves with saying that if there is not much biographic art in the book, we get a good picture of the man. It is, as a rule, no advantage to the subject, and certainly not to the public, that a man's memoirs should be written by his nearest friends. Fortunately, in this case, the burden of praise is not excessive; and were it so, the intrinsic and exceptional goodness of the man would bear the burden well. We ungrudgingly place him among the highest and best for personal goodness, and he occupies a distinguished place in the literary pantheon; but, for reasons which will afterwards appear, he cannot claim a place among the highest. Kingsley's forefathers were Cheshire people—Kingsleys, of Kingsley, Cheshire; but for generations they had been settled in Hampshire. His father had been a country gentleman; but the family fortune failing him, he turned to the Church and became a clergyman. Thus it came about that Charles Kingsley was born in Holne Rectory, January 12, 1819. Holne is just under the brow of Dartmoor, in his son's ever-loved Devonshire. The father was not only what is called a gentleman by birth, but was a man of refinement and a scholar of repute; he was also an artist, and was deeply versed in natural history; in addition to all, he was a keen sportsman. Here we have a catalogue of qualities which descended from father to son—strengthened and intensified in the descent. But much as he owed to his father, he owed his mother much more. From her came his love of travel, his passion for science and literature, his love of romance, and the force and originality of his character. One quality in his composition he derived from his mother which was overlooked until Mr. Galton, the author of 'Heridity in Families,' called attention to it. 'The most important hereditary peculiarity in his character was his descent on his mother's side from a pure West Indian family of I am afraid to say how many generations. He revelled in the heat of the tropics as in a climate congenial to his nature; and, of course, the phrase, 'At last,' must have been largely inspired by an instinctive longing for tropical scenes and sensations.' In all these facts we have the sources of his personal peculiarities.'

The striking beauties of scenery in North Devon were ineffaceably impressed on the ardent and plastic nature of the boy. This appears in all his best works, and it remained with him to the end of life. In a limited sense he did for Devonshire what Sir Walter Scott did for his native country. With his receptive nature, his quick habits of observation, and growing up amid such wild and magnificent aspects of nature, we do not wonder that he drank in avidly the sights and sounds of wild life about him, and remembered all that he saw and heard. He knew every animal roaming over the moors; he knew the habits of the birds, and would imitate their wild notes. Thus his love of nature grew with his growth and became a part of his life. To perfect his education in this line, he became acquainted with another part of the country altogether different from Devonshire, but having for him charms and attractions all its own—the Fen country. The Fen country is not now what it was forty or fifty years ago. It is drained and utilised now; then it was much as it was in the days of Hereward—a vast inland sea, forty or fifty miles each way; desolate, dreary, and uncanny to a stranger; but to a dweller, to one of romantic nature, it had an attractive power almost to fascination. Hereward and those fine ‘prose idylls,’ ‘The Fens,’ show the hold those dreary wastes got of his imagination. The surroundings in which he lived the life of a happy boyhood became abiding, quickening, and fruitful memories. He is well described as a boy by Rev. Derwent Coleridge, son of the poet and philosopher, who was Head Master of Helston Grammar School: ‘He was a tall, slight boy, of great bodily activity, high spirited, earnest, and energetic; not a close student, but an eager reader and enquirer, oftentimes in out-of-the-way quarters. Once I found him busily engaged with an old copy of ‘*Porphry and Jamblicus*,’ which he had ferreted out of my library. He was a remarkable boy, original to the verge of eccentricity, and yet a thorough boy, fond of sport, and up to any enterprise—a genuine, out-of-doors English boy. His account of a walk or a run would often display considerable eloquence; the impediment in his speech, already noticeable, though not, I think, so marked as it afterwards became, rather adding to the effect.’ An old school-fellow says: ‘He was not popular as a school-boy; he knew too much; his mind was on a higher level than ours. He did not consciously snub those who knew less, but a good deal of unconscious snubbing went on, all the more resented because it was unconscious. His love of science was not so much for its own sake as illustrative of nature. Botany and geology were his favourite studies; the latter, at that time, the youngest of the sciences. He might have been seen

roaming about and searching in places likely or unlikely, with hammer in hand and satchel on back, for specimens. He laid all his friends under tribute for rare and valuable specimens. Of one correspondent he asked for 'a very large red-stalked spurge (*euphorbia amygdaloides*),' and rejoices that his own search had been successful for *vicia angustifolia* and other specimens. All this shows the bent and direction of his tastes. As boys will poetise, so the poems and rhapsodies of this clever lad are much above the effusions produced at this time of life.

His father having removed to the living at Chelsea, young Charles, now in the adolescent stage, was entered as day student in King's College. When he was in his nineteenth year he went to Cambridge. He gained a scholarship in his first year, being first of the year. The outward current of his life was for a time smooth enough, but below the surface there raged commotion and disturbance. Oxford, and, to a degree, all England, was in ferment with the Tractarian movement, the object of which was to mediævalise, *i.e.*, Romanise, the church. To many it seemed as the outbreak of a revolution, which would sweep away the foundation of the church; to others it seemed the dawning of a new day. We know now that Tractarianism was not a '*viâ* Media,' but *viâ* direct to Rome. If the ecclesiastical world was in such turmoil, the political world was shaken with deeper agitations. Reform and Corn Law controversies filled the air. With such a nervous and excitable brain as his, we cannot be surprised that young Kingsley was carried away with the flood and was seen struggling in the swirling sea of ecclesiastical and political strife as well as of personal doubt and unrest. Everything was unsettled and doubted by turns. He was several times on the verge of throwing up everything as lost; he became reckless, and instead of hard, intellectual work, he took to boating, hunting, boxing, duck-shooting in the Fens, not that he became immoral, but rushed into anything to deaden his morbid sensibilities, or silence his tumultuous fears. More than once in his desperation he determined to adopt the wild life of a Prairie hunter and farmer in the far West. His physical resource would have fitted him for this wild, free life. He walked from Cambridge to London in a day, fifty-two miles, with ease; and in ordinary times a walk of twenty-five miles was a luxury. In this crisis the earnest piety and intellectual force of Miss Grenfell, the daughter of a M.P., who afterwards became his wife, stood him in good stead, for, in addition to shedding upon him the potent spell of a pure, womanly love, she was able, by her brighter and better intellectual penetration, to put him upon the

tracks of solving his doubts, removing his difficulties, and pointed out to him the sources of light and leading. He took his degree in 1842—second in mathematics, and first in classics. This brilliant result was secured by the sheer, desperate application of six months. He, as we have seen, had not worked much in the earlier part of his undergraduate career. Was it love of learning, or did he covet academical distinction, that he endangered his health in this stress of work to win these high University honours? This is what he says about the object he had in view:—‘I have been toiling harder than my health would allow for the last six months, not because I felt distinction here an object, but having a battle to fight with the world—a bride to win, as a penniless adventurer, from rich relations. I found it necessary to attack Mammon with weapons which he could appreciate; and the first weapon thrown in my way was the tangible proof of talent and application, and claim to attention implied in a good degree. All through life, I fear, or, at least, all through youth to age, and, perhaps, till ‘we shake off the earthly husk,’ we must more or less use the weapons of earth if we would keep ourselves in the station where alone we can improve ourselves and do good.’ As a knight of ancient chivalry, he fought for and won his ladye faire. Reverting to his mathematical examination, an incident occurred so characteristic that we quote the account of it: ‘One of the papers had the words, ‘Describe a common pump.’ Of the internal machinery of the pump Kingsley was unable to render a scientific account, but of the outside his vivid imagination supplied a picture which his facile pencil soon transferred to paper. Under the heading, ‘Describe a pump,’ he drew a grand village pump in the midst of a broad green and opposite the porch of an ancient church. By the side of the pump stood, in all the pomposity of his office, the village beadle, with uniform and bâton. Around were women and children of all ages, shapes, dress, sizes, each carrying a crock, a jug, a bucket, or some vessel, large or small. These were drawn with considerable power, and the whole was lighted up with his deep vein of humour; while around the pump itself was a huge chain, padlocked and surrounded by a notice, ‘This pump is locked during Divine service.’ This Kingsley sent up to the examiner as his answer to the question. I know not whether he got any marks for it; but it was so clever that the moderator for the year had it framed and hung up in his room.’

The light he had longed for on spiritual things came at length. It came first and chiefly from the Bible, which he had earnestly and humbly studied. God’s Word asserted and exerted its Divine power

in his soul. The law of the Lord was perfect in converting the soul. His spiritual life, being born of the Divine Word, had a strength and vigour which remained to the end. He also derived great assistance from the writings of three of the most notable men of his own day—Coleridge, Carlyle, and Maurice. The 'Aids to Reflection,' of the first of the three, was of great value to him, though we fear it is not read much by the young men of this generation; but where it is read, it often marks an epoch in the life. 'The French Revolution,' of the second, the grandest of all Carlyle's works, taught him in every way that he was not likely to forget that God governed the world in righteousness. But the last was the man who moulded and directed his mind in the years of doubting and struggling. Of the Broad Churchism which he espoused we defer speaking at this point, as it will be noticed further on. His faith being settled, the question of a profession was chiefly determined by Miss Grenfell. Her power over him was a supreme kind of influence. No reader of Kingsley who looks between the lines can fail to see her hand and spiritual influence as an underflow of softness and sweetness.

Having completed his preparation and reading for Orders, he was ordained Curate of Eversley, little dreaming that it would be his home for thirty-three years. From a document by Mr. Isaac Taylor, it appears that Eversley was a 'lea,' or half-open pasturage, more or less wooded. The name points to the fact of the wild boar tenantry the district in olden times. In the old Saxon *eofor* was wild boar. The *eo* in time became *e*, *f* became modern *v*, whilst *o* is often changed for *e*. Thus *eofor* became *ever*, genitive *evers*. These changes are seen in the word *seven* from *seofon*. Though ages must have elapsed since the wild boar was seen upon the lea, the ancients of the people remember when the royal deer strayed from the old Windsor Forest into Eversley. Pheasants and fish were free to those who cared to catch them. The oldest existing thing in the parish was the remains of a church, as far back as the Confessor, when the manor of Eversley was given to the monks of Westminster. The district was wholly agricultural, and the minds of the people were stolidly bucolic. It was no easy work to rouse natures so sluggish, or to reclaim them from their vices. When the young and ardent curate began to evangelise Eversley he found that he had taken in hand a work which tasked to the uttermost all his resources. Had his nature been less ardent, his faith in God less powerful, he would have been disheartened and defeated. He found the public-houses filled on the Sabbath and the church empty. He set about to reverse all this. How he did it we may note, and, in

some things, learn ; but we Methodists have such abundant reason to be satisfied with the simple and effectual preaching of the Gospel of Christ, which is, as it was, the power of God unto salvation, and the bringing that Gospel to bear upon the souls of the people, that we are not likely to change our method, nor to make the young parson of Eversley our model. If we are not likely to do our work in his way, yet it is deeply interesting to see how he transformed the moral condition of an entire district. 'I could not do half the little good I do,' he says, 'if it were not for that strength and activity which some consider coarse and degrading. Many clergymen would half kill themselves if they did what I do. Do not be afraid of my overworking myself. If I stop I must go down. I must work. How merciful God has been in turning all the strength and hardihood I gained in snipe shooting, and hunting, and rowing, and jack fishing in those magnificent Fens to His work. Life is so full of God that I see no inconsistency in making my sermons while I am cutting wood, and no 'bizarrerie' in talking one moment to one man about the points of a horse, and the next moment to another about the mercy of God to sinners. I try to catch men by their leading ideas. . . . People are going to church who never went anywhere before.' The 'wild young fellows' were made to feel the power of the Gospel. His religion was truly the religion of common life. His object was to make all life religious. He could swing a flail with the thrashers in the barn, turn his swathe with the mowers in the meadows, pitch hay with the haymakers in the pastures. 'From knowing every fox earth on the moor, the reedy hover of the pike, the still hole where the chub lay, he had a word of sympathy for the huntsman and the poacher. With the farmer he discussed the rotation of crops, and with the labourer the science of hedging and ditching ; yet, while he seemed to ask for information, he unconsciously gave more than he received.' All good and lasting work is of slow growth, however suddenly and with whatever shocks and excitement it may originate. It took Kingsley many years to establish his work. It was a revival in the highest and best sense, yet it had still to be sedulously watched and followed by educative agencies. So, throughout his life, he was daily among the people in their houses and cottages and in the fields. He was intimate with every one—with the men in their field-work, the women at their wash-tubs, the very babies in their cradles. His sermons, his conversation, his example all tended one way—to an earnest, practical, Christian life. So notorious did his work become that the Bishop of Winchester inquired into it, and was satisfied that it was of God. Kingsley was a

true soldier of the Cross, a knight of his Master, Jesus Christ. The blood of generations of soldiers ran in his veins, which was now consecrated to God; his life was militant; he was a warrior for God.

It would be too much to expect him to be free from the parson's dislike of dissent, though, even here, his tone is kindlier and freer from prejudice than any Episcopalian that we have met with. The same kindly and fair spirit pervades all his works in reference to the denominations. In speaking of Dr. Wardlaw, of Glasgow, he describes him as a Presbyterian, and says:—'Poor man, he was born so, you know.' As a matter of fact, no man was more friendly with Presbyterians than Dr. Wardlaw, but no man was ever less a Presbyterian.

We have said that he spent his life at Eversley, but, after a curacy of two years, he was on the point of leaving it for a Dorsetshire living, when he was offered and accepted that of Eversley. After this the sky of his life brightened, though it was never cloudless. Friends gathered round him, for he had won his spurs. The chief source of happiness, however, was that a long outward estrangement between Miss Grenfell and he was broken, their intercourse renewed, and in a short time their mutual love was consummated in marriage, a union so fit, so full of bliss, that its whole duration was one long beatitude. In addition to the work we have before mentioned, and which he still continued, it was necessary to restore the church and rebuild the rectory. The parish school was also in a lamentable state; it was one room, or den, of ten feet square, where cobbling shoes went on with teaching. He rested not till church, rectory, and school, and the whole parish machinery, were put into satisfactory and working condition.

It was in these early days that his theological opinions took the form we know so well, for he became a conspicuous member of the Broad Church party. While we do not disguise the fact that we differ from Broad Churchism by the whole diameter of the truth, we have no sympathy with people who seem to live by 'heresy-hunting,' and who 'put down heresy' by persecution rather than by reasoning. Many of these people fulminated against Kingsley, and attempted to hunt him down. If we agree with the creed of these people, we are the more free to condemn their spirit and their acts. Kingsley was confessedly a disciple of Maurice. No human friendship could be truer and deeper than that subsisting between master and disciple, with a dash of conscious inferiority on the disciple's part. Most of his letters addressed to Maurice were to Dear Master, Dearest Master, &c. The crucial test is that the Christology of Kingsley was substantially that of Maurice's, with a gravitating movement towards orthodoxy

and evangelical earnestness, as his life waxed on. Maurice's conceptions of redemption were, in substance, those of Schleiermacher—mystical and empirical. The great German ignores, if he does not exclude, the supernatural in redemption, making redemption to result from doctrine, and example acting upon the mind by moral influence. This theory, if theory it can be called, is well described by Professor Bruce in his Cunningham Lectures, one of those contributions to theological literature fit to compare with the exhaustive monographs of the Germans. Dr. Bruce says:—

In the hands of Maurice the mystical theory of Schleiermacher assumes a kindred but somewhat modified form. Christ, as the root and archetype of humanity in His own Person, offers up man as an acceptable sacrifice to God in the sense of exhibiting in His life and death the entire surrender of the whole spirit and body to God, and the complete renunciation of that self-will which is the cause of all men's crimes and of all their misery. Such self-sacrifice was what was really meant by all the legal sacrifices, for the victims died, not as substitutes for the offerer, but as symbols of his devotion. What these legal sacrifices but dimly foreshadowed Christ perfectly realised. In His life and death He offered up the one complete sacrifice ever offered—the perfect example of self-surrender and devotion to the Divine will; and God accepted the sacrifice as made not by an individual, but by the race as represented by its archetypal man. . . . This is the theory of redemption by sample as opposed to redemption by substitute, and has been much in favour among German theologians.

Thus we are asked to believe that Christ sanctified the whole lump of humanity when He sanctified Himself as the first fruits of the harvest, His death being but the crown of His life, in which he maintained an unbroken fellowship with His Father, and thus presented an ideal of all believers. Self-surrender is the law of all moral beings, in obedience to which Christ came into the world and lived a pure, unselfish life, perfectly surrendered His will to the Divine will, and thus revealed the Father, that those for whom He suffered might know Him and have eternal life. One great fault of this theory—and it lies on the face of it—is that it deals in imposing phrases, and refuses to be explicit. In this scheme there is no atonement; it is a scheme of moral influence only. It may be a statement of Christ in us, but it ignores Christ for us. This is avowed by one of Maurice's ablest living disciples. He says:—‘We cannot see the least pretence for the frequent assertion that there is anything requisite to be done or suffered by God before God could forgive sin to those who are penitent. The Atonement cannot be a *sine quâ non* of Divine forgiveness for the truly penitent, only something to produce in men the frame of mind requisite for God's forgiveness.’ Underlying this is a

gross misunderstanding of the end and design of atonement, which we cannot now discuss. The fallacy of this school is that Christ saved human nature by taking it, and they dwell largely upon the Incarnation. He is not the root and archetype of humanity till He becomes one of us, that the whole human race might be sanctified in Him; and thus Christ's work consisted in bringing us nigh to God. To those who wish to see the whole subject dealt with in a full and masterly manner we commend them to Dr. Bruce's *Lectures on 'The Humiliation of Christ.'* We only remark, in passing, that Christ's work does not change the Divine mind, but provides that God can be just and yet the Justifier of the transgressor.

Brief and bare as this statement necessarily is, it will serve to show the theological position of Kingsley. His doctrinal views pervaded his mind, tinged or complexioned his writings, and even his novels. These mystical theological speculations agreed with his mental habits and predilections. He saw nature through his affections, always restrained and controlled by his acquired faculty of close, scientific, matter-of-fact observation.

In 1848 he made his first appearance as an author in the publication of *The Saint's Tragedy*, a drama in verse. It is a vehicle for discussing many important questions of sociology and politics, which he afterwards dealt with in much better prose; still, it is a bright, sparkling book, full of promise, but bearing marks of immaturity. It must be taken as the utterance of the hopes and dreams of a young enthusiastic soul yearning after truth and love. He presents, in an elaborate form, his favourite doctrine of the purifying power of true feminine love. The scenery is the best part of the book; you care more for his landscapes than his people, or his psychological theories. In scenery he had the faculty of seizing the picturesque aspects of nature and things, and of expressing his conceptions in suitable symbols, which often contained fruitful and transforming ideas. The bright and sunny aspects of nature excited him to transports of joy and delight.

But we must now turn to the political phases of his life and see him as he launches forth upon the stormy sea of Chartist strife and agitation. He saw the storm, and was anxious to find and apply some healing power, and it came to him as a duty to attempt to give wise direction to an agitation which had assumed threatening proportions. He was frequently in London, consulting with Maurice and others as to the best means to avert the storm which was impending. He entered upon an arduous undertaking, but he had counted the cost,

and was unflinching in his resolution to carry out his purpose. Among other measures taken, he issued an immense placard to the workmen of England, in which he addressed them as his friends. The friendly tone of this address was an offence in the eyes of those who see revolution and confiscation in all political reforms and agitation. The mass of the people in 1848 had no political power; what wonder, therefore, that when Europe was shaking with revolution, when thrones were tottering and falling, that the starving, unenfranchised multitudes of British workmen should seize upon the emergency to secure their political freedom; and what wonder that when the storm of passion was once up that it should become menacing and fraught with danger. Those whose memories travel back to the time will easily recall the paralysation of trade, the miserable pittance earned as wages by the few who were employed, food kept at famine prices, and the sense of desperation, born of despair, which prevailed almost universally among the masses. In the face of these facts wonder ceases that Chartism filled the poor with hope and the wealthy with dismay. A monster meeting was summoned to assemble on April 10, 1848, on Kennington Common, to march to Parliament and present a monster petition, praying the enactment of the six points of the Charter. This occasioned a panic in London; two hundred thousand special constables were sworn in, soldiers and artillery were placed in the leading thoroughfares, the Duke of Wellington himself taking command of the whole. The Kennington Common meeting proved to be a harmless demonstration; a drenching rain helped to quench the incendiary and fiery spirits among them. To make their difficulty greater, discussions crept into the councils of the Chartists, the body of whom joined the moderate party in the country, who sought their rights by reasonable agitation, leaving the noisy professional agitators out in the cold. In time the People's Charter fell into forgetfulness, because the best of 'the six points' have become British law. With the reasonable and peaceable portion of the Chartists Kingsley's influence was a kind of supremacy. They knew that his professions were honest, that he meant all he said, and meant it in true goodness of heart, and that nothing could make him swerve from the deep convictions of duty. The flashy, noisy, selfish portion—agitators and nothing more, political stormy petrels—he fearlessly denounced to their face. To them all he appealed to look higher than political reforms. These were good, and should be fought for; but true manliness was before all. 'Will the Charter make you free?' he asked. 'Will it free you from taking bribes? from slavery to beer or gin? slavery to

every spouter who flatters you? From such slavery no Act of Parliament will free you. There can be no freedom without virtue, no true industry without the fear of God.' In this outspoken, manly way he mingled with the Chartists, went into their meetings and conclaves, counselling, restraining, guiding them. This was not done without raising a storm of opposition around his head. The polite world was shocked that a gentleman and a clergyman should consort with these vulgar and revolutionary Chartists. His conduct was watched with bitter suspicion, his words misconstrued and misinterpreted. An outcry was raised against him, founded upon a foul and malicious use of a few words detached from their context in this way—'My only quarrel with the Charter is that it does not go far enough.' This is evidence enough, said his traducers, that he is an aider and abettor of revolutionists and incendiaries, men who would blow up London and murder us all. This vile falsehood travelled far and wide. The only answer required was to give the context of the garbled extract:—

Suppose the Charter itself were all stuff, yet you have a right to fair play, a patient hearing, an honourable and courteous answer, whichever way it be. But my only quarrel with the Charter is that it does not go far enough in reforms. I want to see you free, but I do not see how what you ask for will give you what you want. I think that you have fallen into just the same mistake as the rich of whom you complain—the very mistake which has been our curse and nightmare; I mean the mistake that legislative reform is social reform, or that men's hearts can be changed by Act of Parliament. If any one will tell me of a country where a charter made rogues honest, or the idle industrious, I shall alter my opinion, but not till then.

Nothing can show clearer than this extract how malignant and unscrupulous Kingsley's foes were, while it shows how just and noble the principles were which he enforced. The band of noble men with whom he laboured in this movement—Maurice, Tom Hughes, Ludlow, and others—endeavoured to utilise the Chartist movement to lift the masses to a higher level of living. In furtherance of this design, he issued his well-known and, at that time, all but universally read *Politics for the People*, signed by the well-known *nom de plume*, 'Parson Lot.' These papers include a variety of subjects, and are written with wonderful vigour and eloquence. This is how he writes in the paper on the National Gallery:—

Never lose an opportunity of seeing anything beautiful. Beauty is God's handwriting, a wayside sacrament; welcome it in every fair face, in every fair sky, every fair flower, and thank for it Him, the fountain of all loveliness, and drink it in simply and earnestly with all your eyes; it is a charmed draught of the cup of blessing.'

During the Chartist struggles he became acquainted with Thomas Cooper. He had read his noble poem—noble, notwithstanding it is blurred by morbid and unreasoning sentiments—‘The Purgatory of Suicides.’ The readers of *Alton Locke* will remember the effective use he makes of Cooper in one part of the novel. The friendship between the two men was as honourable as it was sincere. The letters to Cooper, aiding him in his ascent from infidelity to Christian faith, are among the best of all Kingsley’s letters. In the same busy and exciting period he wrote his first novel, ‘*Yeast ; a Problem.*’ This was a philosophical rather than a political work. It is a powerfully-drawn picture of the mental struggles of the times. It has, however, the fault of all his novels ; it is unequal, fragmentary, chaotic, and in this case the ending is questionable. If, as a work of art, it is not a success, there are scenes, characters, and writing in it which Kingsley has never surpassed, and which will make the book live in coming time. What can be more vivid and realistic than the description of the condition of the poor of Whitford ? A great principle underlies the life of the hero—a fundamental principle in practical theology, that each man has a Father in heaven, who is ever directing, calling, drawing him to Himself ; taking a personal, loving, never-failing interest in him, though he be ignorant of it. It is a law that, in proportion as individuals or nations reject His loving government, they lose the great end of life ; apart from Him, the light of true action and right is gone, and life without Him is death. So Lancelot Smith was ultimately brought to the acknowledgment of a God and Saviour, who had been with him, though he knew it not, all through his life. We may not agree with all the teachings of the work, but the reading of it is a refreshing and invigorating exercise.

There can be no doubt that Kingsley’s name will be best known to posterity by his next novel, *Alton Locke*, a novel with an unmistakable purpose—a big politico-religious pamphlet, or sermon. It is a more ambitious and coherent literary effort than any he had made before, and from the first commanded the greatest attention. The bold and earnest views of the ‘Chartist clergyman,’ as he was everywhere called, sank deeply into the public mind ; and its treatment of social and political questions remains fresh and valuable as when the book first came out. It is the autobiography of a tailor-poet, supposed to be one of that dispirited band broken up by the raid on Kennington Common. *Yeast* deals with life in the country, *Alton Locke* with life in the city. In this, as in all his works, he insists that the best reforms are from within. In the absence of self-reform and self-education mere external

changes are of no avail. To those who pose as the workman's friend he says, 'Do not waste your time and his by making fine speeches. Go home with the poor man; make his trials, sorrows, doubts yours; tell him that he is the son of the same Father, that there is a kingdom where the handmaid and bond-slave are alike precious with the rich and noble!' This is his method of dealing with the moral side of the workman's difficulties—by dealing with the man himself. In treating of the difficulties on the physical side, he says: 'Let there be no class laws; take hold with a strong, resolute grasp of the crying sanitary evils of both town and country; make people see and know the misery of dirt and its offspring—cholera and fever. It is of little use to preach to people that stench and filth diseases come as judgments. Disease and death follow—and must follow—the sin of filthiness. Personal and home dirt is the nidus of zymotic diseases. Be clean, and the laws of God are on your side; be filthy, and sure as the lightning strikes the steel, so will you suffer. Purify the dens and slums of London; purify the people, and give them the means of purification. How can morality exist along with uncleanness and impurity? Take the stone from the tomb, and loose him and let him go.' This was Kingsley's doctrine, preached always and everywhere. He did not ask whether the season were out or in; he preached until he made the public, and those who have charge of public health especially, hear him.

But to return to *Alton Locke*. Let those who would know what slum life in London is turn to chapter viii., where old Mackaye takes Alton, on the Saturday night, through Clare Market to St. Giles'. In all this you have no mawkish sentimentality, no suggestion of evil, no lifting the veil of curiosity. If he takes you in scenes of darkness you take the light with you. It is gratifying to find in all Kingsley's works that religion is not caricatured, as is often done in works of fiction, where the Stiggins type is described as representative of religious character. His protest against Calvinism in the opening chapters of *Alton Locke* rises into a counterblast, and the picture of the returned missionary and Mr. Wigginton is anything but pleasant. The latter he describes as 'tall, grim, dark, bilious, with a narrow forehead retreating suddenly from his eyebrows up to a conical peak of black hair over his ears. He preached 'higher doctrine,' more fatalist and antinomian than his gentler colleagues; and, having also a stentorian voice, was a much greater favourite at the chapel. I hated him, and if ever a man deserved hatred, he did.' As if to balance the clearness and beauty of Kingsley's writing, there is in *Alton Locke* and all his works a lack of repose. This must have arisen from the restlessness of his nature. He was

never still—never at rest. In conversation he was continually moving about, shifting his position and attitude, and talking eagerly all the while ; now standing, then seated, now close to his interlocutor, then at the furthest part of the room. His life was feverish, and burnt out in a flame. In his books the reader is taken through at a gallop, and he never draws the bridle till at the close you pull up suddenly—interested, no doubt, and often charmed, but simply exhausted with the speed. When *Alton Locke* was published it had to pass through a terrible ordeal of criticism ; but it came off triumphantly, and by its sheer power and startling qualities won the suffrages of all classes. From London he wrote home : ‘I am quite astonished at the steady-going, respectable people who approve of *Alton Locke*. The other night, at the Speaker’s, Sir —, one of the safest of Whigs gave his adherence to the book in the kindest terms. The Marshalls have done the same, so has Lord Ashburton, so have, strange to say, more than one Ultra-Tory squire. If you do anything above party, the true-hearted of all parties sympathise with you.’ From an honest study of *Alton Locke* and *Yeast*, we are surprised that he could be called revolutionary or a demagogue. He did not seek to abolish church, parsons, and squires. He wanted the church to be a real, living, not sham, church. He wanted parsons to be guides to the people, and the squires to beneficently use their wealth, not to waste it in lives of pampered luxury and idleness. He did not desire that the peasant should be a picturesque, petted, pauperised thing ; but he desired that he should be a Christian. Christianity in all classes, he believed, would cure the worst ills of life. Among the critics who have spoken of *Alton Locke* was Thomas Carlyle, whose letter is so characteristic and so good as a criticism that we quote the most of it :—

Alton Locke arrived in Annandale by post from my wife, and was swiftly read by me under the bright sunshine, by the sound of rushing brooks, and other rural accompaniments. I believe the book is still doing duty in those parts, for I had to leave it behind me on loan, to satisfy the public demand. . . . Apart from your treatment of my own poor self (on which subject let me not venture to speak at all), I found plenty to like and be grateful for in the book ; abundance, nay, exuberance of generous zeal ; headlong impetuosity of determination towards the manful side on all manner of questions ; snatches of excellent poetic description ; occasional sun-bursts of noble insight ; everywhere a certain wild intensity, which holds the reader fast as by spell ; these, surely, are good qualities, and pregnant omens in a man of your seniority in the regiment. At the same time, I am bound to say that the book is definable as crude ; by no manner of means the best we expect of you—if you will resolutely temper your fire. But, to make the malt sweet, the fire should and must be slow—so says the proverb ; and now, as before, I include all duties for you under that one. ‘Saunders Mackaye,’ my inval-

uable countryman in this book, is nearly perfect ; indeed, I greatly wonder how you did contrive to manage him—his very dialect is as if a native had done it, and the whole existence of the rugged old hero is a wonderfully splendid and coherent piece of Scotch bravura. In both of your women, too, I find some grand poetic features ; but neither of them is worked out into the ‘Daughter of the Sun’ she might have been ; indeed, nothing is worked anywhere in comparison with ‘Saunders,’ and the impression is of a fervid creation still left half chaotic. That is my literary verdict, both the black of it and the white. Of the grand social and moral questions, we will say nothing at present ; any time within the next two centuries it is likely there will be enough to say about them ! On the whole, you will have to persist like a cannon-ball that is shot, you will have to go to your mark, whatever that be. I further stipulate that you come and see me when you are at Chelsea ; and that you pay no attention at all to the foolish clamour of reviewers, whether laudatory or condemnatory.

The creation of Mackaye in *Alton Locke* was one of Kingsley’s master strokes. Not only was the author an Englishman, but at that time he had not been near the border, not to say over it ; this heightens our astonishment at the approach to perfection in the conception of the old Scotchman. The humour is truly Scottish, and the dialect so accurately expressed that a Scotchman can only detect faults of a minor character. The ‘one thing lacking’ is just a salt or flavour, whose presence or absence we know, but whose nature we could hardly describe. We know of no Scotch character by an English hand so good as this. For ourselves, we have never met with Kingsley’s form of the name, and have failed to find it in Scottish city directories—Kays, Mackays in abundance, an occasional Kaye, but no Mackayes. This, however, is a small matter.

His work as an author was performed amid many other and pressing duties. He had to be severely methodical and economical in the use of his time. He rose every morning at five and wrote till breakfast, then pupil and sermons till noon ; afternoons devoted to visiting, which he never neglected ; evenings were given to adult schools and classes, meetings, and revising copy for press. Later in life his habit was to dictate to his faithful wife while he paced up and down the room. In her handwriting nearly the whole of his works went to press. His extreme opinions in regard to Chartism had so prejudiced the publishing world against him that no publisher could be found to venture upon issuing *Alton Locke*. In the emergency Carlyle opened the way with his own publisher, remarking that he was ‘right glad to hear of another and new explosion or salvo of red-hot shot against the devil’s dung heap.’ If his advocacy of the people’s rights brought him hosts of foes, it brought him troops of friends ; it also brought him all sorts of people for advice in all kinds of troubles. A ‘fast man’ came to

him from London, sick of his vile life, and wanting to know what he should do; clergymen inquired how to save their flocks from Oxford Romanism; mothers wanted to know how to save their daughters from so-called Protestant confessors; delicate questions of conscience were submitted to him; several atheists came to him in the misery of infidelity; young men confided their doubts to him before they could enter the ministry. Those who saw the pile of letters on his table each day demanding an answer, and who knew the books to be written, pupils to teach, clerical work to be done, friends to entertain, public duties to be attended to, wondered how it could all be got through. But method, economy, perseverance conquered; and as each thing was done, he was wont to say, 'Thank God that is done,' often adding, 'How blessed it will be to lie down in that dear churchyard.'

Though he fought the battle of the Chartists, he was frequently disgusted with many of their leaders. For one thing he was not on the level of these men—he was a born aristocrat, and could have little in common with the professional 'gents,' whose style of dressing was loud, who sometimes forgot to wash themselves, who were frequently unshaven (when to forswear the razor was an innovation and an offence, which we have heard denounced even in Conferences), and who rolled out in an inflated manner fine phrases which they did not understand. He was not long in seeing how hollow was their patriotism; they were mere agitators, vultures seeking the carcass, caring not for the cry of the oppressed, or the indignities heaped upon the poor. He wisely distinguished between the cause and its unworthy advocates; these he spared not—that he earnestly maintained. The strength—we might say the intenseness—of the opposition he encountered from the polite world outside may be gathered from an incident which occurred in a London church, which was crowded with an eager audience, when Kingsley was the preacher. Just as he was about to pronounce the Benediction the Incumbent of the church advanced from the reading desk and protested against the doctrines of the sermon just delivered. A word from the preacher would have led to a riot, and London would have been in an uproar, but his self-possession and dignity saved all.

His next pair of books, *Hypatia* and *Westward Ho!* proved not only his industry, but the fertility of his mind. The former came out in instalments in *Fraser's Magazine*, and was written about 1865. It bore the title 'Hypatia; or, New Foes with old Faces,' and was a fictitious description of the times of the early Christian Church in the East. It is a brilliant book, undoubtedly; but we cannot get excited over it. On the other hand, we do not join those who depreciate it

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on account of its historical variations and anachronisms, because, if we insist on absolute historical accuracy in works of fiction, who, even among the greatest writers, will stand? For ourselves, we do not care about Vikings and Goths, nor, truth to tell, about ancient monks. One good thing comes of *Hypatia*—those excellent people who go into raptures over ‘ancient saints’ have their glamour removed by finding that there is another and an unlovely side to their saints. They fall far short of the New Testament character; and short of many a good Methodist whom we have known. The book contains much information upon ancient theological and philosophical speculations and systems. The Germans thought so well of it that it was translated into their language; and Baron Bunsen says: ‘You have succeeded in epicizing, poetically and philosophically, one of the most interesting and eventful epochs of the world, clothing the spirits of that age in the most attractive fable; you resuscitate the real history of the time and its leading characters so poetically that we forget that instruction is conferred upon us in every page.’ Dean Stanley says: ‘Read *Hypatia* if you would learn some of the most impressive lessons of ecclesiastical history. Read and inwardly digest those pages, perhaps the most powerful he ever wrote, which close that wonderful story by discriminating the destinies which awaited each of its characters as they passed, one after another, each to his own place.’

If we were called upon to say which of Kingsley’s books shows him at his best, and exhibits his powers in fullest and most perfect exercise, and as containing the fullest presentation of his own belief, we should unhesitatingly say, *Westward Ho!* It is one of the healthiest and most invigorating books of recent times. It takes us back to the Spanish Armada and the search for El Dorado; we live for the time among the men, and see the manners of that age. Would that our young friends could be persuaded to lay aside the sensational books, in which there is nothing but sensation, and that mostly of a morbid and tainted kind, and take up a book like this, where there is abundant incident to excite and satisfy desire. It was written in Devonshire, where the family were living for his wife’s health. In the congenial surroundings of the haunts and homes of the naval heroes of the Elizabethan age by diligent study of the lives and deeds of Hawkins, Frobisher, Drake, Amadas, Gilbert, Raleigh, and others, in his ‘dear old Hakluyt,’ his mind became saturated with the life and spirit of the period. Some of these old men, like Gilbert, were learned and pious, as well as heroes in life and death; but many of them were little above the level of piracy and slave-dealing. The descriptions of

scenery in this book, especially his tropical descriptions, have excited general remark and admiration ; he had so thoroughly digested Humboldt that these tropical descriptions appear to have been written at first hand. At his best, his mind acts so vividly that nearly every phrase suggests a picture, and the style falls into a rhythm, and is like the reading of music. We deny ourselves all reference and quotation save two—one from *Westward Ho!* and an example of his vivid descriptive power from his ‘prose idylls.’ The first is the speech of blind old Amyas:—

When you left me there upon the rocks, lads, I looked away and out to sea, to get one last snuff of the merry sea-breeze, which will never sail me again. And as I looked, I tell you the truth, I could see the water and the sky as plain as ever I saw them, till I thought my sight was come again. But soon I knew it was not so, for I saw more than man could see right over the ocean, as I live, and away to the Spanish main. Then I saw the cliffs beneath me, and the Gull Rock, and the shuther and the ledge, and I saw them, William Cary, and the weeds beneath the merry blue sea ; and I saw the grand old galleon, Will—she has righted with the sweeping of the tide. She lies in fifteen fathoms, at the edge of the rocks upon the sand, and her men are all lying round her, asleep till the Judgment Day.

The following is from a beautiful idyll—an Evening at Sea:—

We slipped on homeward. The cliff wall of Lundy stood out blacker and blacker every moment against the gay western sky—greens, greys, and purples dyeing together into one deep rich monotone—for which our narrow-colour vocabulary has no word—and threw a long cold shadow towards us across the golden sea. Suddenly above its dark ridge a wild wreath of low rock caught the rays of the setting sun, and flowed up like a volcano towards the dull and purple canopy of upper clouds. Before us the blue sea and blue land-line were fading into mournful grey, on which one huge West Indian blazed out, orange and scarlet, her crowded canvas all aflame from the truck to the water’s edge. A few moments, and she, too, had vanished into the grey twilight, and a chill night-wind crisped the sea. It was a relief to hear the evening hymn rise rich and full from one voice and then another, till the men chimed in one by one, and the whole cutter, from stem to stern, breathed up its melody into the silent night.

Two Years Ago was his last novel, except *Hereward*. He had worked himself out—the well of production was run dry. This was so apparent in *Hereward*, that he finally left the realms of fiction. It requires some moral courage to retire from a profitable and useful field because you have worked it out. Few even of our great writers recognise the limitability of their productive power. We state a fact, known to all save indiscriminate devotees at the shrine of Scott, Dickens, Thackeray, George Eliot, and others, that many of their later works are dull and poor, and that in these works they trade upon

their former success; and could some hand blot these last works out of existence, the authors' fame would suffer no loss. It would have been better for Kingsley's reputation had *Hereward* never been written. It appeared in *Good Words* in 1866, and was only a historical extravaganza. While it did Kingsley's name no good, it injured the circulation of the magazine, as the late publisher has informed us. The production of a good, consistent, interesting historical novel is a work so rarely achieved, that you can count such works on the fingers of the right hand; in most cases you have weak history and water—poor history and worse fiction. If the superb genius of Scott sometimes failed him here, what wonder if inferior men fail.

Of Kingsley's scientific works two of them stand out for their commanding excellence—*Glaucus*, or *the Wonders of the Sea-shore*, and *Town Geology*. The former appeared as an article in the *North British Review*, and was expanded into a treatise. It shows that his mind was of the wakeful, devouring kind, that as he journeyed or rambled about nothing escaped him. He detected and examined every form or shade of animal or vegetable life. With this habit of strict and exact search he combined a loving sympathy with Nature. Nature was not a thing to be dissected; it was a voice speaking to him, or, to change the figure, it was but the vesture of Deity. We are obliged to pass over the many profound questions started in *Glaucus*, and content ourselves with one interesting and instructive record of a discovery in his sea-side rambles. He was wandering along the shore, turning, as his habit was, every stone in hope of finding specimens for his case, or vivarium, when he came upon an extraordinary long sea-worm, 'an animal as foul and monstrous to the eye as Hydra, Gorgon, or chimera dire,' and yet so wonderfully fitted to its work, that we must needs endure, for our own instruction, to handle and look at it. Its name we know not, though here it lurks under every stone, and should be glad to know it. It seems some very low Ascid or Planarian worm. You see it. That black, shiny, knotted lump among the gravel, small enough to be taken up in a dessert spoon. Look now it is raised, and its coils drawn out! Three feet, six, nine at least, with a capability of seemingly endless expansion—a shiny tape of living caoutchouc, some eighth of an inch in diameter, a dark chocolate-black, with paler longitudinal lines. Is it alive? It lies motionless and helpless—a mere velvet string across your hand. Ask the neighbouring annelids, and the fry of the rock fishes, or put it into a vase at home, and see. It lies motionless, trailing itself along the gravel. You cannot see where it begins and ends. It may be a dead strip of

sea-weed, or some tarred string. So thinks the little fish who plays over and over it, till he touches what at last is too surely a head. In an instant a bell-shaped sucker has fastened to its side. In another instant, from one lip, a concave double proboscis, just like a tapir's—another instance of the repetition of forms—has clasped him like a finger; and now the struggle begins, but in vain. He is being 'played' with such a fishing-line as the skill of a Wilson or a Stoddart could invent—a living line, with an elasticity beyond that of the most delicate fly-rod, which follows every lunge, shortening and lengthening, slipping and turning round every piece of gravel and stem of sea-weed with a tiring drag such as no highland wrist or step could ever bring to bear on salmon or trout. The victim is tired now; and slowly, yet dextrously, his blind assailant is feeling and shifting along his side till he reaches one end of him, and then the black lips expand, and slowly and surely the curved finger begins packing him end foremost down into his gullet, where he sinks inch by inch, till the swelling which marks the place is lost among the coils, and he is probably macerated to a pulp long before he had reached the other end of his cave of doom. Once safe down, the black murderer slowly contracts into a knotted heap, and lies like a boa with a stag inside him, motionless and blest.

Animated and graphic sketches like this abound in this volume. From its use and value as a companion at the seaside, its devout spirit, and its intellectual grasp and vigour, we can readily believe the biographer's testimony, that it has been a blessing and an inspiration to many. Of his *Town Geology* we can only say that, as a popular and introductory treatise, we have seen nothing to surpass it.

His books for children are very good of their class. His *Heroes* was written for and dedicated to his own children. *Madam How and Lady Why* is equally good. We can easily conceive of a little Miss or Master reading these books without weariness. As for the *Water Babies*, the beautiful songs in the earlier chapters are the best parts; the water in the story, notwithstanding, we found it rather dry, and Mr. Be-done-by-as-you-did and Mrs. Do-as-you-would-be-done-by, are nearly as dreary as their names are comical. He had tried his pinions in the realms of poesy, but now he essayed a more laboured flight in the publication of *Andromeda* in 1858. Any lengthened analysis of this work would overstep our limits. The choice of subjects was not fortunate, as neither old masters nor poets can invest Greek mythological fables and monstrosities in attractive forms. If the law of self-sacrifice is to be illustrated and enforced, let it be from better sources

and in better prose. The seal of doom was fixed upon the work when he chose English hexameters as the medium of expression, as no subject or manner of treatment can make hexameters readable or pleasant. Let any one turn to Longfellow's 'Evangeline,' a good story and good construction, but the poetic style made it sink like lead. But a better poet than either Kingsley or Longfellow failed with these Dactylic hexameters in his poem, 'Bothie of Tober-na-Vuolich.' These lines will form a fair example of this manner.

It was on Saturday eve, in the gorgeous bright October,
Then when brackens are changed and heather blooms are faded,
And amid russet of heather and fern green trees are bonnie;
Alders are green, and oaks; the rowan scarlet and yellow;
One great glory of broad gold pieces appears the aspen,
And the jewels of gold that were hung in the hairs of the birch tree,
Pendulous, here and there, her coronet, necklace, and ear-rings,
Cover her now, o'er and o'er; she is weary, and scatters them from her,
There upon Saturday eve, in the gorgeous bright October,
Under the alder's knitting, gave Elsie her troth to Philip.

The publication of *Andromeda* was Kingsley's greatest literary mistake. His songs will live; we all know 'The Sands of Dee' and 'The Last Buccanier,' this latter being as fine a sample of ballad poetry as any we have.

No notice of Kingsley's career would have any claim to completeness which omitted his labours as a sanitary reformer. As years rolled on he got to see that mere political reforms would do little of themselves to elevate the people. With this conviction he laboured hard and long to enfranchise men's bodies from dirt and disease, as well as from other inevitable causes of sin. In this reforming work he began at home, and secured better cottage accommodation for the poor in his own neighbourhood, and then, in connection with Maurice, Hughes, Ludlow, and others, he strove to carry out his schemes in large centres of population. They started co-operative and other ameliorative plans, which have borne in these late years much good fruit. We have seen that much obloquy rested upon him through his advocacy of Chartism; but, like all noble natures, he bore it in silence and lived it down. Gradually he emerged from the cloud which had so long obscured the grand qualities of his head and heart, and became honoured and esteemed by all ranks of society. The late Prince Consort was among the first to recognise the real merits of the man, and, upon his invitation, became Court preacher. Afterwards he selected him to assist in the education of the Prince of Wales. His social relations were of the happiest character. A relative was married to Max Müller, his wife's sister was married to Mr. J. A. Froude, and he was

an intimate friend of the Tennysons. In 1860 Lord Palmerston offered him the Chair of Modern History in his Alma Mater, Cambridge. Had he followed the dictates of his own mind, he would have declined the labour and the honour of the appointment, and it would have been better for his health and his fame; but he was overborne and deferred to others, and became Professor of History. He was not the man to make a Professor or College Don of. He lacked the quiet dignity, the power of patient, exact, original research; his genius was undoubted, but it was versatile and often slipshod. His *Romans and Teutons* is a most readable book, but not the material for college prelections. History was rather a text for him to preach eloquently about than a subject of original inquiry. The professorship never sat easily upon him—'it wore him sadly,' his wife says. He wisely threw it up, and devoted himself to more congenial work.

The one thing which occupied him with absorbing interest was the pursuit of science in the light of Christian truth. That there should be a permanent breach between religion and science he dreaded as an evil of no small magnitude. 'I am,' he says, 'very busy working out points of Natural Theology by the strange light of Darwin, Huxley, Lyell, and others. I think I shall come to something worth having before I have done. But I am not to rush into print these seven years for this reason: The state of scientific mind is most curious. Darwin is conquering everywhere, and rushing in like a flood by the mere force of truth and fact. The one or two who hold out are forced to try all sorts of subterfuges. . . Some think that they rid themselves of an interfering God; but they have to choose between an empire of accident and a living, immanent, and ever-working God. Grove's great mind has already seized the latter alternative. Ansted, in his Rede Lectures, is feeling for it in geology, and so is Lyell; and, in my way as a zoologist, I am urging it on Huxley, Rolleston, Bates, and others. . . Verily, God is a great God, or there is no God at all.'

In the stress of his multifarious labours his health broke down, and rest was needed. Just at the time Mr. Froude was going to Spain for materials for his history, and it was determined that Kingsley should accompany him; but he could not endure the travel, and remained at the Pyrenees, from whence he wrote some sketches, many of them so striking and vivid that we see, if his health was broken, his mind never acted more freely and vigorously. His description of a singular phenomenon in the Pyrenees has often been pointed out as exceptionally good. We extract a part of it from *From Ocean to Sea*.

The loneliest grouse-moor and the boggiest burn are more cheerful and varied than the Landes of Lannemezan and the foul streamlets which have sown gorges through the sandy waste. But all the while, on your right hand, league after league, ever fading into blue sky behind you, and growing afresh out of the blue sky in front, hangs high in the air the white saw of the Pyrenees. High, I say, in air, for the land slopes, or seems to slope, down from you to the mountain range, and all their roots are lost in a dim sea of purple haze. But shut out the snow line above, and you will find that the seeming haze is none but really a clear and richly varied distance of hills, and woods, and towns, which have become invisible from their contrast of green, grey, and purple with the glare and dazzle of the spotless snows of spring.

There they stand, one straight continuous jagged wall, of which no one point seems higher than another. . . . The peaks are past counting—hard, clear, white, against the hard, clear blue, and blazing with keen light beneath the high southern sun. Each peak carries its little pet cushioned cloud, hanging motionless a few hundred yards above in the blue sky, a row of them as far as the eye can see. But ever and anon, as afternoon draws on, one of those little clouds, being tired of waiting at its post ever since sun-rise, loses its temper, boils, swells, settles down on its private peak, and explodes in a fierce thunderstorm down its private valley without discomposing in the least its neighbour cloud-cushions, right or left. Faintly the roll of thunder reaches the ear. Across some great blackness of cloud and cliff a long spark darts down; a long wisp of cloud sweeps rapidly towards you across the lowlands, and a momentary brush of cold rain lays the dust. And then the pageant is played out, and the disturbed peak is left clear again in the blue sky for the rest of the day to gather another cloud-cushion when to-morrow's sun shall rise.

In his later years Kingsley became more of the preacher. A popular orator he could not be from physical causes; but for bold, fresh, earnest, and not seldom original statement of divine truth, his sermons are models. Instead of publishing everything he preached, which is a mistake, if two or three volumes of sermons could be collected, they may not reach the place held by Robertson, of Brighton, but they would be read and treasured by the best minds of all churches. This brief passage on 'The Measure of the Cross' is all that we can find room for: 'What is the breadth of Christ's cross? It is as broad as the whole world, for He died for the whole world. God willeth not the death of a sinner; 'as by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men unto condemnation, even so by the righteousness of One, the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life.' That is the breadth of Christ's Cross. And what is the length of Christ's Cross? 'The length thereof,' says an old father, 'signifies the time during which its verdure will last.' How long, then, is the Cross of Christ? Long enough to last through all time. As long as there is a sinner to be saved, as long as there is ignorance and sorrow, pain and death, or anything else which is con-

trary to God or hurtful to men, so long will Christ's Cross last. For He must reign till He has put all enemies under His feet.'

It was a common saying that he was the creator of the muscular Christian, a phrase which he always repudiated with some indignation, as may be seen in his University sermons on David. Despite this disclaimer, which we accept, of course, he lays much and frequent stress upon physical development. He would not have Christ's soldiers lame and sickly; they should be strong to dare and do, to suffer and endure. His ideal was a healthy mind in a healthy body. It is sad to think that his own splendid frame broke down. His health was shattered when he went to the West Indies, a journey which produced that fine book of travels, *At Last*. Shortly after this he made his final journey to America, where he saw everything from Niagara to California and the Yosemite Valley, and everybody, from Charles Sumner—whom he visited the day before his sudden death—to Mark Twain.

In 1869 Mr. Gladstone gave him the Canonry at Chester, where, instead of confining himself to ordinary cathedral duties, he established a huge Bible and science class, numbering more than 500 members. His *Town Geology* was the outcome of this class. In 1873 Mr. Gladstone gave him the vacant stall at Westminster, so that, henceforth, he became Canon of the Metropolitan Abbey. Among those who congratulated him upon this promotion to well-deserved honour and much-needed emoluments was his mother, then in her eighty-fifth year. Had his life been spared, it is likely that he would have attained other and higher dignities. When he was in residence at the Abbey crowds flocked to hear his manly, earnest sermons; his hearers forgot all about the harsh voice and hesitancy in speech in the grasp of the subject and the earnestness of the preacher; he was intent only upon probing the conscience, searching the heart, and quickening the understanding. Those who did not agree with his opinions, as well as those who did, united in the judgment that he was becoming a power for good in London.

One of the most unfortunate things in Canon Kingsley's later life was his controversy with Cardinal, then Father, Newman. There was no bitterer enemy to the Tractarian upheaval in the Episcopal Church than he; this strong enmity begat, as we think, a deep hostility even to the persons of the leaders of that movement; hence, when he charged Newman with preaching a species of practical untruth, he not only assailed the Romish doctrine of 'the Economies,' which he was fully justified in doing, but he impeached the personal, conscious truthfulness of Father Newman. A recent examination of the articles

in *Macmillan*, the pamphlets, and Newman's reply in the first edition of the *Apologia* has deepened the impression made at the time—1. That Kingsley's weakness was, in the personal element, introduced and implied. This was the faulty generalship which led to his defeat. 2. That Casuistry, the double-sense, or economical method, is inseparable from the confessional, and from the nice question of conduct determined upon by Romish priests. This Newman elaborately defends, as readers of the famous *Apologia* will recall. 3. That Cardinal Newman is the most subtle and dexterous of modern controversialists. His attack of his assailant is truly terrible in its scathing power. But if our sympathy and admiration went with Newman, our convictions went with Kingsley. The *Apologia* is the finest autobiography in the English language.

Towards the close of 1874 Canon Kingsley's health gave way irretrievably while he was in residence at Westminster. His last sermon was one of remarkable evangelical and spiritual power, on Christ's coming to the soul in sorrow and adversity as well as in joy and prosperity. He returned to Eversley, when congestion of the lungs set in, which was aggravated by efforts he made for his wife, who was ill at the same time. It was seen that he was doomed to fall. To his nurse he said, characteristically, 'I'm badly hit this time.' To all around him he spoke words of encouragement, and expressed his faith in Christ and the bright anticipations filling his soul. So this good and great man, who had filled England with the power of his name and his works, laid down his load, and went to his rest. It is necessary sometimes to use the proverbial grain of salt in regard to dedications and *post obitum* inscriptions; but a study of Canon Kingsley's life leaves the conviction that the dedication of this work is just and true in every word: 'A righteous man, who loved God and truth above all things. A man of untarnished honour, loyal and chivalrous, gentle and strong, modest and humble, tender and true, pitiful to the weak, yearning after the erring, stern to all forms of wrong and oppression, yet most stern towards himself; who, being angry, sinned not; whose highest virtues were known only to his wife and children, his servants and the poor; who lived in the presence of God here; and passing through the grave and the gates of death, now liveth unto God for evermore.'

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II.—THE FIRST MAN: HIS ORIGIN AND THE PERIOD OF HIS EXISTENCE.

HERE are two important questions: How was man brought into existence? and, When? These questions are answered very differently. We believe that the first man was brought into being by the special creative act of God, and at a period about 6,000 years ago. Some, however, would have us to believe that man derived his existence by Evolution from an animal of the ape species, and that this Evolution, commencing in ages immeasurably distant, came to the human stage some hundreds of thousands of years ago. These two sentiments are so widely diverse that both cannot be true. One of them must be false. We propose to inquire as to their respective claims.

In this inquiry we would respectfully request our readers to distinguish with rigid care between conjecture and evidence, theory and demonstration. Lord Bacon, in his great work, the *Novum Organum*, shows that science can only build on a true foundation by discarding theories and substituting the evidence of facts. The great Sir Isaac Newton, whose powerful intellect unbarred the strongholds of the universe, built up the noble science of astronomy on physical and mathematical demonstration, and on demonstration alone, expressly affirming that 'hypotheses have no place in philosophy;' and thus Boyle and Brewster, Davy, Dalton, and Faraday, as well as Newton, demonstrated their scientific teachings by the evidence of facts. We desire these great principles to be carefully observed in our argument.

In this inquiry the Christian cannot overlook the evidence of the Bible. If this book speaks of the origin of man and of the period of his existence, its testimony must be examined, and its testimony must have the weight which it deserves. The Bible is by far the most ancient record in existence, and it carries us back in the history of man to the beginning of time. It comes to us as the inspired Word of God. It has not only the authority of patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, but of our Lord Himself, who constantly quoted the Scriptures in support of the truths He inculcated, and appealed to their testimony as of Divine authority; for 'beginning at Moses and all the prophets, He expounded unto them (His disciples) in all the Scriptures

the things concerning Himself.' Our Lord speaks of the Old Testament Scriptures collectively as the 'Word of God,' and affirms that 'the Word of God cannot be broken.' Elsewhere they are called 'the Scriptures,' 'the Scriptures of truth,' 'the oracles of God,' 'the holy oracles,' and 'the Word of the Lord that liveth for ever.' 'Heaven and earth,' our Lord declares, 'shall pass away, but My words shall not pass away.' To resist their authority, therefore, is to resist the authority of God.

We have, then, in the first instance, to inquire with reverence, 'What saith the Scriptures?' Do they supply us with information respecting the origin of man? They do; both in reference to the mode and the period of man's origin, and the state of man when he came fresh from the hand of his Creator. Had the first man derived his existence by Evolution, he must have had an organised progenitor; but he had no progenitor at all, for the substance of which his body was formed was devoid of both life and organization. It was dust or dead matter, without organisation and without life. The Scriptures are clear and expressive on this subject, as if intended to exclude every idea of natural derivation or of Evolution. For they affirm, again and again, that man's body was formed of mere dust. These are the words of inspiration: 'The Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground.' Here was the origin of his body; and it is added, 'And God breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul.' Such is the Scriptural account of the origin of man. Nothing is said of Evolution from any preceding animal; nothing is said of generation; indeed, nothing of derivation from any previously-organised being; nor can the words by any skilful manipulation be made to bear any construction favourable to Evolution: but, on the contrary, they bear directly against any such supposition; for the dust of the ground is one of the most unorganised substances of which we can form any conception. Yet this is the substance of which man's body was formed.

And yet further. If the first man had derived his existence from Evolution or from generation by any process, both Adam himself and Eve must have had a mother; but neither of them had a mother. So far from this, all generation was dispensed with, and not only dispensed with, but the natural order of derivation was reversed; for instead of the male being derived from the female, the female was derived from the male. The man was brought into existence first, in all respects a perfect human being; and then, by a second and subsequent creative act, the woman was brought into existence, and in every respect a perfect woman. (Gen. ii. 18-23.)

This order of creation, giving priority to the man's existence, is recognised throughout the Scriptures, and is made prominent in the New Testament as well as in the Old. Our Lord Himself, appealing to the Divine record of man's creation, says, 'Have ye not read that He which made them at the beginning made them male and female?' thus observing the order of creation, the male first (Matt. xix. 4). Still more largely by the apostle Paul, who assigns this order in creation as a reason for the superior authority of the man and the subjection of the woman; 'for the man is not of the woman, but the woman is of the man; neither was the man created for the woman, but the woman for the man.' (1 Cor. xi. 8-9.)

What, then, is the evidence derived from the Scriptures? It is briefly this—that Adam was not derived from Evolution, because he had no predecessor; nor by generation in any possible way, for he was formed, as to his body, out of the dust of the ground, which is unorganised matter; that he had no mother, and therefore generation as well as Evolution is excluded as a physical impossibility; but that he was brought into being before the woman, and by a special act of creation. Such is the evidence before us; and because man thus derived his existence direct from God, all the tables of man's genealogy begin or end with Adam, whom they call the 'son of God,' and not the descendant of an ape.

The advocates of Evolution recoil at the idea of God's direct and personal agency in the origin of man. They (at least the best among them) will allow God to be the author of man, but only by the slow process of Evolution. Direct agency they despise, and designate it 'a mechanical mode of operation, unworthy of God.' This notion, however, is but a prejudice; we might almost say it is a folly, to limit the Creator to man's preconceived mode of operation. All nature is the production of God's infinite wisdom and power, and all His works are worthy of Himself in every mode of operation, whether by direct personal agency or through the medium of intervening causes. Nor are His operations to be designated 'mechanical.' When the rod of Aaron became transformed in a moment into a living organised serpent, there was the direct personal agency of God, but nothing mechanical, and no Evolution. When the dried staff of Aaron was made to bud, blossom, and bear the fruit of almonds in one night, there was the direct agency of God, but nothing mechanical, no Evolution, and nothing unworthy of God. When the blessed Redeemer multiplied the five loaves and two fishes into food for more than 5,000 people, leaving over twelve baskets of fragments, there was the actual

agency of God in the creation of two substances—bread and fish—the latter being an organized substance ; yet here no Evolution, nor the use of any perceptible intermediate causes, and nothing unworthy of God. It was the same with the other miracles of our Lord. He spake, and it was done ; nothing mechanical, nothing unworthy of God. When, at the end of time, all the millions of living saints shall be changed—the corruptible into incorruption, and the mortal into immortality, there will be no slow process of Evolution by descent, but the energy of almighty agency, exerted in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye ; nothing here mechanical, nothing unworthy of God. When the dead, the just and the unjust, shall at the last day rise into immortal life, it will be by no slow process of Evolution, but by the instant and immediate power of Almighty God—a power equal to that which at first spoke the universe into being. How like God are these stupendous operations ! How they illustrate His nature and display His glorious attributes ! The Evolutionist may not believe either the miracles performed by our Lord, or the wonders of the general transformation of the living and the resurrection of the dead at the last day ; but we believe in both. And, in accepting these grand truths and doctrines, we recognise distinctly the direct agency of God—an agency as personal, as direct, and as marvellous as that displayed in the creation of man. It is a coincidence worthy of notice that the dust of the earth is set forth in Scripture as the source of man's physical nature both at the Creation and the Resurrection. In creation, the first man was formed of the 'dust of the ground ;' in the Resurrection, 'they that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to-shame and everlasting contempt.' They shall awake at the voice of God !

We thus see an analogy between the works of God in creation, and the works of God in the miracles he has performed, and in the predicted wonders of the Resurrection. In each and also in all we see the same Omnipotent energy, and the same direct, immediate, personal agency. They all bear the same inscription of the Almighty Hand, without the intervention of any known subordinate causes ; and, therefore, in believing in one class of His works we are consistent in believing the other ; and in believing both we honour the veracity of the Divine Word, as well as the wisdom and power of the glorious Creator.

This argument becomes strengthened if we contemplate the original condition of the first man. The Evolutionist tells us that the first man was a savage of the lowest and most degraded type. His organization was ape-like—little above that of the gorilla—and his intel-

lect but a small degree higher, without speech, and with but the faintest glimmering of reason and moral sensibility. All such notions are totally repugnant to the Scriptural account of the first man; for, in the Sacred Word, he is said to have been brought into existence, as to his body, a perfect man; and, as to his soul, made in the image and likeness of his Creator. The highest terms in human language are employed to express the dignity of his nature. 'And God said, Let us make man in our own image, after our likeness, and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth. So God created man in His own image, in the image of God created He him; male and female created He them. . . And God saw everything that He had made, and behold it was very good.' Such was the original condition of man when he came from the hand of his Creator.

In the entire vocabulary of human language, there is no higher designation to be applied to any created being than to say he is in the image and the likeness of God. This honourable designation implies intellectual and moral powers of the highest order; and this is the characteristic of original man.

The whole historical account which Holy Scripture gives of man in his primeval state accords with this description. Man's dignified nature is seen in his dominion over all God's works; in the immediate gift of speech as well as of reason; conversing with God and the partner of his life on the first day of his existence; speaking even prophetically on the future relations and duties of social life; giving appropriate names to the various species of animals around him; being made the subject of moral law and government; being conscious of his important relation to God, of his personal responsibility to Him for his conduct, and of immortal life and blessedness promised as the reward of his obedience. All these attributes indicate a high intellectual and moral nature, and the highest terms in human language are chosen to express its dignity—he was made in the 'image and likeness of God.' Contrast this noble being with 'the jabbering ape of the Evolutionist!' There is a similar contrast or a similar contradiction in every representation of original man as *imagined* by the Evolutionist, and as *historically* stated in the Scriptures of truth. If the Scriptures are true, the evolution of man is the opposite of truth.

Equally at variance with Holy Scripture is the chronology of the Evolutionists. Evolutionists assert the age of man to be prodigious,

so prodigious as to extend to many hundreds of thousands of years—so vast, indeed, that the Theorists themselves differ from each other by myriads of years. It is thus evident there is with them a feeling of immense uncertainty, and this uncertainty is itself an evidence of error. Scripture chronology gives no sanction to such extreme antiquity, but disproves it and condemns it as absurd. The origin of man, according to the Bible, dates no further back than about 6,000 years. Let us look at facts. We have, in the 5th of Genesis, a line of genealogy which begins with the first man and extends without interruption to the Deluge. We need proceed no farther; for then, or before the death of Noah, the secular period of history begins. We have here a continuous line of descent, with the age of each patriarch when he had a son, and the time of the patriarchs' death; and we have the dates for each in succession, so that every year is accounted for and taken into the reckoning until the Deluge. Thus Adam, at the age of 130 years, has a son called Seth, and lives 800 years after, making his entire life 930 years. Seth, at the age of 105 years, has a son called Enos; after this Seth lives 807 years, and dies at the age of 912. Enos, at the age of 90 years, has a son called Cainan, and dies at the age of 905. Cainan, at the age of 70 years, has a son called Mahalaleel, and dies at the age of 910. Mahalaleel, at the age of 65 years, has a son called Jared, and dies at the age of 895. Jared lives up to the age of 162, and has a son called Enoch, and dies at the age of 962. Enoch, at the age of 65, had a son, and was himself translated at the age of 365. Methuselah, at the age of 187 years, has a son, Lamech, and dies at the age of 969. Lamech, at the age of 182, has a son, Noah, and dies at the age of 777. Noah has three sons, Ham, Japheth, and Shem; and, when 600 years old, the Deluge comes, and the old world is destroyed. We need advance no farther than this, for the whole gist of the controversy as to chronology lies between the period of the first man and the Deluge, as we then are on the verge of the secular historic period. Now, by looking at the age of each of the ten patriarchs at the birth of their sons, we get the entire period from Adam to the Deluge, namely, 1656, the year when Noah left the Ark and the new world began its course. We cannot reckon them more or less; the numbers limit us to this total. Moreover, the numbers in Hebrew are stated in *words*, and in words not contracted, but spelled out at full length, so that the calculation does not admit of either diminution or extension. Brief as is the history of the old world, the lives of the patriarchs, as to the succession and duration of each, is remarkable for its numerical exactness and

precision. The numbers are given as precisely as an arithmetical table, and the total is as easily ascertained as the reckoning up of a sum in addition; and the number of years here stated admits of no intercalation, and no increase or diminution, without corrupting the sacred text.

It is worthy of observation, too, that we have in other parts of Holy Scripture other genealogical lists, and those lists of antediluvian patriarchs are exactly the same as those in Genesis both in number and in names. In 1 Chronicles i. 1-4, and again in Luke iii. 36-38, we have the same list of ten antediluvian patriarchs—Adam, Seth, Enos, Cainan, Mahalaleel, Jared, Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech, and Noah. Ten names, ten generations; no more, no less. The Apostle Jude also speaks of Enoch as the *seventh* from Adam. Now, this unity and uniformity of testimony by the sacred writers, though separated from one another by intervals of thousands of years, is significant. It is just that unity we might expect from the guiding influence of inspiration, and it shows the care which God has taken that the dates of those ancient times should be sacredly preserved—a care which seems providentially to have been intended to guard the church against the fabulous antiquities which God foresaw the nations in their pride would assume and a sceptical philosophy assert.

We have, then, before us the vast difference between the sober period of about 6,000 years, as the chronology of Scripture, and the enormous antiquity assumed by the Evolutionists, extending to hundreds of thousands of years. I say *assumed*, because these vast periods are merely guessed or supposed, not proved. Their geological value we shall examine hereafter; at present we merely note those enormous ages and contrast them with the sober, the well-defined, and harmonious dates of the sacred records. In this comparison one thing is clearly evident, namely, the chronology of Holy Scripture and the enormous antiquity claimed for man by the Evolutionists are so widely at variance, they cannot possibly be reconciled. No scheming, no contrivances, no special explanations whatever can harmonise the one with the other. Here they are face to face, confronting each other with numbers so enormously diverse that, if the one be true, the other must be false. For the truth and integrity of Holy Scripture, however, we have no fear. Men may disbelieve or deny, but He abideth faithful.

This is the proper place for looking at the chronology of the great empires of antiquity. Worshipping gods many and lords many, as

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the heathen did, they boasted their descent from heroes far back into antiquity, who, they said, had descended by generation from their gods. Chaldea, on the authority of Berosus, her priest, boasts an antiquity of nearly half a million of years. How worthy of our confidence is the authority of Berosus we may judge from the fact that he assigns the enormous period of 2,400 years to the life of the first monarch of the second period, and 2,700 years to the reign of Chemasbelus, his son, and the remaining 28,000 years he divides amongst 84 other monarchs. Will any one who has the least regard for his reputation defend these extravagant assertions? They bear on their very front the stamp of fable and falsehood.

China assumes an antiquity yet more extravagant. She speaks of a celestial emperor who reigned during the enormous period of 45,000 years; of a terrestrial emperor who reigned 18,000 years; and of a human emperor who reigned as long. We have thus 81,000 years occupied by three emperors; but, without any names, or events, or circumstances of those wonderful monarchs. Will any man, who cares for his reputation, profess his belief in these idle myths?

India surpasses all others; for, not satisfied with thousands, she leaps into millions of ages at a bound. We have four periods, called 'Suttee Jogues,' the first of which lasted three million two hundred thousand years, during which period the lives of men were 100,000 years. We have the second period, which lasted two million four hundred thousand years, when the lives of men were reduced to 10,000 years. We have then the third age of one million six hundred thousand years, when human life was curtailed to 1,000 years. And then came the fourth age, during which the life of man was brought down to 100 years. Will any man who has the least regard for his reputation defend these fabulous eras?

Ancient Egypt boasted of a great antiquity. During numerous ages she pretends to have had the reigns of gods and demigods; and then, according to Manetho, there were numerous human dynasties, making up a vast period. When Herodotus visited Egypt, about 445 B.C., the priests of that country told him that the series of their kings and priests extended over a period of 341 generations, making a total of 11,340 years; but that, before this period of the earthly kings began, Egypt was governed by immortal beings, who communicated with men, and had uniformly one superior. They also gravely informed Herodotus that, within the human period, the sun had risen twice in the west and set twice in the east! Our readers will see here

the same display of reckless imagination and folly, the same boastful glorying in the incredible and the impossible.

But here comes the query—Have any competent scholars and antiquarians seriously and thoroughly examined into the real antiquity of these nations? Yes; men of the highest competence and integrity have done this, and in the results of their labours they lay the boasted antiquities of these nations in the dust, and bring their true eras within the chronology of the Bible. The oldest date for the Chaldean kingdom is admitted to be within 2,300 B.C., the period when Nimrod and Asshur, the founders, performed their exploits (Genesis x. 8, 9); that of India within 1,600 B.C.; that of China within 2,200 B.C., after the dispersion on the confusion of tongues. Egypt remains yet undecided, so far as its technical chronology is concerned. But Reginald Stuart Poole, of the British Museum, one of the greatest Egyptologists of the day, affirms: ‘The earliest record which all Egyptologists are agreed to regard as affording a date is of the fifteenth century B.C., and no one has alleged any such record to be of an earlier time than the twenty-fourth century B.C.’ This brings us to the period when Ham and Mitzraim figured in history (Genesis x. 6-10), and these two are the very names which Holy Scripture gives to the country, for Egypt is called ‘The Land of Mitzraim’ and ‘The Land of Ham’ (Psalm lxxviii. 51; cv. 23-27; and cvi. 22). Why was the kingdom called by the names of the son and the grandson of Noah? Clearly because they were its founders; and, being its founders, its history dates back to their existence, and no farther; and their existence synchronizes with the utmost antiquity which the country can truly claim, and thus both the period and the names of its founders agree with both Scripture history and Scripture chronology.

The chronology of the Septuagint demands a brief consideration. This version differs from the original Hebrew by making the antediluvian period 606 years longer. This difference, of course, is of no importance in an argument respecting the antiquity of man; for what are 606 years in a theory which demands chiliads of time? But which are we to prefer—the original Hebrew text or the Greek of the Septuagint? Let us see.

The main points are these: The Hebrew chronology is that of the original text, and, therefore, given under direct inspiration; the Septuagint is but a version or translation, and, therefore, of only human authority, and not of Divine origin. The Hebrew chronology is adopted as the genuine one by the Jewish Church and by the Targum

of Onkelos, written apparently in the first century of the Christian era; also by the Targums of Jonathan Ben Uzziel, and of Palestine; by the Old Syriac version, by the Arabic, the Latin Vulgate, and by modern versions generally.

The Hebrew chronology is simple and natural throughout, but the Septuagint, where it differs from the Hebrew, is extremely artificial and improbable. For example, in six instances it adds exactly 100 years to the age of each of six patriarchs before they had a son, and then takes off exactly 100 years from the age of the six patriarchs at the time of their death, which extends the chronology 600 years, without increasing the length of the term of those patriarchs' lives. Six years more, however, were required for a purpose, and these six years were added to the life of Lamech, making just 606 years of addition to the whole period. Now, if we add this 606 years to the Hebrew chronology, we have the total 2,262 years; and this is the Septuagint chronology up to the Deluge.

But why was this artificial addition made? There is reason to believe the alteration was made intentionally to effect a plausible compromise between the pretended chronology of Egypt and the chronology of the Bible; by reckoning the 28,000 years of the pretended Egyptian period as so many lunar months, thus reducing that period to 2,262 years; and then by adding 606 years to the Septuagint; and thus the chronology of the Alexandrian Jews was accommodated to the reputed Egyptian chronology of that day,* as reckoned in lunar months instead of years.

Here was an unworthy compromise, by which the truth was betrayed. The translators of the Septuagint version were unlike Moses, who was faithful in all his house. Moses lived in Egypt, and was learned in all its lore; he knew the pretended chronology of Egypt and its baseless foundation, but he swerved not from the truth. In the face of priests, magicians, and potentates he cast aside their boasted chronology, and, without the compromise of a year, he gave to the church the true chronology of the world; and here we have it, through the providence of God, in our Bibles at the present day.

An examination of the geological aspect of man's origin and antiquity I reserve for another article; but I cannot conclude this without reiterating my firm conviction as to the literal truth and correctness

* See an able and elaborate article on this subject, page 266, vol. I., Bible Dictionary, published by Cassell and Co.

of the Mosaic account of both the origin of man and the period of his existence. We claim for this old document the authority of inspiration, and, with all deference to free inquiry, claim the Hebrew text to be the genuine record. Look at its style and structure: How simple, how inartificial, and how clear! Has it any equal in the writings of uninspired men? Though it treats on the sublimest topics, how unostentatious, how free from the pomp of Oriental magniloquence! Creation itself is narrated in the fewest words, and in the plainest style, and dispensations of mercy and judgment and redeeming love are unfolded from age to age with a prescience pertaining to no one but its glorious Author—Jehovah, the Creator and God of the universe.

WILLIAM COOKE, D.D.

III.—THE REVISED NEW TESTAMENT.

SINCE its issue from the press, this version of the New Testament has been receiving the attention of biblical critics, theologians, men of letters, and the devout believer in Christ; and if it do nothing more than lead to a more careful examination of God's Word, we shall think that it has not appeared in vain. We have asked ourselves whether any necessity existed for a new version, and whether this version meets that necessity or not. We believe in books being the offspring of necessity—in a man writing because thoughts that are in him demand expression; for those thoughts that are thrown up, as if by volcanic action, from the depths of a writer's soul, generally sink into that of the reader. Now, no such subjective necessity as this can be established for the new version; still, we must have necessity, though it be of another kind, before we consent to part with the authorised version. Is that version not a good translation? And has it not helped to make our language that grand instrument of thought which it is acknowledged to be? Did it not quench the spiritual thirst of our fathers? And have not we, too, drunk at its sacred streams? Shall we part with it, then, as a man parts with an old horse, or a woman with an old servant, simply because a fresh one has appeared in our midst? The authorised version has a claim on us, and we gratefully acknowledge it.

But whilst we acknowledge that claim, we still think that a new version was required. Marvellous changes have come over our language since the authorised version was published in 1611. Words that then passed like current coin are now obsolete, and others that were not then in existence are now freely used. Not only have the modern languages of Western Europe, and the ancient ones of Greece and Rome, but those of the far-East as well have been pouring their treasures into our vocabulary; and consequently, our language is now richer, and a more precise instrument of thought, than it was when wielded by the venerable and scholarly men who gave us the version of 1611. If there had been no other reason for a revision than this growth of our language, we should have approved of the attempt, whether we had approved of the work or not.

But there are other reasons why a revision was necessary. The authorised version rests on a comparatively narrow basis. There is an

account of its origin given in the preface to the revised version, which is correct as far as it goes, only it does not go far enough back. We want to know what was the origin of the Greek text, from which the authorised version was taken.

Was it that which came from the pens of the Apostles? Or, was it a correct copy of that which came from their pens? The translation may be correct, but if the Greek from which it is made be not genuine, the translation can never satisfy us. What, then, was the character of the Greek from which our authorised version came?

The first Greek Testament ever printed was that of Cardinal Ximenes (1514), but the first published was that of Erasmus (1516). To get into the market before the cardinal, Erasmus' Testament was hastily prepared, and as hastily published. As a rule, literary work done in a hurry, and especially when of a critical nature, is not done well. Erasmus found that out, so he corrected his fourth edition by that of the cardinal; and this edition, influenced by those of Stephens and Beza, formed the text from which our authorised version came. How can we be satisfied with the translation of a text that was so hastily constructed?

But our great objection to that text is its comparatively narrow basis. The materials from which a Greek text can be constructed are manuscripts, versions, and patristic citations. According to Dr. Scrivener, we have 1,664 manuscripts, which extend over a period of eleven centuries. The oldest and most valuable of these are the *Sinaiticus* and the *Vaticanus*, both belonging to the fourth century. Tischendorf found the *Sinaiticus* in the monastery of St. Catherine, on Mount Sinai, in 1844, and it was presented to the late Emperor of Russia, in 1859. The monks, being ignorant of its value, were going to light the stove with a portion of it! They had given more attention to shaving their heads than to storing them with useful knowledge. Other valuable manuscripts are the *Alexandrine*, and the *Codex Ephraemi*, both belonging to the fifth century. What influence had these manuscripts on the text from which our authorised version was taken? None at all. The *Sinaitic* was not discovered; the *Vaticanus* was stored away on the shelves of the Papal Library at Rome; the *Alexandrine* was in Egypt, the literary men of Europe knowing nothing about it; and the *Codex Ephraemi* was at Paris, unexamined. Besides, this manuscript was difficult to examine; for Ephraim of Syria, one of the fathers of the Church, thought that he had some very important knowledge to communicate to the world, and as he had a difficulty in getting parchment, he took this manuscript,

tried to erase the sacred text, and then wrote down his own thoughts. We wish that he had been the last father of the Church to darken the Word of God with his writings; but every generation has its Ephraim. However, by the aid of chemicals, the writing of Ephraim has been partly obliterated, without injuring that of the original scribe, so that now the Word of God again shines forth in all its native splendour. Thus we see, that old and valuable as these manuscripts are, they were never consulted when the text was fixed from which our authorised version came; and, as their testimony is so important, we cannot rest satisfied with a text, to the correctness of which they have not borne witness. A revision was therefore necessary.

Not only were the most important manuscripts unknown to Erasmus and the Cardinal, but it was utterly impossible for them to know many of any kind. The few that the cardinal used have not been identified with certainty, but it is clear, from the character of his text, that they were all of late origin.

Erasmus used four. One of these was of great value, having a text that approached that of the Vatican manuscript; but, because its readings differed from those of the other three, he suspected it. In his day the laws of evidence were not understood as they are in ours. Then, witnesses were counted; now, they are weighed. If two men, whose characters are bad, give similar testimony, and if one whose character is good give opposite testimony, we say that character should go for something, so we believe the one. Now, as Erasmus only consulted four manuscripts, and as we know there are 1,664—to say nothing of ancient versions and patristic citations—and as his most important manuscript was suspected by him, how can we receive his text as a faithful reproduction of that which came from the pens of the Apostles? And if a revision of the Greek text be necessary, how much more is it necessary to revise the translation taken from that text?

The leading biblical scholars of this century have tried to meet the necessity by issuing critical editions of the New Testament, hence we have those of Tischendorf, Tregelles, and Alford, which we have arranged in the order of merit. Our Revisers have tried to meet the same necessity, and we now inquire how they have done their work. When we remember that twenty-four of the most competent scholars of our land, aided by the culture of America, have for ten long years been engaged in this work, we ought to be chary in condemning it; and as it is intended to displace a version through which God has spoken to us for 270 years, we should be equally as cautious in giving our approval.

The difficulty of the task that lay before the Revisers also makes us hesitate before we either censure or praise. They have had to translate the writings of men who are not only separated from them by a period of eighteen centuries, but who belonged to a civilisation and breathed an intellectual and moral atmosphere altogether different from theirs. To succeed, it was necessary for them to divest themselves of modern ideas and influences, and to reproduce the very conditions under which the Evangelists and Apostles wrote. But how could they? We acknowledge the magnitude and difficulty of their work, and proceed to inquire how they have met the necessity there was for it to be done.

We said that a revision was necessary because of the growth of our language since the authorised version was published. Have the Revisers eliminated antique words and expressions? In Acts xxi. 15 (A.V.), we read of the Apostles taking their carriages and going to Jerusalem. The Revisers have substituted 'baggage' for 'carriage,' as the latter word is no longer used to denote the requisites for a journey. We presume that all will approve of the change, except those who think that to be in the Apostolic succession they must ride in a carriage. As the passage now stands, it is finely illustrated by those Methodist ministers whose circuits are twenty miles in extent, and who leave home at the beginning of June, with two months' magazines for their societies. Verily, such men take up their baggage.

We are also pleased to see that Matt. xvii. 25, has been altered. Instead of reading, 'Jesus prevented him,' we now read, 'Jesus spake first to him.' This is a good change; for whilst the word 'prevent' was used in 1611 to denote, in accordance with its etymology, that a man could *go before* another, either to help or to hinder him, it is now used only in the sense of to hinder. Jesus wished to help Peter out of his difficulty as to how the tribute money was to be paid, so He spake first. In Romans i. 13, 'let' has given place to 'hinder,' and in II. Thess. ii. 7, 'to restrain.' The word, 'lewdness,' having acquired an obscene meaning since 1611, has been expunged from Acts xviii. 14, and the word 'villainy' substituted. This is too strong a substitute, for Gallio is only speaking of recklessness.

But, whilst we approve of these and many other similar changes, we wonder why the Revisers have used words which, though not obsolete, are trembling on the verge of oblivion. Why use the verb 'to mete' in Matt. vii. 2, and not the verb 'to measure'? Why has John the Baptist's head still to be brought in a 'charger' (Matt. xiv. 11), and

not in a dish? Would any housewife ask for a charger, if she wanted a dish or a plate? It was necessary that obsolete words should be expunged, and our Revisers have met that necessity, but to some that were dying they have unnecessarily given a new lease of life.

We argued the necessity of a revision from the narrow basis on which the authorised version rests. Being narrow, it has allowed some words and verses to find a place in our Scriptures that never came from the pens of the Apostles. The ample materials at the command of our Revisers have enabled them to subject both words and letters to a critical examination before giving them a place in the sacred text. Some words and verses have failed to vindicate their claim to a place, consequently they have ceased to be Scripture. This is notably the case with John v. 4, which tells us that an angel troubled the waters of Bethesda and imparted medicinal properties to them. Thoughtful men have long had a difficulty in believing this verse. In the Scriptures we often read of angels being commissioned to this world to deliver some message or perform some act; but when the message has been delivered, or the act performed, the angel has withdrawn from the scene. Here, on the contrary, we have an angel making periodical visits; and that contrariety is enough to excite suspicion. The verse probably originated as a marginal reading, to account for the healing properties of the spring; and a subsequent copyist transferred it from the margin to the text. We try to trace effects to their cause; but, as a rule, we find them in nature. It is on natural grounds that we account for the healing properties of the mineral springs at Harrogate and other places. Fourteen centuries ago men were equally as anxious as we are to know the causes of things, and if they failed to find them in nature they sought them in the supernatural. Men succeed admirably so long as they direct their attention to nature; but, when they attempt to traverse supernatural regions, they generally lose themselves, except the light of Revelation shine upon their path. In this case an angel was brought from heaven to do what we know a little sulphur and water will do! Whatever credit may be due to the scribe for his discovery, we must say that it is not very complimentary to the angel.

If the scholarly men who gave us the version of 1611 had any misgivings respecting the genuineness of this verse, the narrow basis on which their text rested gave them no authority to delete it. But the Revisers, with ample materials at their command, have found the verse wanting in the Sinaitic and Vatican manuscripts of the fourth century, and in those of Ephraim and Beza of the fifth and sixth. It is only found

in the Vulgate and some of the writings of the Fathers, and so the Revisers have justly expunged it. We rejoice that the verse has gone, though it has taken the periodical visits of an angel with it.

The famous passage on the 'heavenly witnesses,' found in 1 John v. 7-8, has also been deleted. The principal authorities for these verses are the Vulgate and the writings of Vigilius and Fulgentius, African Fathers of the fifth century. Erasmus did not insert them in the first and second editions of his Testament; and they would never have had a place in our authorised version had it not been for the opposition of the monks to Erasmus and for his intense desire for peace. They were afraid of the keys of knowledge passing out of the hands of the Church; and when his Testament appeared, they charged him with mutilating Scripture and correcting the Holy Ghost, and, in proof of their assertions, pointed to the omission of these verses. Erasmus, to satisfy his opponents and get peace, promised that if these verses could be found in a single Greek manuscript he would insert them in his next edition. Such a manuscript was found in Britain, and Erasmus was true to his word; consequently the verses found their way into our authorised version. It is now generally admitted that the verses were translated from the Latin Vulgate into Greek, for they are not found in any ancient Greek manuscript, and they are not quoted in the great Arian controversy (325) to prove the Deity of Christ, as they undoubtedly would have been, if they had formed part of the sacred text.

But if our Revisers have deleted verses they have not done so without a sufficient reason. In the Gospel according to John vii. 53, viii. 11, we have the graphic and touching account of the woman taken in adultery. There is weighty evidence against the genuineness of this passage, for it is not found in the *Codicēs Sinaiticus*, *Vaticanus*, *Alexandrinus*, *Ephraemi*, &c., nor in 33—'the queen of the cursives.' Eleven cursives place it at the end of the Gospel, and four after the twenty-first chapter of Luke. Several of the Fathers do not refer to it, and the style is different from that of John, for there are words and expressions in it that are not found elsewhere in his writings. On the other hand, the selection is found in the *Codex Bezae* of the sixth century, though in a different form, and in codices that belong to the seventh, ninth, and tenth centuries. It is also found in more than 300 cursives, and in the Latin Vulgate. Jerome and Augustine both knew of it, and the latter warmly defended it. With such an array of evidence for and against the passage our Revisers have not deleted it, nor allowed it to remain an unquestioned part of the text, as it does in

the authorised version, but like honest men have enclosed it in brackets. Doubtless the men who gave us the version of 1611 would have done the same if they had heard the powerful evidence there is against it. As the section now stands it shows that there was need for a revision, and that the Revisers have here faithfully used the materials at their disposal.

The Lord's Prayer is a portion of Scripture with which we have been familiar from childhood, and in the new version it is greatly altered. We have no pleasure in making that prayer a battle-field; still, we must know whether the alterations can be justified or not. The words, 'For Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever,' have been deleted. They are not found in most of the best manuscripts—especially the Vatican and that of Beza. Origen, in the third century, the great father of biblical criticism, and Cyril, in the fifth, wrote expositions of the Lord's Prayer, and both omit the doxology. On the other hand, Chrysostom, in the fourth century, expounds it. The weight of evidence, however, seems to be against its genuineness, so our Revisers have justly deleted it. Probably it formed part of the liturgy of the early church, and being sanctified by usage found its way into the sacred text.

But why has the petition, 'deliver us from evil,' been changed into 'deliver us from the evil *one*'? The original is fully translated by 'deliver us from the evil;' then why insert *one*, though it be in italics? Is it because evil is an adjective in the original and must qualify a noun? To this we reply that in Greek, as in English, there are adjectives that can be used as nouns; so in every place it is not necessary to supply the noun, and it is not here. Besides, the adjective in the Greek can be either masculine or neuter, and as there is nothing in the context that points to a masculine noun we are sorry that our Revisers have supplied one. Those who do not believe in a personal devil cannot conscientiously use the revised form of the Lord's Prayer, and those who do believe in the personality of such a being will think it soon enough to pray to be delivered from his grasp when he has got hold of them. As that petition now stands it is inappropriate to both classes. But evil has taken hold of every man; and if he be cleansed it still invades the avenues of his soul, so both saint and sinner can pray, 'deliver us from evil.'

Before closing this paper we will notice a few of the many felicitous renderings that the Revisers have given us. In John xiii. 10. the authorised version reads, 'He that is washed needeth not save to wash his feet.' The new version reads, 'He that is bathed needeth not save

to wash his feet,' for they only would gather dust as he stepped from the bath.

In 2 Timothy iv. 14, the authorised version makes Paul say, 'Alexander the coppersmith did me much evil: the Lord reward him according to his work.' Such an imprecation is not in harmony with the spirit of the Master and His teachings, as embodied in the Sermon on the Mount. Nor does it harmonise with the teachings of Paul himself. We are glad, therefore, that the Revisers have cleared Paul from the charges of vindictiveness and inconsistency, for that verse now reads, 'Alexander the coppersmith did me much evil: the Lord will render to him according to his work.'

In the authorised version, Heb. xi 13. reads, 'These all died in faith, not having received the promises, but having seen them afar off, and were persuaded of them, and embraced them.' If they had not received the promises, how could they embrace them? Physically, we cannot embrace a person at a distance, and, mentally, we cannot embrace a proposition unless we receive it. The words, 'and were persuaded of them,' seem to lead up to the sentence, 'and embraced them;' but they ought not to be in the text, so our Revisers have deleted them. They have given us an admirable rendering of the verse in question: 'These all died in faith, not having received the promises, but having seen them and greeted them from afar.' When Xenophon and the remains of his brave 10,000 were retreating from the far East to the land of their fathers, for nearly five long months they marched through winding valleys and dangerous mountain gorges, battling with the fierce tempests of heaven and the fiercer inhabitants of the countries through which they passed, till at length, from the summit of a wild mountain, they saw the waters of the Euxine gleaming before them, and knowing that they were nearing home, and wife, and child, they greeted those waters from afar, and cried, 'The sea! the sea!' That is how it was with the illustrious dead referred to in this verse. They had not received the promises, but, having risen to Alpine regions of thought, and feeling, and faith, they looked into the dim future, and, seeing the announcements of salvation that would be made, they greeted them from afar.

We present these as specimens of a host of happy renderings that our Revisers have given us. Of the two versions now in our language, we think that the new one is unquestionably the better translation. We respect the old one for what it has done, and we welcome the new one because of its faithfulness to the original. Some critics have said that the new version lacks the rhythm and classic beauty of the old

one. Was it the aim of the Revisers to give us an English classic or a translation of the Scriptures? We protest against men being condemned for not giving us one kind of work when their primary aim was to give us another kind. They aimed at giving us a faithful translation, and have succeeded admirably.

The scholarly preface to the new version, the numerous marginal readings, and the suggestions of our American friends help to enhance its value. We hope that it will lead men to give increased attention to what is revealed. For in this day, when standards of faith are questioned, and creeds, like institutions, are called upon to vindicate their right to live, it is well for men to listen to the words of the Master and the expositions of His inspired Apostles.

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IV.—GEORGE ELIOT'S LIFE AND WRITINGS.

AN article in the *Edinburgh Review* for July, 1859, closed with the statement that 'the universal question in men's mouths, in the pause in the topics of war and politics, is, 'Have you read *Adam Bede*?' When that article appeared *Adam Bede* had been five months before the public. Its popularity was not immediate. Many other works, which are now forgotten, were then in greater demand among the buyers of new books, and were more ardently praised by their readers. Some of its earliest critics were blind to its beauties. They classed it with the literary rubbish for which the demand is insatiable, and of which the supply is perennial. The first critique upon *Adam Bede* appeared in the *Spectator*. If not the silliest ever penned, it is the most pointless comment on a great work which is to be found in the voluminous annals of literary blundering. Though that journal was then under less able management than that of its present conductors, it was a recognised authority in the commonwealth of letters. The notice is very short. Unless I quote it in full it is impossible to do justice to its absurdity :—

George Eliot's three-volume novel of *Adam Bede* is a story of humble life, where religious conscientiousness is the main characteristic of the hero and heroine, as well as of some of the other persons. Its literary feature partakes, we fear, too much of that Northern trait which, by minutely describing things and delineating individuals as matters of substantive importance in themselves, rather than as subordinate to general interest, has a tendency to induce a feeling of sluggishness in the reader.

It is indisputable that the reader of this notice will not be affected by any feeling of sluggishness; his inclination will be rather to indulge in unextinguishable laughter at the critic's expense. The *Spectator's* nonsense appeared on the 12th of February; on the 26th of that month the *Athenæum* and the *Saturday Review* displayed greater critical acumen than their contemporary—the former pronouncing *Adam Bede* a book 'to be accepted, not criticised;' the latter that it was one 'rarely rivalled, even in these days of abundant fiction.' In the April number of the *Westminster Review* for 1859 *Adam Bede* was dissected with professional skill and praised with judicious warmth, the reviewer intimating that he considered himself a public benefactor for discovering and making known his discovery of a novel which he styled a work

of genius. Towards the middle of the same month an elaborate review of the same book appeared in *The Times*, from the pen of the late E. S. Dallas, an acute critic and a charming writer. That article began with the remark: 'There can be no mistake about *Adam Bede*. It is a first-rate novel, and its author takes rank at once among the masters of the craft;' and ended with the reflection that if the work be the first attempt of a young hand and callow genius, then 'the hand must have extraordinary cunning, and the genius must be of the highest order.' Three months later the *Edinburgh* reviewer, referred to at the outset, was able to chronicle the fact that every reader of the best books was expected to have read *Adam Bede*.

Public curiosity about the book was stimulated in another way. No literary review commands so wide a circle of attentive readers in the United Kingdom as the report of an interesting debate in Parliament. The usual readers of reviews are also readers of Parliamentary debates, while thousands who never even glance at the notice of a book in a literary periodical are diligent readers of every speech delivered in the House of Lords or the House of Commons. Nearly two months after *Adam Bede* was published, Mr. Kinglake, the historian of the Crimean campaign, made a motion in the House of Commons on a topic of great contemporary interest, and this motion was seconded by the late Mr. Buxton, a respected member of Parliament, and the author of a thoughtful book on practical politics. Mr. Buxton made a hit near the end of his speech, when he said that Lord Malmsbury, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, now that the case under consideration could be regarded as a whole, would wish that his conduct, as the farmer's wife said in *Adam Bede*, could be 'hatched again and hatched different.' The result was to increase the desire to make a closer acquaintance with this farmer's wife, and to cause a general demand for *Adam Bede* at circulating libraries. Then, after the book was in the hands of countless readers, and some of its phrases were on the way to become proverbs, the desire to know more about George Eliot grew general and intense. Few of the first critics of *Adam Bede* were aware that a series of papers, entitled 'Scenes of Clerical Life,' which had appeared in *Blackwood's Magazine*, and had been reprinted in a volume, was from the pen of George Eliot. *The Times* reviewer was an exception, prefacing his critique of *Adam Bede* with the observation that George Eliot had hitherto been known as the author of 'certain tales to which he gave the modest title of 'Scenes,' and which displayed only the buds of what we have here in full blossom.' A critic in the *Examiner* considered *Adam Bede* a proper sequel to 'Scenes of Clerical Life.' Since George

Eliot became famous, her first book has been as much read as any of her other works; but when it appeared, the reading public received it with apathy, and the critics passed it over without remark. None of the leading critical journals and reviews thought fit to notice 'Scenes of Clerical Life' till after *Adam Bede* had been classed, by common consent, among the masterpieces of fiction.

The sex and personality of George Eliot were for a time the subjects of wonder and speculation. A 'Saturday' reviewer was confident, after his kind, that George Eliot was 'a country clergyman,' who had sat at the feet of Mr. Kingsley. A writer in the *Examiner* took it for granted that George Eliot was a woman. Charles Dickens, who read 'Scenes of Clerical Life' as they appeared in *Blackwood*, was greatly impressed with the talent displayed in them, and detected the marks of a feminine hand. The 'Westminster' reviewer of *Adam Bede*, who was also the editor of the *Review*, and intimately acquainted with George Eliot, did not know the truth about the authorship of the book, which, in his opinion, manifested a union of the best qualities of the male and female intellects. While these differing and contradictory views were held and enunciated, the readers of the *Times* were informed by the Rev. H. Anders, Rector of Kirkby, that 'the author of 'Scenes of Clerical Life' and *Adam Bede* is Mr. Joseph Liggins, of Nuneaton, Warwickshire.' During the publication in *Blackwood* of the 'Scenes,' a Manx newspaper having asserted that Mr. Liggins was their author, he stated, with perfect truth, that there was no foundation for the report. He became both less modest and less punctilious as to facts when *Adam Bede* was a great literary success, and the personality of the author was a subject of widespread curiosity; not only did he then take credit for writing it, but he solicited subscriptions from an admiring public on the ground that the publishers had not paid him for his labours. On the day following the appearance of Mr. Anders's letter, one appeared in the *Times*, signed George Eliot, to the effect that the reverend gentleman had made a statement with questionable delicacy and unquestionable inaccuracy, that Mr. Liggins was not the writer of *Adam Bede*, and that, unless 'the act of publishing a book deprives a man of all claim to the courtesies usual among gentlemen . . . the attempt to pry into what is obviously meant to be withheld—my name—and to publish the rumours which such prying may give rise to, seems to me quite indefensible, still more so to state these rumours as ascertained truths.' This emphatic denial did not disconcert the needy and unscrupulous Mr. Liggins, who assured his friends, and who found persons credulous

enough to believe that he had written the denial for some purpose of his own, as well as the works whereof he therein averred that he was not the author. Several letters were written on the subject, and a small party was formed of people of large faith and weak intellect, who regarded Mr. Liggins as the victim of a conspiracy, just as, in recent days, some persons have commiserated Orton, the butcher, for having been sent to prison instead of being put into possession of the Tichborne estates. Messrs. Blackwood, the publishers, felt it to be their duty to address a letter to the *Times*, affirming that Mr. Liggins was trying to obtain fame and money under false pretences, and that the name of the author of *Adam Bede* had not the slightest resemblance to his. Moreover, a note from George Eliot was subjoined, in which entire satisfaction was expressed with the publishers of the books; and it was shrewdly suggested that if Mr. Liggins would write but one chapter of a story, that chapter might prove more convincing as to his claims than any denial of his pretensions. This ended all public controversy. It is said that Mr. Liggins continued to bemoan the hard fate which had deprived him of money and reputation. If in his right mind, he was a knave. The charitable conclusion is, that he was irresponsible for his actions.

When it was discovered that George Eliot's real name was Mary Ann Evans, there was a general desire to learn something about her family, and as to the manner in which she had qualified herself for writing as one having authority. All that could be ascertained concerning her previous literary work was that she had produced two translations from the German, the one being an English version of Strauss's *Life of Jesus*, the other of Feuerbach's *Essence of Christianity*. Other particulars, which were printed during her life, have had a wider circulation since her death. These were to the effect that her Christian name was Marian, that her father was a poor clergyman, that she was adopted and sent to school by a rich clergyman, that Mr. Herbert Spencer acted as her tutor, that 'soon after' 1846, when her translation of Strauss's work appeared, she became one of the staff of the *Westminster Review*, and that, by her intimacy with John Stuart Mill and others, 'she became confirmed in their peculiar religious and philosophical views.' The foregoing statements, which are to be found in the last edition of *Men of the Time*, may be accepted, subject to the following qualifications: Her Christian name was not Marian; she was not the daughter of a poor clergyman, nor was she adopted by a rich one; Mr. Herbert Spencer never acted as her tutor; she wrote for the first time in the *Westminster* in 1852, which can hardly

be called 'soon after' 1846; she was not on a footing of special intimacy with John Stuart Mill, nor did she accept his views of religion and philosophy; whether she accepted the views of 'others' cannot be determined till it is known who were the others and what were their views.

The facts as to the parentage and early life of Mary Ann Evans are few and simple. She was born at Griff, near Nuneaton, in Warwickshire, on November 22, 1820. Her father, Robert Evans, began life as a carpenter, and ended it as a land surveyor and steward of the estates of five Warwickshire landowners. She was the youngest of three children by a second marriage. In conversation and correspondence with intimate friends she was addressed, and she signed her name, as 'Marian.' At the age of twelve she taught in a Sunday-school near her father's house. Her own early education was acquired at Coventry, in a school kept by the Misses Franklin. Her mother died when she was fifteen; when she was twenty her father removed from Griff to Toleshill, near Coventry, where she kept him company and acted as his housekeeper, her brothers and sisters having married and moved away. Then it was that she entered upon a strict course of self-culture, a form of education which is usually better and more lasting than the accomplishments so laboriously acquired and easily forgotten by young ladies. The Rev. T. Sheepshanks, head-master of the Coventry Grammar School, gave her lessons in Greek and Latin, and she pursued her studies till she had obtained a thorough acquaintance with the classics. Signor Brezzi taught her the rudiments of French, Italian, and German, and she did not rest till she had read the masterpieces in each of them. She even became familiar with Hebrew, and learned to read the Old Testament in the original with ease, which some popular preachers might envy. She made a study of music, playing on the pianoforte with rare skill, and keenly appreciated music of the highest class. It was her good fortune at Coventry to form a friendship with Mr. and Mrs. Charles Bray, who had a taste for literature, at whose house literary men of note were wont to assemble, and where she made the acquaintance of many such men, chief among whom were Mr. Froude and Mr. Emerson.

Miss Evans occupied herself at this period of her life in turning *Das Leben Jesu*, by Strauss, and Spinoza's *Ethica* into English. The former work she executed at the request of a friend, afterwards Mrs. Sara Hennell, who had begun it, but who on marrying had laid down her pen. The translation of the *Ethica* was a self-imposed task; the manuscript is still in existence, and may yet be published. A conse

quence of her reading was an alteration in her religious views. At an earlier day she was strongly impressed with the evangelical form of Christianity, and she diligently discharged the duties enjoined upon members of the Church of England. Now, however, she was unable to accept dogmas in which she had once implicitly acquiesced. Her father could neither understand nor tolerate her altered theological opinions, and he treated her with the domineering harshness which naturally springs from ignorance and intolerance. She upheld her convictions without ceasing to display the utmost tenderness towards him, and when he became an invalid, and required patient nursing for three years, she was unremitting in caring for him and in labouring to soothe his sufferings. He died in 1849. In that year she accompanied the Brays to the Continent, visiting Belgium, Holland, Southern Germany, and Switzerland, and remaining behind them at Geneva, where she passed several months, perfecting herself in foreign tongues. The Great Exhibition of 1851, which attracted people to London from all quarters of the globe, served to attract Miss Evans also, and the result of her visit was that London became her home, and that the student-life which she had led during many years elsewhere was soon exchanged, under new influences and impulses, for the creative career of George Eliot.

Before she began to write *Scenes of Clerical Life* for Blackwood, she had contributed several literary critiques to the *Westminster Review*. Her first article appeared in the number for July, 1852, being the third of the new series begun by the present editor, Dr. John Chapman. The *Westminster* had then undergone great changes since its foundation by Bentham in 1824, with a view to disseminate the principles of Utilitarian radicalism, to counteract the Whig politics of the *Edinburgh*, and to combat the Tory doctrines of the *Quarterly*. It was edited originally by Sir John Bowring; the principal contributors were James Mill and his greater son, Grote, the two Austins, Roebuck, and Fonblanque. From 1828, when Colonel Perronet Thompson became its proprietor, till 1834 the two Mills declined to contribute to it on account of a dislike to Bowring. In 1834 Sir William Molesworth founded the *London Review*, in order that the principles of Philosophical radicalism should be upheld and propagated therein under the editorial supervision of John Stuart Mill. Soon afterwards Colonel Thompson sold the *Westminster* to Sir William Molesworth, who fused it with his own periodical, the title of the new one being the *London and Westminster Review*. Three years later, the editor became the proprietor also. Finding the double burden too heavy,

John Stuart Mill disposed of the *Review* to Mr. Hickson in 1840, stipulating that its original name should be resumed. Eleven years afterwards it became the property of Mr. John Chapman, who was noted as the publisher of works by advanced thinkers. The books which he introduced to the public were neither frivolous nor of fleeting interest; among them were the writings of F. W. Newman and James Martineau, of Fichte and Emerson, the earliest productions of Herbert Spencer, the curious correspondence between Miss Martineau and Mr. Atkinson, and the *Nemesis of Faith* by Mr. Froude. On becoming proprietor of the *Westminster*, Mr. Chapman associated with himself Miss Evans as assistant editor. The principal contributors were John Stuart Mill, G. H. Lewes, Mr. Herbert Spencer, and Miss Martineau.

When Miss Evans visited London in 1851 she made Mr. Chapman's acquaintance and was admitted as a boarder into his family. Shortly afterwards she was introduced to Mr. Herbert Spencer, who was of about her own age and then at the outset of his philosophical career. He then found Miss Evans, to employ his own words, 'already distinguished by that breadth of culture and universality of power which have since made her known to all the world.' Mr. Spencer is a bachelor. It may be surmised that if he ever thought of marrying his choice would have fallen upon Miss Evans. Her admiration and respect for him were always great; but her affection for G. H. Lewes, another man possessing intellectual capacity and remarkable literary talent, was so strong that she made a considerable sacrifice in order to remain his companion through life.

Her earliest contribution to the *Westminster* appeared in the first number of the new series, being a short review of Carlyle's *Life of Sterling*. She there expresses a very strong admiration for Carlyle, who shows his 'sunny side' in this work, 'no longer breathing out threatenings and slaughter, as in the 'Latter-Day Pamphlets,' but moving among the charities and amenities of life, loving and beloved—a Teufelsdröckh still, but humanised by a Blumine worthy of him.' The *Life* is pronounced to be one of the best ever written, and 'a touching monument of the capability human nature possesses of the highest love—the love of the good and beautiful in character, which is, after all, the essence of piety.' The style of 'the work, too, is for the most part pure and rich; there are passages of deep pathos, which come upon the reader like a strain of solemn music, and others which show that aptness of epithet, that masterly power of close delineation, in which, perhaps, no writer has excelled Carlyle.' It is appropriate to recall this praise of Carlyle by one whose genius was at least equal to his own,

and whose writings have a still better chance than his of being read with pleasure and advantage by succeeding generations.

Her last contribution to the *Westminster* appeared in October, 1856. She had written four elaborate and remarkable articles between 1852 and that year; but none excited more notice at the time than the last, and none better repays attention now. It is entitled 'Silly Novels by Lady Novelists.' A more scathing article on the works of fiction which many women produce without any apparent labour, and without the slightest benefit to mankind, has never been penned. A few sentences will show the tone of the article and the opinions on a subject about which she wrote with unsurpassed insight and understanding:—

As a general rule, the ability of a lady novelist to describe actual life and her fellow-men is in inverse proportion to her confident eloquence about God and the other world; and the means by which she usually chooses to conduct you to true ideas of the invisible is a totally false picture of the visible. . . . It must be plain to every one who looks impartially and extensively into feminine literature, that its greatest deficiencies are due hardly more to the want of intellectual power than to the want of those moral qualities that contribute to literary excellence—patient diligence, a sense of the responsibility involved in publication, and an appreciation of the sacredness of the writer's art. In the majority of women's books you see that kind of facility which springs from the absence of any high standard; that fertility in imbecile combination and feeble imitation which a little self-criticism would check and reduce to barrenness—just as, with a total want of musical ear, people will sing out of tune, while a degree more melodic sensibility would suffice to render them silent. . . . While the few women who write well are very far above the ordinary intellectual level of their sex, the many women who write ill are very far below it. . . . Where there is one woman who writes from necessity, we believe there are three women who write from vanity. . . . Ladies' silly novels, we imagine, are less the result of labour than of busy idleness.

While the foregoing quotations serve to show the bent of Miss Evans's mind on this subject, the following one has a special biographic value: 'Why can we not have pictures of religious life among the industrious classes in England as interesting as Mrs. Stowe's pictures of religious life among the negroes?' The question thus put she was preparing to answer. In the autumn of 1856, almost at the time the article on 'Silly Novels by Lady Novelists' appeared in the *Westminster Review*, the editor of *Blackwood's Magazine* was offered a tale, entitled 'The Sad Fortunes of Amos Barton.'

Mr. Herbert Spencer was the first of her friends to perceive that no other pen was more capable of setting lady novelists an example of how fiction should be written than that which had severely denounced the way in which they wrote it. She yielded to the advice which he gave

her, doing so with reluctance and misgiving, as she had less belief in her own capacity for the task than in her ability to point out the shortcomings of others. Lewes, who was a contributor to *Blackwood*, sent the tale about Amos Barton to the editor, with the explanation that it was the first of a series by an anonymous friend. The editor of that Magazine described last February what happened when his predecessor read the first tale and the subsequent tales by the writer whom he was to know and address as George Eliot. So great an impression did the first tale make on him that he informed the author, 'It is a long time since I have read anything so fresh, so humorous, and so touching.' Furthermore, as fresh instalments of manuscript reached him, 'the editor's conviction of the power and even genius of his new contributor steadily increased.' While admiring the product, he speculated as to the personality of the producer, fancying, from a similarity in the handwriting, that Professor Owen was disporting himself as a writer of fiction, or that Bulwer Lytton might be trying a new experiment. Dickens was struck with the tales, and wrote a letter expressing the gratification which they had given him, and avowing the opinion that they were from a woman's pen.

Any doubt that she may have had as to her power to write works of fiction was dispelled after *Adam Bede* had been classed in the first rank of such books; henceforth, under the name of George Eliot, her vocation as a novelist was determined. Her second novel, *The Mill on the Floss*, appeared in 1860; then followed *Silas Marner* in 1861; *Romola* in 1863; *Felix Holt* in 1866; *The Spanish Gipsy*, a story in verse, in 1868; *Agatha*, also in verse, in 1869; *Middlemarch* in 1872; *The Legend of Jubal*, another story in verse, in 1874; *Daniel Deronda* in 1876; *Impressions of Theophrastus Such* in 1879.

George Eliot's life was quiet and uneventful during the years in which she added the foregoing books to English literature. She frequently visited the Continent, and studied on the spot some of the scenes which she afterward depicted. Her enjoyment of good acting was as keen as that of good music, and she visited the theatre when there was a play worth seeing, and a concert room where music was performed which was worth hearing. For the ordinary pleasures of society she had no relish. She was sought after in her own home at Hampstead, and on Sunday afternoons her drawing-room was usually filled with people of note anxious to pay homage to one of greater note than they. In November, 1878, Lewes died, and the loss was a bitter trial to her. She was intellectually his superior, yet there was no other person for whose judgment she had more respect than for his. His

help in matters of business was invaluable. It is a mistake to allege, as is done in the interesting and complimentary notice in *Blackwood*, to which reference has already been made, that 'George Eliot's grasp of business was not less striking than her literary powers; and her shrewdness and foresight were such as are seldom to be met with.' The truth is that the credit here awarded is really due to Lewes and Mr. Cross for the soundness and judgment with which they advised her on business details, while she merits praise for having the good sense to follow their advice. It is no disparagement of the many excellent qualities which made Mr. Cross attractive to George Eliot to infer that the need of some one to trust implicitly and take counsel from on points about which she knew her own weakness may have largely influenced her in consenting to become his wife. The marriage took place on the 5th of May, 1880. A six months' tour on the Continent after the wedding was thoroughly enjoyed by her, and she returned to England last autumn in better health and spirits than she had been for many years. Had her life been prolonged, English literature might have been enriched with another great work. But the end arrived before it was even suspected that it was near at hand. On Saturday the 18th of December she attended one of those concerts for which she had a predilection. Being seated in a draught, she caught cold, and the next day she was ailing. On Monday she became much worse, yet the medical men of the highest eminence who consulted as to what should be done did not anticipate a fatal termination. Her throat was the seat of the malady, which ran its course so quickly that on Tuesday night the case seemed desperate, and after an interval of unconsciousness she quietly passed away on Wednesday. Her body was buried in Highgate Cemetery, on the 29th of December, 1880.

An estimate of George Eliot as a writer cannot be fairly given till after an analysis and comparison shall have been made of her works. But a verdict upon her as a woman may fitly be passed at the close of this sketch of her life. What Lord Beaconsfield says of Lady Montfort in *Endymion* is perfectly applicable to George Eliot: 'Her character was singularly feminine; she never affected to be a superior woman.' Though the intellectual equal of any woman who ever wrote a book, and of many men who have no intellectual superiors among their fellows, George Eliot was yet as unpretending as if she had no right to a place among the most worthy. Others of her sex, without a tithe of her abilities, are given to demanding their rights. She was satisfied to discharge to the best of her power what she regarded as her duties as a member of a civilised community. Her ideal of exist-

ence was a very different one from that which women of inferior gifts but greater pretensions set forth in writing or in speech. She expressed it to the writer of a paper in the *Contemporary Review* in these words—‘What I look to is a time when the impulse to help our fellows shall be as immediate and as irresistible as that which I feel to grasp something firm if I am falling.’

No picture of George Eliot can equal that which she unconsciously drew of herself before she had a thought of fame, but not before she was qualified to execute admirably any work to which she might turn her hand. In her article on ‘Silly Novels by Lady Novelists’ she points out that if men consider the average nature of woman as shallow and feeble, they are encouraged to do so by women who volunteer themselves as representatives of the feminine intellect. She intimates her disbelief that men are ever strengthened in this opinion by associating with a woman of true culture, whose mind has absorbed her knowledge, instead of being absorbed by it; and then she paints a woman who may now be accepted as a truthful representation of what she herself became:—

A really cultured woman, like a really cultured man, is all the simpler and the less obtrusive for her knowledge; it has made her see herself and her opinions in something like just proportions; she does not make it a pedestal from which she flatters herself that she commands a complete view of men and things, but makes it a point of observation from which to form a complete estimate of herself. She neither spouts poetry nor quotes *Cicero* on slight provocation; not because she thinks that a sacrifice must be made to the prejudices of men, but because that mode of exhibiting her memory and Latinity does not present itself to her as edifying or graceful. She does not write books to confound philosophers, perhaps, because she is able to write books to delight them. In conversation she is the least formidable of women, because she understands you, without wanting to make you aware that you *can't* understand her. She does not give you information, which is the raw material of culture—she gives you sympathy, which is its subtlest essence.

The novels of George Eliot form a grand and attractive part of the imposing monument which has been reared by the great writers of imaginative literature. The effect of that monument is the more striking on account of the contrast between it and the arid and dreary desert of contemporary fiction amid which it stands—a desert which is constantly enlarging by reason of the additions laboriously made by men and women under the delusion that they are thereby rendering a service to literature and earning for themselves eternal fame. In the last century it was common for persons who had acquired the knack of fashioning prose into lines of equal length with rhymes at the end, to

style themselves poets. Others wrote what they called plays, and fancied themselves on a level with Shakespeare. The present fashion is to write a novel; and the persons who follow the fashion appear to be happily unconscious of anything more being required in order to produce a good novel than pen, ink, paper, and due perseverance in covering the paper with the conventional number of words. Novels produced in this mechanical way cost the readers greater toil than the writers.

* * * * *

Before pointing out the characteristics of George Eliot's writings, I must draw a distinction between those in prose and those in verse. It is the prose writings which have made her famous, and which prove the quality and greatness of her power. Many injudicious admirers praised her poems, and did their utmost to make her fancy that the *Divine afflatus* which animates the poet, but which is absent from the versifier, was one of her distinguishing glories. Great writers are exposed to a double temptation—(1) they are tempted to try whether they can succeed in a new field as well as they have done in that wherein their laurels were won; and (2) they are tempted to believe that their friends are not deceived in pronouncing the new effort a splendid triumph. Partly owing to his own desire to make the attempt, and partly owing to the pressure of friends, Scott began to write plays after he had proved his pre-eminence as a writer of novels. Contemporaries professed to like his plays as much as his novels; and they cannot be called insincere, because they were predisposed to like anything that Scott wrote, and they had persuaded themselves that he was eminently fitted for writing plays. Yet who reads these plays now? How many readers can honestly admire them, or refrain from wishing that they had never been written? The like mistake is made by Mr. Tennyson, who has bestowed much labour on proving that he is not endowed with the dramatic faculty. Though his plays have been eulogised in the loftiest strain, yet if he had written only these his name would not be inscribed on the roll of great poets. There are many fine passages in George Eliot's poems; some of her lyrics are very beautiful, indeed almost perfect; no one can deny that she had much poetry in her nature. Nevertheless, it is incontestable that, if she had left no other legacy to the world than the volumes which contain her poems, her exquisitely-worded wish that she might join the invisible choir of the immortal dead, and live again in the minds

which cherished and were moulded by her thoughts, would have been expressed to no purpose, and would seem both futile and vain.*

The intensely feminine tone of George Eliot's novels is their special and pervading characteristic. She had a thorough and laudable aversion to the female writers who masquerade in masculine guise and prefer imitating the ways of men to giving sincere expression to their own sentiments. The evil of which she complained, when she first began to write, has increased in magnitude, not only because female novelists have increased in number, but also because they have found that they gain greater notoriety by writing in a manner which is considered unbecoming in women. When a lady novelist creates personages whose objects seem to be to break the Commandments in the most offensive style, a zest is imparted to the sins by reflection that these wicked deeds have been contrived by a female brain. It is supposed that the lady novelists who depict fast life must have lived it, and the impropriety of their books is regarded as a reflection of the impropriety of their conduct. These notions have seldom any foundation in actual fact. Sometimes, as an exception, a thorough man of pleasure, like Fielding, may write with extraordinary power while ruining himself by culpable excesses; but the rake of either sex does not make many valuable contributions to literature. The female novelist usually draws upon her imagination for her pictures of vice; hence it is that her wicked personages are very wearisome, being perfectly unreal. She may be a pattern of all the proprieties in her own person, and her time may be too much occupied in devising unpleasant persons and narrating unpleasant incidents to allow of her learning much about life of any kind. In professing extreme familiarity with the evil which is in the world, lady novelists commonly prove their entire ignorance of it.

Fidelity to nature is stamped on all George Eliot's creations. Her personages might have lived and acted as she makes them, and all of them are human beings. Scarcely one of them is exaggerated. Not one of them could be changed in any particular without detriment to the general effect. While the breath of life has been breathed into all her creations, a strain of humour constantly recurs, and adds, if that be possible, to their vitality and truthfulness. Many women are the possessors of great gifts; but the gift of humour is seldom in-

* Among the examples which might be quoted of George Eliot's inharmonious verse, let the following, from the 'Spanish Gipsy,' suffice:—

Lopez. 'Santiago! Juan, thou art hard to please.
I speak not for my own delighting, I.
I can be silent, I.'

cluded among them. George Eliot is one of the rare exceptions, and in this, as in most of her highest qualities, she is on a par with Jane Austen.

Between Jane Austen and George Eliot there are several points of contrast as well as many points of resemblance. The former was the more precocious novelist; her *Pride and Prejudice* was written when she was twenty-one, whereas the latter did not write *Adam Bede* till she was thirty-nine. The daughter of a country clergyman, living a placid life in quiet places, knowing nothing of the great world except from books or the conversations of those to whom it was familiar, and having little knowledge of any other literature than that of England, Jane Austen lacked many things which George Eliot possessed, and seemed imperfectly qualified for producing works of fiction surpassing, in their peculiar excellence, anything that had been written before her time, and unsurpassed by anything that has been written since. In common with George Eliot, she was endowed with a fastidious taste and a fine critical faculty. She could thoroughly appreciate whatever was really good, and she could discern imperfections with marvellous acuteness. She possessed that self-knowledge which is almost as rare as genius, and is not less useful: it enabled her to understand the limit of her power, and led her to exercise her faculties in the field which was best suited for their exhibition. It was with literal truth that she stated her forte to consist in turning out pictures made on ivory with a very fine brush, and that, while the composition of a historical romance might yield her greater profit and popularity than her 'pictures of domestic life in country villages,' she could 'no more write a historical romance than an epic poem.' The true knowledge of herself which caused Jane Austen to write in the foregoing terms was displayed in the case of Scott, when he entered in his diary that 'Jane Austen had a talent for describing the involvements, and feelings, and characters of ordinary life which is to me the most wonderful I ever met with. The big bow-wow strain I can do myself like any now going, but the exquisite touch which renders ordinary commonplace things and characters interesting from the truth of the description and the sentiment is denied to me.'

There is a close resemblance between George Eliot and Jane Austen in a particular to which I have already referred, and in which they stand almost alone among women—the possession of a keen sense of humour and the ability to make it play its due part in human life. Women can make and appreciate witty remarks; they can even outdo men in the cleverness and point of their sayings—yet they are rarely

capable of being humorous themselves, or of enjoying the humour of others. It is certain that no woman has created a Falstaff; it is doubtful whether any woman thoroughly admires him. The pages of George Eliot and Jane Austen teem with proofs of their hearty understanding and appreciation of the ludicrous and grotesque in human nature. Both desired to keep themselves secluded from the world; but Jane Austen was the more successful. Her name did not appear on the titlepage of any of her books during her lifetime: her popularity has never extended to the mass of the reading public. Even that large section of the public which seldom reads a book, but plumes itself upon familiarity with the names of noteworthy writers, makes no pretence of acquaintance with Jane Austen. A striking and curious illustration can be given of the ignorance of the general public about her, and of the enthusiasm which impels a select part of the public to visit any spot with which her name is identified. It is recorded that a gentleman visiting Winchester Cathedral, where Jane Austen lies buried, asked the verger to point out her grave. The latter said, 'Pray, sir, can you tell me whether there was anything particular about that lady?—so many people want to know where she was buried.'

No one praised Jane Austen more warmly or appreciated her works more sincerely than George Eliot; and the passages which the latter has written about her predecessor contain not only a high compliment to her, but a revelation of the writer's own mind. The passages in question merit quotation on their own account; and since they are little known, they may have the charm of novelty also:—

First and foremost let Jane Austen be named the greatest artist that has ever written, using the term to signify the most perfect mastery over the means to her end. There are heights and depths in human nature Miss Austen has never scaled nor fathomed; there are worlds of passionate existence into which she has never set foot; but although this is obvious to every reader, it is equally obvious that she has risked no failures by attempting to delineate that which she had not seen. Her circle may be restricted, but it is complete. Her world is a perfect orb, and vital. Life as it presents itself to an English gentlewoman, peacefully yet actively engaged in her quiet village, is mirrored in her works with a purity and fidelity that must endow them with interest for all time. To read one of her books is like an actual experience of life; you know the people as if you had lived with them, and you feel something of personal affection towards them. The marvellous reality and subtle distinctive traits noticeable in her portraits has led Macaulay to call her a prose Shakespeare. If the whole force of the distinction which lies in that epithet *prose* be fairly appreciated, no one, we think, will dispute the compliment; for out of Shakespeare it would be difficult to find characters so typical, yet so nicely demarcated within the

limits of their kind. We do not find such profound psychological insight as may be found in George Sand (not to mention male writers); but taking the type to which the characters belong, we see the most intimate and accurate knowledge in all Miss Austen's creations. Only cultivated minds fairly appreciate the exquisite art of Miss Austen. Those who demand the stimulus of 'effects,' those who can only see by strong lights and shadows, will find her tame and uninteresting. . . . Of all imaginative writers she is the most *real*. Never does she transcend her own actual experience; never does her pen trace a line that does not touch the experience of others. Herein we recognise the first quality of literature. We recognise the second and more special quality of womanliness in the tone and point of view; they are novels written by a woman, an Englishwoman, a gentlewoman—no signature could disguise that fact; and because she has so faithfully (though unconsciously) kept to her own womanly point of view, her works are durable. There is nothing of the *doctrinaire* in Jane Austen; not a trace of woman's 'mission;' but as the most truthful and unexaggerated of writers, female literature has reason to be proud of her.

While George Eliot had a great female predecessor in her own country, she had a contemporary French sister in George Sand, who shares with her the merit of having made the most valuable contributions to modern literature in our day which have proceeded from a woman's pen. They differ from each other in several respects. The only close point of resemblance consists in their style. The art with which both write is the perfection of nature. The first pages which both wrote were marked by all the excellencies which are regarded as their special characteristics; both are eloquent in the truest and rarest sense; their phrases are the expressions of minds fraught with emotion. The marked difference between them is the way in which they respectively treat the passion of love. There is nothing of an erotic tendency in the pages of George Eliot; her personages make love in a natural but perfectly conventional way. George Sand, on the contrary, never seems more at home than when dealing with the extreme and violent fashion of love-making; she gloats over the eccentricities of a great or a misdirected passion. Mr. Henry James, Jun., gives her credit for having enlarged the sphere of information concerning 'the ardent forces of the heart;' he praises her for having advanced far beyond Miss Austen and Sir Walter Scott, Dickens and Thackeray, Hawthorne and George Eliot, when representing young people in love with each other. He further notes, what is also well worth bearing in mind, that foreigners must consider 'those large comprehensive fictions, *Middlemarch* and *Daniel Deronda*, as 'strangely loveless' when contrasted with the novels of George Sand, and must think that they are 'like vast, cold, commodious, respectable rooms, through whose window panes one sees a snow-covered landscape, and across whose acres of sober-hued carpet

one looks in vain for a fire-place or a fire.' Yet one would think that *The Mill on the Floss* might have led Mr. James to qualify this graceful sentence.

While there are a few points of resemblance between George Eliot and other female novelists, the differences are far greater in number and essence. This is the test and token of originality. Any writer who copies or closely approximates to another lives entirely by reflected light. George Eliot has an independent existence. Though not the equal of her French sister in some things, she is her superior in others. It is certain that if she could not have written *Indiana* or *Valentine*, or any of George Sand's passionate protests against existing social order, George Sand was quite as incapable of composing such a work as *Romola*.

In the novels which first made George Eliot famous there are many passages which appear to be records of personal experience; it was said that these works were reproductions rather than inventions; that many of the characters could be identified in real life; that Dinah Morris was a portrait of her aunt, Elizabeth Evans, and that Maggie Tulliver was herself. Jane Austen was subjected to the same charge. She was found fault with because her personages were those with whom she was in daily intercourse, and she was denied merit because she had slavishly copied what lay before her eyes. A kind friend having questioned Jane Austen on the subject, she expressed her horror at being thought guilty of such an 'invasion of the social proprieties' as is implied in reproducing the peculiarities of one's friends and neighbours, adding that her desire was to create and not to mimic, and that she was too proud of her gentlemen 'to admit that they were only Mr. A and Col. B.' Before showing, as I shall afterwards show, how absurd it is to suppose that George Eliot's aunt served any other purpose than to afford a mere hint out of which grew the fine figure of Dinah Morris, I may fitly introduce her own opinion on this head, which undoubtedly represents her own practice. She held 'that the author is bound to use actual experience as his material, or else to keep silent; but he is equally bound by all moral and social considerations not to use that experience in such forms that the public will recognise it, and become, as it were, initiated into the private affairs of his characters.' The notion that great novelists who produce life-like portraits must have copied directly from a living original arises from the presumption that nothing truly natural can be other than a literal transcript from external nature. It is assumed that it is perfectly easy to delineate a person or group of persons with whom one is well acquainted and in frequent

association. To copy nature is really the hardest of all hard tasks: to copy nature perfectly is impossible. The most careful artist cannot do more than give his impression, while other eyes see something which escapes him. No one person appears the same to any two persons, and the most faithful copyist fails to convey a likeness of what is obvious to other spectators. Let those try the experiment who think it easy to sketch the persons whom they know, and they will find that the copy is regarded either as a satire or a caricature, or else that the likeness is so flattered as to be unrecognisable. Many personages and incidents in fiction which are commonly thought to be inventions are those of real life. In none of Dickens's novels is there a personage whose story is a closer repetition of actual facts than David Copperfield, yet it was not till the biography of Dickens was published that the readers of his novels suspected how much in the imaginary career of David Copperfield was the record of his own early days. The truth is that the personages which appear the most natural are usually the offspring of a fertile imagination. When the creators of such characters are treated as writers who have executed a task which is within the reach of any one who chooses to make the attempt, they are complimented in the same manner that Garrick was by Partridge, when the latter assured Tom Jones: 'Why, I could act just as well myself!' The admirers of stronger and more highly spiced writing than the sober, faithful, and natural pages of Jane Austen and George Eliot resemble Partridge, when he added that the actor who played the part of the king was far superior to Garrick as Hamlet, because the king spoke all his words distinctly 'half as loud again as the other.'

It is not often that the genesis of a character in fiction can be so accurately set forth as that of 'Dinah Morris' in *Adam Bede*. Soon after the novel appeared, it was confidently asserted that the female preacher was a living likeness of Elizabeth Evans, the aunt of George Eliot. In the autumn of 1859 the latter stated the facts in a letter to her friend, Mrs. Sara Hennell. It is true that Elizabeth Evans had been a female preacher among the Wesleyans, and had left that body after women were forbidden to preach. When George Eliot first saw her she was sixty years old, and was 'a tiny little woman, with bright, small, dark eyes, and hair that had been black, I imagine, but was now grey; a pretty woman in her youth, but of a totally different physical type from 'Dinah.' The difference, as you will believe, was not *simply* physical; no difference is.' Her remembrance of conversations with her aunt was nearly altogether confined to hearing from her, one sunny afternoon—

How she had, with another pious woman, visited an unhappy girl in prison, stayed with her all night, and gone with her to execution. . . . In her account of the prison scenes I remember no word she uttered—I only remember her tone and manner, and the deep feeling I had under the recital. Of the girl she knew nothing, I believe—or told me nothing—but that she was a common, coarse girl, convicted of child-murder. The incident lay in my mind for years on years, as a dead germ, apparently, till time had made my mind a nidus in which it could fructify; it then turned out to be the germ of *Adam Bede*. . . . You see how she suggested 'Dinah;' but it is not possible you should see as I do how entirely her individuality differed from 'Dinah's.' How curious it seems to me that people should think 'Dinah's' sermon, prayers, and speeches even, copied, when they were written with hot tears as they surged up in my own mind.

A more useful inquiry than that which is designed to elucidate and trace the paternity of any of her characters would take the form of ascertaining the likenesses between the members of that large group of ideal personages with which she has helped to people the realm of fiction. 'Janet Dempster,' in *Janet's Repentance*, has much in common with the homely 'Maggie Tulliver' and the majestic 'Romola.' 'Mr. Casaubon' has a close affinity with 'Bardo,' the blind scholar, who, as Cristoforo Laudino remarked, 'was one of those scholars who lie overthrown in their learning like cavaliers in heavy armour, and then get angry because they are over-ridden. Monna Brigida speaks a different tongue from many of the English widows and spinsters whom George Eliot has depicted, yet she acts much as they do and thinks the same thoughts. 'Arthur Donnithorne' is transported from *Adam Bede* and reproduced under a new name and with altered manners in *Middlemarch* as the uninteresting 'Will Ladislaw.' The most curious of all the resemblances is that which can be discerned in external things between 'Hetty Sorrel' and 'Tito Melema.' I can but indicate the scope and nature of this investigation; to pursue it adequately would occupy far more space than I have now at my command.

George Eliot's novels, as pieces of composition, are open to the criticism that they are too rounded and complete. She liked to finish her stories as carefully as her sentences, having a horror of vagueness and mystery. Clearness and conclusiveness are great virtues in composition, but the artistic effect may sometimes demand a certain reticence; and it is often better to leave something to the reader's imagination than to conclude and settle everything. As noteworthy illustrations of this, I may cite the endings of *The Mill on the Floss* and of *Romola*. The catastrophe which causes the death of 'Tom'

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and 'Maggie Tulliver' is dramatically narrated; the picture of the surging river sweeping everything before it is bold, vivid, and impressive. That the brother and sister should meet to part no more in such circumstances, and should fall victims to the angry flood on whose banks they had spent their happiest hours, has all the contrast and horror of antique tragedy. Their reconciliation in the presence of inevitable death is natural and touching. If they had been left silently speeding to their doom, allowing the reader to imagine what passed between them at the supreme moment of their lives, the effect would have been much stronger than that which is produced by reading the sentences, which they finally interchange. 'Romola' is made to pass through an episode at the close of the work named after her which has no proper connection with anything which precedes: this is her visit to the village where the plague has broken out, and where she acts as guardian angel to the sick and dying. The subject could have been treated to greater advantage as a distinct story. Her own end is to fill the part of a self-constituted grandmother to 'Tessa's' children. She does her duty to perfection, and speaks a beautiful epilogue; but there is something common-place in the impression which she leaves on the reader's mind. A different and more congruous effect would have been the result had she passed out of the story in the skiff upon which she embarks, weary of life, and seeking rest and oblivion. I must guard myself against the reproach of thinking lightly of *Romola* because I take exceptions to some parts of the plot. As a novel, I think it is the finest of George Eliot's works, and the one which will live the longest. A historical novel can be enjoyed by persons to whom the most skilful and accurate portraiture of bygone manners is dry and unprofitable. So long as the world takes a keen interest in the doings of the New England Puritans, the *Scarlet Letter* will be read with a twofold curiosity. So long as people care about the attempt of the young Pretender to oust George II. from the throne of Great Britain, there will be many readers of *Waverley*, while as many will read *Ivanhoe*, *The Talisman*, *Quentin Durward*, *The Fortunes of Nigel*, so long as general interest is felt in the career of Richard the Lion Heart and the Crusaders, in Louis XI. of France, and James I. of England. After all that has been written about Washington, there is no book in which a truer picture of him can be found than in Thackeray's *Virginians*; it is not rash to predict immortality for that novel, seeing that it will endure so long as the memory of the great man whom it commemorates. Of Bulwer's many works of fiction none is more often, or is so likely to be read in future ages as

the *Last Days of Pompeii*. *Romola* is associated with the memories which cluster around the city of Florence, and with those everlasting memories of the olden days when the city was a power in the land, and was the theatre in which Savonarola played a part almost unique in history.

George Eliot held that 'no woman would write such a novel as *Tom Jones* or *Vanity Fair*, or was capable of such an effort of imaginative history as *Ivanhoe*. By writing *Romola* she has partly disproved her own dictum. It is still true, however, that had Scott treated the same topic he would have done so in a different style. He would have given greater prominence to Savonarola; and the scenes where Bernardo del Nero and his four colleagues are executed, and where Savonarola appears when the ordeal by fire is to take place, would have been painted with the splendour of the spectacle when Rebecca is about to be led to the stake in *Ivanhoe*, and when the Bishop of Liège is slain by Nikkel Blok at the orgy presided over by William de la Marck, the Wild Boar of Ardennes, in *Quentin Durward*. Yet, though the pictorial parts of the work fall short of those whereof Scott was a master, the subtler and more tender parts are fraught with infinite power. However deficient the external representation of Savonarola may be, the keenness with which his mental attitude is perceived and set forth is above all rivalry. The following two sentences on his character and his failings are the summaries of the whole matter, and may be accepted as the judgment of history:—

No man ever struggled to retain power over a mixed multitude without suffering vitiation; his standard must be their lower needs, and not his own best insight. . . . Savonarola's oration was one of those in which opposing tendencies co-exist in almost equal strength; the passionate sensibilities which, impatient of definite thought, flood every idea with emotion and tend towards contemplative ecstasy, alternated in him with a keen perception of outward facts and a vigorous practical judgment of men and things.

It was George Eliot's conviction that female novelists should be womanly. She said that 'to write as men write is the aim and besetting sin of women; to write as women is the real office they have to perform.' Moreover, she thought it an immense mistake 'that there is no sex in literature;' and she held that 'a certain amount of psychological difference between men and women necessarily arises out of the difference of sex, and instead of being destined to vanish before a complete development of woman's intellectual and moral nature, will be a permanent source of variety and beauty as long as the tender light and dewy freshness of morning affect us differently from the

strength and brilliancy of the mid-day sun.' It is natural, then, to expect that her female characters should be more truthfully drawn than her male ones; and it is the case that in no works are there so many pointed and accurate remarks made about the female sex as in her own. From Mrs. Poyser, Dinah Morris, and Hetty Sorrel in *Adam Bede*, to Dorothea Brook and Rosamond Vincy in *Middlemarch* and Gwendolen Harleth in *Daniel Deronda*, the representations of the feminine character are masterpieces of observation and experience. Every reader must have been struck with this. The following samples will enable those unfamiliar with her writings to understand what a perfect knowledge she displayed of the inner workings of the female heart:—

'The cleverest women are not always those who have written books.' 'In women vanity lays by its little revenges as in a needle-case always at hand.' 'A woman's hopes are woven of sunbeams; a shadow annihilates them.' 'Half the sorrows of women would be averted if they could repress the speech they know to be useless—nay, the speech they have resolved not to utter.' A woman's love is always freezing with fear. She wants everything; she is secure of nothing.' 'When a woman feels purely and nobly, that ardour of hers which breaks through formulas too rigorously urged on men by daily practical needs make one of her most precious influences: she is the added impulse that shelters the stiffening caust of cautious experience.' 'Love has a way of cheating itself consciously, like a child who plays at solitary hide-and-seek; it is pleased with assurances that it all the times disbelieves.' 'What woman was ever satisfied with apparent neglect, even when she knows it to be the mask of love?' 'Every woman creates in her own image the love-tokens that are offered to her.'

But none of the many remarks like the foregoing, nor any others which might be adduced, can exceed in beauty, pathos, and profundity such a passage as the following, which depicts a crisis in the life of Romola:—

At certain moments Romola was carried, by a sudden wave of memory, back again into the time of perfect trust, and felt again the presence of the husband whose love made the world as fresh and wonderful to her as to a little child that sits in stillness among the sunny flowers: heard the gentle tones and saw the soft eye without any lie in them, and breathed over again that large freedom of soul which comes from the faith that the being who is nearest to us is greater than ourselves. And in those brief moments the tears always rose: the woman's lovingness felt something akin to what the bereaved mother feels when the tiny fingers seem to lie warm in her bosom, and yet are marble to her lips as she bends over the silent bed.

The temptation to quote other passages in confirmation of George Eliot's extraordinary power of observation and exposition must reluctantly be resisted. To enlarge on all the aspects of her genius

would swell this article beyond due bounds. In passing a final verdict, I must take much for granted which I have not space to prove, and assume a general knowledge of many characteristics which I have had to pass over without special notice. My aim has been to estimate her place in literature chiefly in relation to the greatest novelists of her own sex. Among them Jane Austen and George Sand have no superior but herself; none of them has been rivalled by any male writer. She justly wrote that 'as an artist, Jane Austen surpasses all the male novelists that ever lived, and for eloquence and depth of feeling no man approaches George Sand.' She was as great as either, while manifesting traits exclusively her own. In characterizing her, I cannot do better than to adopt the words which she applied to George Sand, for they more closely represent the actual truth than any others which I could use:—

There is no man so wise but he may learn something from her books, for they are the utterances of a soul in pain—a soul that has been tried. No man could have written them, for no man could have had her experience, even with a genius equal to her own. The philosopher may smile sometimes at her philosophy, for *that* is only a reflex of some man whose ideas she has adopted; the critic may smile sometimes at her failure in delineating men, but both philosopher and critic must perceive that those writings of hers are *original*, are genuine, are transcripts of experience, and as such fulfil the primary condition of all literature.

W. FRASER RAE in *International*.

V.—IRISH TROUBLES AND REMEDIES.

‘WHAT is the cause of Irish discontent and lawlessness, and how can it be remedied?’ is the leading question of the hour. How is Ireland to be governed? Ought we any longer to attempt to govern it? Can we ever satisfy the demands of the Irish people? Englishmen pride themselves on their power of good government, yet the sister country is in a deplorable condition, kicking against the traces, her demands being numerous, and even, it is believed, untold. What is the cause of all this disturbance and unhappiness? Is the country unproductive and altogether inadequate to sustain the population? or, are its resources undeveloped? Is the land placed beyond the reach of the peasantry by excessive rents? Hundreds of questions could be asked, and it would be found that Irish grievances are nearly as numerous as their people. Discontent seems to be getting part of their very existence, and, whether it be prejudice or not, it is hard to say, it is generally assumed that the Irish never will be content, not even were they to obtain Home Rule. At present, however, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that remedial measures are necessary. The old delusion is not yet dispelled that Parliament has only to resort to coercion to allay the agitation which is so frequently recurring across St. George’s Channel. During eighty years Ireland has been placed under fifty-seven Coercion Acts, and has grown no better, but worse. Before the true remedy can be discovered the nature of the evil must be understood.

1. We hesitate not to say for one thing—*Popery*, which blights every portion of the globe where it is the predominant religion. Here is the chief cause of the great difference that exists between the two countries. England and Scotland are Protestant, Ireland Catholic. You may contrast the results of the two religions in other nations: North America with Mexico and other States of the South; Germany with Spain and Italy. In the towns of Ulster and other parts of Ireland, where the population is partly Catholic and partly Protestant, each party keeping pretty well to their own streets and their own side of the town, for the two have so often been associated with rival factions that they do not like one another any better in Ireland than they do in England, not quite so well, you can tell, as you can in many of our large towns, almost to an inch where the Catholic population begins.

The mark of the beast is not only upon the foreheads of the people, but upon their doorsteps, their window-blinds, and the ragged condition of the children. The religious state of Ireland has been the most singular anomaly of European history since the Reformation. While the great revolution had a more positive effect on Scotland than on England, on Ireland it had scarcely any other than a disastrous influence. Southey, in his 'Life of Wesley,' remarks that 'Ireland is the only country in which the Reformation produced nothing but evil.' Scotland became thoroughly Protestant, the movements of the public mind against Popery being more deep and rapid there than almost anywhere else; but poor Ireland had no Reformation; it was the only country in Northern Europe which refused that great movement, so evidently of God; and it has ever since been blighted under the retributive consequences of its pertinacious adherence to the Church of Rome. Its obstinate tenacity to Popery prevented its assimilation with the rest of the Empire, and thence have chiefly arisen those abuses in its political administration which have filled its history with oppression, tumult, and wretchedness. These have again and again exasperated and confirmed its Papal proclivities, and have thus acted and reacted in its continual degradation. It is not difficult to find reasons why the Reformation could not take root on the 'Emerald Isle.' The inhabitants, owing to their feuds, and the constant efforts they had had to make to defend their country and maintain their national existence, were behind most of their neighbours in knowledge. They had also special reasons to abhor those English sovereigns—Henry and Elizabeth—who had taken the most prominent part in severing the Church of England from Rome. They were a vanquished race. The old feud between Saxon and Celt was revived. Protestantism came to them with the bayonet and the cannon. It was an English movement to make the Irish un-Irish, and trample their dearest interests and traditions into the dust. The conquerors did nothing to convert Ireland; there was no translation of the Scriptures into the common language of the people. There was simply a vast hierarchy set up of archbishops, bishops, and rectors—men who, as Macaulay has said, did nothing, and for doing that nothing were well paid out of the spoils of a church loved and revered by the great body of the people; a state of things which remained until the great event of the Gladstone Ministry, the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Irish Church, so called. Since the time of the Reformation many events have had a tendency to deepen and perpetuate the animosity between Catholics and Protestants. The bloody rebellion of 1641, King

William's victory at the Battle of the Boyne, the severity of the parliaments of Anne and the first and second Georges, in riveting and extending the penal laws against the Papists, and the sanguinary persecution in the reign of the bigoted James II. While numerous massacres and rebellions have embittered the Protestants against the Catholics; on the other hand, discomfitures and disasters, penal laws and legalised oppression have rendered the hatred of the Papists virulent beyond example. Irritating and maddening circumstances have fomented on both sides the most rancorous malignity. Hence the enmity, while in a state of torpid tranquility, has been a slumbering volcano, stirred by the slightest apprehensions of internal commotion, or by the least agitation of partisan quarrels between the rival factions.

Then, in wondering, as we sometimes do, why Ireland continues so Popish—why the people are so unprotestant, and unlike the rest of the subjects of the United Kingdom—we must bear in mind that Protestantism was taken there at the point of the sword. Popery, too, was introduced in that way; but while one fact is vividly remembered, the other is forgotten. Pope Celestine endeavoured to propagate Popery in Ireland in the fourth century, and failed to a great extent. The ancient Christianity of the country was not Romanism. St. Patrick, its founder, had no connection with the Vatican. The Irish had true Christianity until 1172, when Henry II., urged by Pope Adrian IV., invaded the island, and reduced its ancient church into subjection to that of Rome. So, in blaming them for being Papists, we must not forget, if they do, that we made them what they are, however much we may regret that they remain so. They well remember how we have tried to convert them to Protestantism. That religion is associated in their minds with the conquest of the country by England, with the confiscation of the land, with much misrule and oppression, with a degrading bondage inflicted upon a larger section of the population, with the destruction of valued institutions, and with every other evil, real and imaginery, with which the country is afflicted. Because of that there is a strong prejudice in the national mind against everything connected with Protestantism, which prevents its acceptance by the great bulk of the people. That prejudice is continually strengthened by certain parties for disloyal and agitating purposes, and especially by the Roman Catholic priesthood for their own interests, and to keep the country in an unsettled state that they may obtain concessions from the fears of British statesmen. Protestantism, as a religion, is not to blame for many of these things which are laid

to its charge, and which are the mere accidents of history. It is a religion of liberty and freedom, and not of persecution.

We need not attempt to show how Popery influences the prejudices and passions of its adherents, and alienates them from any Government of which the Pope is not the recognised head. It deprives them for the most part of the charter of their salvation, of God's great gift to the whole human family, of that which constitutes the source of England's greatness—the Book of eternal truth. It is by this means that Popery flourishes and keeps the ascendancy, brooding over the land, and damping the moral energies of the people. Thus the soul is enslaved by a crafty, designing, and treacherous priesthood. In Ireland there is Ultramontaniam to contend with, which has caused so much disturbance and anxiety on several nations of the Continent. Ultramontaniam, it must be remembered, assumes to come between the subject and his Sovereign, between the husband and the wife, between the parent and the child, between the master and the servant; assumes, in fact, to come between all the relations of life and to rule men's consciences. It permeates the whole country—east, west, north, and south—and stirs up all the hostility of the Irish Catholics against that truth which would make them free. Romanism is more difficult to deal with on account of it not being so much a false religion as a perverted true one. In this respect it stands side by side with Judaism and Mohammedanism. It is much easier to convert idolators than either Jews or Mohammedans. There is the same difficulty to overcome with the Roman Catholic. Let him be the vilest profligate that ever lived, he looks upon himself as possessed of the true faith; and upon all who are not of the same persuasion, although the purest and most benevolent that ever lived upon the earth, as the victims of a false faith, and outside the pale of the Church, and certain to be lost when they die. While the Irish mind is bound with such chains of error we cannot look for a happy country. We can think of no measures which will long be a means of pacification.

Popery must be held responsible to some extent for the present distracted state of Ireland. It cannot be doubted that Fenianism was the offspring of Popery, and quite in accordance with its ancient spirit and invariable policy. Considering the undeniable good qualities of the Irish peasantry, and their unbounded reverence for their spiritual guides, we cannot but conclude that the priests must largely bear the blame for that state of things in the sister isle which makes her a reproach to civilisation and Christianity. Never had men a better opportunity of training people to virtue, peace, and order. That

they have not done so is patent to all, and it must be owing to some motive to the contrary. The elevation of the peasantry, mentally and morally, would tend to diminish the power and influence of the priesthood; and hence the efforts of the priests to keep the education of the country in their own hands. 'A tree is known by its fruits.' 'Men do not gather grapes of thorns, nor figs of thistles.' If we see among the Roman Catholic population of Ireland a reckless disregard of human life, disloyalty, and contempt for the law, we do but see the natural result of the lessons which have been, and continue to be, enjoined upon them by their teachers. We do not mean that the priests have organised the Land League, or that they are directly connected with it; still, we hold that it is the result of their teaching—it is part of the fruit which the tree they cultivate produces, and similar to that which has been reaped at different times for ages past. Nor do we mean that there is no cause for discontent with the land laws, or that the League is wholly unjustifiable, and can lead to nothing but mischief. It is possible that without some such movement no effective reform in the land laws could have been carried in Parliament. The evil will be over-ruled for good, but that does not make the evil any less.

2. Another cause of misfortune and trouble in Ireland is the fact that the people have never been a perfectly *homogeneous* body. Differences of blood and of religion have kept them distracted. There has not been that blending of the races which has taken place in England, and which has contributed so much to the strength of our national character. The ancient conquests of Ireland were but partial. They always left the people liberty to think that they would sometime be able to effect their deliverance and drive their invaders into the sea. Any cause of disaffection which sprang up was regarded as a favourable opportunity for throwing off the Anglo-Saxon yoke. If the country had been conquered as the Normans conquered England, or if it had had such a struggle as that of Scotland under Bruce, a spirit of patriotism and national union might have followed, and formed a strong people out of the warring clans. But it was broken into two halves, whose conflict has never ceased. The troubles of Ireland do not spring so much from a hatred of England as from the jarring and conflicting elements the Irish have amongst themselves. It is plain to see how rife these elements have been under different reigns. Take for instance the enmity between the Irish Cavaliers and the Irish Roundheads in the time of Cromwell and Charles II., and the still fiercer hatred which raged between the English and the Celtic races.

There was also the bitter opposition between the Episcopalian and the Presbyterian, and that between these and the Papists. In the conquests which had taken place, especially under Cromwell, the greater part of the soil had been transferred from the vanquished nation to the victors. The despoilers and the despoiled had for the most part been rebels alike. The Government became perplexed with the conflicting claims and mutual accusations of the two incensed factions. The Cromwellians, as they were called, had acquired a considerable portion of the conquered territories, and they wished to settle down as colonists. They asserted that the aboriginal inhabitants were deadly enemies of the English nation and of the Protestant religion, and went so far as to hint that there never would be any peace in Ireland till the old Irish race should be extirpated. The Irish, not seeing their way clear to have peace at such a price, extenuated their offence, expatiated in piteous language on the severity of their punishment, implored the King not to confound the innocent with the guilty, and reminded him that many of the guilty had atoned for their fault by returning to their allegiance. Considering the claims of the two parties a compromise was decided upon. Cromwell's system for making the island thoroughly English was abandoned. The colonists had to relinquish a third part of their acquisition, which, however, was not restored to the original owners, but capriciously divided among the favourites of the King. Thus bitterness and animosities were handed down from one generation to another.

The seventeenth century has left to the nineteenth a fatal heritage of malignant passions in unhappy Ireland. The Saxon defenders of Londonderry and the Celtic defenders of Limerick have not yet forgiven each other nor proclaimed an amnesty. The children of the victors and those of the vanquished retain a kind of Spartan haughtiness and hostility towards each other, as though sometime they must revenge the wrongs their ancestors suffered. James II. had the best opportunity for reconciling them; but, foolishly, employed all his power to inflame their enmity, and, at length, forced them to close in a grapple for life and death.

At that time the Irish Statute Book was tolerably free from those unjust enactments in relation to the Papists which afterwards stained its pages. The Catholic had more liberty in Ireland than in England. Here no man could hold office, or even earn his livelihood as a barrister or schoolmaster, without previously taking the oath of supremacy; but in Ireland such tests were not applied. So far, the Irish Roman Catholic was in a situation which his English and Scottish brethren

might have envied. But, though not persecuted as a Papist, he was still oppressed as an Irishman. He was of the conquered, the subjugated, the degraded race. On the same soil dwelt two populations, locally intermixed, morally and politically sundered. They sprang from different stocks, they spoke different languages, they had different national characters, as strongly opposed as any two national characters in Europe, and different religions, and were in widely different stages of civilisation. Between two such populations there could be little sympathy; and centuries of calamities and mutual wrongs had generated a strong antipathy. The Irish were those of Celtic origin, or who had, in the course of ages, degenerated into Celtic manners. They were about a million in number, under the reign of James II., and, with few exceptions, they adhered to the Church of Rome. Among them resided about two hundred thousand colonists, proud of their Saxon blood and their Protestant faith. The preponderance of numbers on one side was more than compensated by a great superiority of intelligence, vigour, and organisation on the other. Unhappily, James II., who might have become a mediator between the two populations which inhabited Ireland, became the fiercest and most reckless of partisans. Instead of allaying the animosities of the conflicting races and religionists, he inflamed it to a height before unknown. He determined to reverse their relative position, and to put the Protestant colonists under the feet of the Popish Celts. Hence the hostile nationalities and the want of identity of interests from which the Emerald Isle suffers to this day.

3. But the chief ingredient in the bitter cup Ireland has to drink is the unsettled state of the Land Question and tenant right. Until this be dealt with effectually peace cannot be secured on a permanent basis. This is the question which most closely concerns the industrial classes. It is the pivot upon which all Irish politics turn, for, although priestly influence counts for a great deal, that influence depends upon the land hunger of the peasantry. We need not enter into details on this subject, upon which, through the discussions in the House of Commons and the House of Lords, the country has received such ample information. Every cause of grievance in connection with this *verata questio* has been brought to light. The Irish ask for some things which they cannot have, and which, if granted, would not be for their good.

First, redress for the wrongs of *confiscation*. To whom does the land belong? Is the proprietorship in the right hands? Can the present great landowners show any just claim to their extensive posses-

sions and to their monopoly of the soil of Ireland? Have not most of the estates been wrested from the rightful owners? The Irish peasant insists on being 'rooted in the soil.' He thinks that his forefathers were unjustly ousted by foreign conquerors. It is true, as we have seen, that much of the land has been confiscated, that great proprietors went over from this country and Scotland, and settled there under an English garrison in a conquered country. That is a complaint which might be made against the land proprietors in England and in almost any other nation. But were the ancestors of the existing peasantry in Ireland landowners? Were they not rather the serfs or slaves of the barbarous chieftains? It is a question whether the old Gaelic tribal ownership would have ripened into a peasant proprietary if the English conquest had not interrupted the natural process of Evolution. Besides, many of the existing peasants are no true Gael at all, but the descendants of Danes, Normans, and the various waves of Saxon settlers. There are even to be found the descendants of French Huguenots, and of Scotch fugitives involved in the Stuart insurrections. These cannot claim to be 'rooted in the soil' on the ground that they are the heirs of the Septs, which occupied the land prior to the days of conquest and confiscation.

Secondly, it is a more just complaint that the land is in the possession of *too few proprietors*. No sane man can seriously entertain the thought of parcelling out all the ground of any country in small and equal allotments. Such a scheme can only be the dream of the wildest Communists. Monotony and an absolute level of any kind is tiresome and stupid, and quite out of harmony with the Divine order. Luxuriant variety, and not bald uniformity, the all-wealthy Creator has stamped upon all His works. If a hundred colonists had land divided amongst them in equal shares, how long would they remain equal? If the law did not prevent it, the thriftless would soon lose their proprietorship; and if the law did prevent any sale or transfer of the land, would not the effect be to stifle altogether the impulse to exertion and industry? And would not that bring stagnation and death to any community? Very small ownerships are more suited to some countries than to others. Ireland is naturally a pastoral and cattle breeding country. It is well known that trade in cattle requires capital and the power of abiding through seasons of adversity. Peasant proprietors would not have the means for that end. Many parts of the country are eminently fitted for timber growing, which would pay better than anything else; but that would be quite unpracticable to little farmers living on their own estates. It is a mistake to suppose

that to multiply small freeholds would be a panacea for all the ills of Ireland.

Very small properties and very large properties, as a rule, are equally wrong. Most nations have suffered more or less from a comparatively few men monopolising the greatest portion of the land. In the days of Isaiah there was that danger: 'Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth.' (v. 8.) Most of the notable free states of antiquity made as wide a distribution of land as possible among the citizens, in order to prevent its becoming a monopoly, and, as such, an instrument of oppression in the hands of a few. Citizens were not to be beggars, and to this end the common soil of the fatherland was not to be usurped and used by the few. Aristotle, in his politics, condemns the concentration of the land in the hands of a small number of owners, as being calculated to diminish the population and weaken the State. J. A. Froude, in an article in the *Nineteenth Century*, says—'Land is not and cannot be property in the sense that movable things are property. Every human being born into this planet must live upon the land if he lives at all. The land in any country is really the property of the nation that occupies it; and the tenure of it by individuals is ordered differently in different places according to the habits of the people and general convenience.' In the same article he gives an instance of the evils of landlordism, apparently from personal knowledge. He says, 'Not a mile from the place where I am now writing, an estate on the coast of Devonshire came into the hands of an English Duke. There was a primitive village upon it, occupied by sailors, pilots, and fishermen, which is described in *Domesday Book*, and was inhabited at the conquest by the actual forefathers of the late tenants, whose names may be read there. The houses were sadly out of repair. The Duke's predecessors had laid out nothing upon them for a century, and had been contented with exacting the rents. When the present owner entered into possession it was represented to him that if the village was to continue it must be rebuilt; but that to rebuild it would be a needless expense, for the people, living as they did on their wages as fishermen and seamen, would not cultivate his land, and were useless to him. The houses, therefore, were simply torn down, and the population was driven out into the world to find new homes.' Even centuries of occupation, it seems, had not given these poor men right to live on their native soil.

How is the land of the United Kingdom, and particularly of Ireland,

possessed? The entire area of England and Wales, exclusive of the metropolis, contains 37,243,859 acres, and *one-fifth* of this is in the hands of 523 persons. This calculation does not include the *waste* lands which those holders may possess. Take a single County as an illustration. The half of Northumberland is in the hands of 26 persons, one landlord holding 1,220,000 acres. So far as can be made out, half of this country is owned by about 4,500 persons. Scotland contains 18,946,694 acres, and of this one person has a slice amounting to 1,326,900 acres, besides a nice little estate on this side of the border, consisting of 32,095 acres. It is ascertained that the fourth part of Scotland is held by twelve persons, and nine-tenths of it by not more than 1,700 holders. More than 2,000,000 acres of Scotch land have been cleared of its human population and of its flocks, to make room for deer, and to encourage sport upon the Scottish moors. Ireland has a total area of 20,159,678 acres, and about half of this is in the hands of 744 persons; 1,942 persons hold the two-thirds, and the remaining one-third, of which a great quantity is leasehold for 99 years and upwards, is gradually reverting, with all the improvements, made mainly, if not solely, at the leaseholders' expense, to the owners of the large estates. In round figures, about two-thirds of the lands of these three kingdoms belong to peers and wealthy men; indeed, one-third of the whole land is owned by members of the House of Lords.

It is largely the law of primogeniture which accumulates the land in the hands of a few. The law prevents the sale of land according to the wants of the population. Great families are not at liberty to sell any of their broad acres, and cannot will them excepting to the eldest born sons. Thus, these large estates often come into the possession of gentlemen who are utterly without qualifications to manage them. There must be something wrong in the system which persists in thrusting social positions upon men without taking any of the usual guarantees for fitness, and enabling them to pass through existence careless of the results which their negligence or incompetence may inflict upon others. No business could prosper under such a *regime*, and hence it is that agriculture languishes in Ireland, and is not near so prosperous in England as it might be. Only ten years ago a commission, consisting of four of our largest landowners, members of the House of Lords, sat upon the question of the cultivation of the land of England, and reported as follows: Out of some 20,000,000 acres of land, which required draining in order to its profitable cultivation, only 3,000,000 acres had been attended to, and they also found and placed on record the fact

that only about *one-fifth* of the land had been subjected to those simple processes which practical men regard as necessary to fit land for ordinary average production.

Thirdly. Connected with this grievance of the Irish is that of *absenteeism*. Considering the vastness of their estates, many landlords can barely look over them once in a lifetime. They cannot be expected, in the nature of things, to give to the cultivation of their lands such attention as is required in order that the largest production may be realised. It is said that agents are employed who are always practical men. No doubt many of these ably carry out the views of the landlord, and are faithful in their stewardship. Yet they are only servants, and we are entitled to conclude, human nature being what it is, that they would be all the better if they had a little more supervision from their lords and masters. About one fourth of the soil of Ireland is owned by foreigners, whose tenantry are in the hands of grasping local agents and middlemen. Ten years ago the Government reported 2,973 absentee landlords in Ireland, who owned precisely one-fourth of the island, rated at an annual rent of £2,470,816. Some of these own from fifty to ninety thousand acres each. Hence, there is a large drain of money or produce from Ireland to pay rents, several millions being sent out of the country every year, for which there is no adequate return. Joseph Cooke, the American lecturer, says that 'in 1846 and 1847, when Boston was sending shiploads of food to keep the Irish alive, there was twice enough food in Ireland to maintain the population; but the cattle and a great portion of the grain were drained away to pay rents, and the potato crop was nearly all the people had to depend on for their own sustenance, and that failed. It is a most incisive fact that when we were helping Ireland she had food enough, but had to send it out of the country to pay absentee landlords, some of whom were leading lives not only of ease, but of dissipation, in London and Paris.' If the Land League had not practically prevented the payment of rents during the past year or two, when the potato crop has been a failure, it is highly probable that the calamity of another famine would have fallen upon the country.

There are many reasons besides agrarian agitation which tempt wealthy landlords to be absentees. Residence in Ireland is attended with many drawbacks and discomforts, even when a landlord is respected by his tenantry. Absenteeship is no new complaint. Adam Smith discussed the propriety of an absentee-tax. The Irish ascribe it to the union, but might not they attribute it partly to the City of Dublin Steam Navigation Company, and the London and North

Western Railway; and perhaps both these companies could say something about the wealth they take to Ireland, as well as that which they bring away. Many of the absent landlords might not be of much use to the community if they were present; and they would, no doubt, be willing to part with their estates or portions of them for a reasonable compensation. The £4,000,000 of the Church Surplus Fund, which is in the hands of the Temporalities Commission, might be applied for that purpose, and for laying the foundations of a peasant proprietary, without any confiscation or disturbance of vested rights.

Fourthly, another evil, which has contributed largely to the famines and miseries of Ireland, is the *smallness* of many of the holdings. According to the returns of 1875, the farms not exceeding one acre in area were 51,459; those of one to five acres were 69,098; those of five to fifteen acres 137,669; the total above thirty acres being 160,298 holdings. Thus it will be seen that a very large proportion of the farms are below thirty acres each, and hundreds of thousands are even below fifteen acres each. And some of these very small farms have to serve for several families. Hence, vast numbers of the peasantry are always at the point of starvation; and where the ground is poor and the chief crop fails, they often do starve. It is believed there are about 2,000,000 acres of waste land in Ireland which might be cultivated. This would make 40,000 farms of fifty acres each, or 80,000 of twenty-five acres each. If for such a purpose the Government spent some millions of money in bringing this land under cultivation, how much better it would be than in spending it in the 'gunpowder and glory business' and imaginary 'scientific frontiers.'

The houses on many of the estates are of the most wretched description, and such as the landlords would not allow their horses and dogs to live in. Mean and comfortless dwellings imply not only a low state of comfort, but often a low morality. The lowest class of farm-house is a mud cabin, with only one room for all purposes, and that is often without a window. There are 227,400 families in houses of that class. In 1841 there were about half-a-million such dwellings; but several hundred thousand of them, with their inhabitants, disappeared during the famine. The next class of buildings are also built of mud, but contain several rooms, with windows in them. In these are 432,774 families. The class above these are decent farm-houses, having from five to nine rooms, and of these there are about 387,660. Of those who have first-class houses there are about 50,000 families, and these are chiefly in towns. One would think that gentlemen whose rent roll is from £50,000 to £100,000 a year could afford to have better houses upon their estates.

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As many of the houses are valueless to the landlord, they aid the purpose of eviction better than superior dwellings would. They can be pulled down over the heads of the occupiers without loss to the owners. That was very often done during the famine. In the village of Balinglass, Galway County, sixty houses were pulled down in order to be rid of the occupants, who were unable to pay rent, the only one left standing being that of a man and woman, who were ill of the fever; and this afflicted couple were informed that if they did not leave the place in fifteen days 'the house would be tumbled on top of them.' The dishomed people had to sleep under walls and in ditches, and not a few perished through hunger and starvation. As an evidence that the destruction of houses is a convenience for the sake of ejection, it may be noticed that the number of peasant cabins, which, in 1841, was 491,278, in 1851 had fallen to 135,589. In Connaught, where famine, pestilence, and eviction raged most severely, the number of cabins fell from 126,346 in 1841 to 31,586 in 1851.

Fifthly, the most unsatisfactory thing, and one which is at the very root of the whole evil, is the *tenure* on which, as a rule, these houses and lands are held. Since the famine there has been an improvement in the size of the holdings, but not much in the security of the tenure. Tenancy at will continues to be the rule, and permanency the exception. There are 77·2 per cent. or nearly three-fourths of the whole number of holdings on such insecurity. There is what is called the Ulster tenant-right. It provides that, while a man is honest, industrious, and temperate, and pays his rent, he shall have the right of staying on his holding, and shall not be turned off at the mere whim of the landlord. It provides, further, that when he is turned off he shall be paid for the unexhausted value of the improvements he has made; and he can also arrange for a sum to be paid him by the incoming tenant for the goodwill of the farm. These laws, which have been established in the province of Ulster, have greatly diminished incendiary fires, and mobs, and riots; and, with certain improvements which can be made in them, they ought to be extended over the whole green surface of Ireland. Statistics show that Ulster stands first in the quality of its house accommodation, highest in the scale of education, and richest in the capital of its live stock. These are unquestionable evidences of comparative prosperity. They are not attributable to any superiority of climate or soil; to some degree they are owing to difference of race and habits of thought, but, in the main, they are due to a system of tenure which secures to the tenant full repayment for improvement when, for any cause, he has to quit his farm.

The best mode of security is that of a lease for a term of years, both parties being free at the end of the lease. That has the sanction of custom in most civilised countries; and it has done more to develop the capabilities of the soil in Great Britain and advance the wages of labour than has any other system. It would solve many difficulties if it could be generally introduced in Ireland; but its adoption depends upon the joint will of landlord and tenant. In the ninety years ending with 1870 rent in Ireland had only doubled, while in England and Scotland, where there is more security of tenure, it has tripled and even sex-tripled. As is shown by the Income Tax assessors, there has been, until the last year or two, a gradual progress in the actual rental in this country, while Ireland continues to be left behind. An Irish member of Parliament, who has landed property in three Irish counties, said to John Bright that any measure which would give security of tenure to the farmer would add ten years' purchase to the value of landed property.

The relations between landlord and tenant are nowhere so unsatisfactory as they are in Ireland. The rule is for the tenant to execute at his own cost all the permanent improvements on his farm, and also to hold his farm without any written contract with his landlord. In the absence of such contract, it is assumed that the tenancy is terminable yearly. Buildings and other improvements on land, by whomsoever effected, instantly become the property of the landlord, and on eviction no compensation can be claimed. The tendency, of course, is to hinder improvements and prevent the highest development of agriculture. Such system has many injurious consequences. In proper culture a man must plough deeply, clean thoroughly, and manure richly with his green crop, not for that crop alone, but for the corn and grass crops which are to follow; in fact, for his whole rotation, which may extend over from six to eight years, according to the soil, climate, and system of management. If he is suddenly evicted after that expenditure is made, and before he has reaped its benefit in the subsequent crops, he is simply robbed by law. When he has reason to apprehend that his course of management may be thus cut short, his only remedy is to stint his expenditure and starve the land. Thus the land, the landlord, and the tenantry are all in a worse condition, and the tenant in the worst of all. In England no man enters upon a tillage farm with the expectation that he is actually to occupy for a single year only. But in Ireland men seem to go in at haphazard, trusting, too, perhaps, to the good nature of the landlord, or, without much forethought about it, doing as their fathers have done before them. Much vexation and anxiety is often very recklessly inflicted

on Irish tenants by agents giving them notice to quit for some frivolous cause, not seriously meant to be acted upon.

Thus there are 500,000 tenants living for the most part in a condition of continual insecurity. The rent may be raised half-a-crown an acre this year and half-a-crown the next. If a farm passes from a father to a son, or from a widow to a son, or from a farmer to his brother, it is the occasion of an advance of rent. The tenant becomes irritable beyond endurance. He sees the end to which he is being driven. He cannot live upon the farm, and may find himself homeless in his own country. There being little but the land to depend upon, those who cannot get land must starve or go out of the country. The men who hold the land hold the homes and the lives of the people. Hence there is a fiercer competition for land than is the case in our own country, and the landlord and his agents have more opportunities to obtain an increase of rent. The amount exacted per acre, as a rule, is not excessive, if the land were well farmed and the tenantry had security and an adequate capital. But on such a system the tenants will not cultivate the land to the best of their knowledge, or according to the best of their capital, knowing that improvements would lead to an increase of rent or a notice to quit. An extensive and intelligent farmer in this country, who had been over to Ireland and passed through some of the discontented and suffering districts, said to Mr. Bright—'The land is soaking, the cultivation is slovenly, and the farms do not produce more than half what ought to be obtained from them; and as to insecurity, a man hardly dare put on a good new coat for fear it should be discovered and looked upon as a sign that he could pay a little more rent.'

Herein we think lie the causes of Irish troubles. It is for some only of these causes that statesmen can ever find a remedy. They may possibly settle the Land Question, and settle it for ever. It should be our hope and prayer that they may. Many difficulties are in the way. The landed interest, especially in the Upper House, is very great. Numbers are always so blinded with selfishness as to be unable to see what is really for their own good. There is an occasion for all pious people to pray that our rulers may be Divinely guided. The question at issue is a burning one. It is a source of chronic discontent and disaffection, and will continue to be so if patchwork remedies be applied. It is the chief thing which maintains the antagonism of the Irish representatives in the British Parliament and almost blocks the wheels of the legislative machine. The solution of the Irish Land Question is therefore most urgent. It is important not only to every Irishman but to every British subject that it should be settled on a sound and

permanent basis, by discovering the true principles of land tenure and acting upon them.

That which future historians will characterise as 'The Famous Land Bill' of 1881, and which will help to perpetuate the memory of Mr. Gladstone as the greatest English statesman of the nineteenth century, has struggled its way slowly but triumphantly through the House of Commons. Not for the last half century has Parliament been engaged in dealing with any measure which could compare in its importance as a constructive piece of law-making with this. When we think of the circumstances which have surrounded it, the conditions under which it has been debated, the opposition and obstruction it has had to contend with, we may fairly come to the conclusion that the work imposed upon its promoters has been greater than ever before undertaken by any minister of the crown. The Bill itself is a most elaborate and remarkable measure, startling alike in its boldness and ingenuity. It goes far away from the beaten track of modern legislation. The high and dry notions of that system of political economy which has generally obtained have been rudely cast aside. Cherished theories are torn to shreds to meet the necessities of hard facts. The very basis of the Bill is the recognition of the truth that the present state of things in Ireland is intolerable; that something must be done, no matter at what cost, to establish peace there between the owners and the occupiers of the soil, and to give to all classes a chance of prospering in the land in which their lot has been cast. The first care of the authors of the measure is evidently to produce a scheme which shall be really efficient; whilst, side by side with this care, there runs through every provision of the scheme, like a golden thread, the resolve to do injustice to none, whether they be landlords or tenants. It has required an enormous amount of ingenuity—yea, positive genius, on the part of the authors, to meet the double difficulty with which they were confronted—to afford effectual help to one class without acting unjustly towards the other. Many wondered what would become of this great measure in the Upper House. Every one was asking, 'What will the Lords do with this Bill, to which so much time and talent have been devoted?' They have not been able either to reject the Bill or to mutilate it as they did the Land Bill of 1870, which was deprived of its most salient points, and rendered comparatively useless, but have had to pass it on substantially unaltered to receive the seal of the sovereign, and to be numbered in the Acts of Victoria's reign; and, with the blessings of Him who came to bring peace on earth and goodwill towards men, we cannot doubt results.

JOSEPH WOOD.

VI.—SALVATION.

IN the closing chapter of his admirable little book on the *Study of Words*, Dr. Trench points out that we must often deal with words as the gold and silver currency of the realm is dealt with. Words, like coins, are apt, through use and custom, to have their significance worn away, to lose not only their 'clear brightness and well-defined sharpness of outline, but much of their weight and intrinsic value,' and it is necessary, periodically, to recall them, re-mint them, and issue them afresh, 'bright and sharp, weighty and full as at first.' We propose to put the word which heads this paper through just such a process. And certainly, so far as we can judge, there is no word in common use among religious people which is more in need of this office of rehabilitation. If use and custom have eroded the superscription of any word-coin in common circulation, that word-coin is 'Salvation.' In the course of the centuries since it was first minted it has suffered almost every sort of indignity. It has been stained, and clipped, and perforated, until it is difficult to make out what was the original image it bore, or what the device which was first stamped on its surface. Let us cast it into the crucible once more, and submit it, if possible, to the pressure of its original mould or matrix, so that we may learn—what is so important to be known—what was its primary similitude and significance. Or, forsaking our metaphor, let it be our business to find out, as far as we can, what is the real essential nature of Salvation, what we ought to mean when we use the term 'Salvation,' what is the inner thought-meaning which should invariably be associated with that much-used and, I fear, also much-abused word.

If any apology or explanation be needed for asking our readers to study with us the meaning of a word or expression which everybody thinks he understands well enough for himself, we find that apology not only in the intrinsic importance of the subject—that is beyond question—but in those considerations we have already presented in the form of metaphor, as well as in other and stronger ones closely connected with them. The term has suffered adulteration and debasement unquestionably, but something worse even than that has happened. Men, for the most part, have been largely unconscious of that deterioration; the effacement of the original image has been so gradual that it has been almost imperceptible; the time-worn coin has not

been seen as time-worn; and slowly, but surely, men have also come to forget that it is only a coin after all. The word has been debased, and then that debased word has been substituted for the reality which it should represent. The sign has taken the place of the thing that ought to be signified by it. Just as, until the time of Adam Smith, it was thought that the wealth of a nation consisted solely of money or bullion, and that whatever else a country was rich in it was miserably poor if it could not command a large share of the precious metals, so has there been in the use of words a similar confusion between reality and symbol. Money is the sign of wealth, as words are the signs of thoughts and things. Wealth is always expressed in money as thoughts are always expressed in words. And the economic fallacy which consists in confounding money and wealth is the exact analogue of the theological fallacy which has put the word 'Salvation' in the place of the thought for which it stands, and so blocked the way to the due realisation of its innermost meaning. There are many among us, I fear, who, from this very cause, have never even thought of settling ourselves seriously to ask what 'salvation' means. We have the word, and that suffices us. The possession of the term is regarded as absolving us from the duty of thinking about what it stands for. Lord Bacon has somewhere well said that 'though we think we govern our words, yet certain it is that words, as a Tartar's bow, do shoot back upon the understanding, and do mightily entangle and pervert the judgment.' Language lightens the labour of thought by being used as a symbol. We can thus think and reason without being under the necessity of conceiving all the parts and elements of the notion. But, as the result of this, we are often tempted to give up rigid investigation and to repeat phrases which embody hereditary or popular beliefs without any effort to rise from the term to the ideas they stand for, or, what is just as important, from our notions or ideas to the objective realities they represent.* And hence, as Locke has pointed out, there ensues 'an abundance of empty unintelligible noise and jargon, especially in moral matters, where the words, for the most part, standing for arbitrary and numerous collections of ideas not regularly and permanently united in their nature, their bare sounds are often only thought on, or, at least, very obscure and uncertain notions annexed to them.' The truth is, that words as we use them are *either windows* letting in the light and allowing a clear outlook, *or shutters* enclosing us in the darkness, and hiding from us the real forms of outward objects. If this is true in regard to ordinary words, it is eminently so

* McCosh—*Laws of Discursive Thought*, p. 78.

in regard to the term 'Salvation.' Large numbers of those who use it so glibly in our midst have picked up the word, and along with it a dim, obscure, uncertain sense of some great meaning associated with it, but what that meaning is it would be difficult for any of them to say. We have heard people talk volubly about 'saving souls' who, we are sure, never thought of setting themselves to study earnestly either the nature of a soul or what must be involved in saving it. They have a certain twilight popular notion which they have inherited from their fathers, or imbibed unconsciously from the atmosphere about them; but as for any real individual endeavour to get behind the word for themselves and to realise the tremendous meaning of saving a soul, that is about as far from their thoughts as an attempt to master the *differential calculus* would be. And we may be permitted to say that we have noticed one thing more, namely, that those people who give least thought to the matter are the very people who talk most about it. For all that appears to the contrary, to save a soul is, with them, as easy and simple an operation as to save a shilling. We may be sure that the man who has the deepest sense of the value of the human soul is the man who feels least at liberty to talk loosely about what is meant by its salvation.

Happily, however, all are not thus vacant and thoughtless. There are men who, on this subject of salvation, seek to bring their words into accord with thoughts, and their thoughts with things. But even among those who do think, who do try to rise beyond the term to the idea it stands for, a large number, we fear—perhaps the actual majority—are content with the outward aspect of the matter, its external form and features, rather than its real essence. They think more of the secondary superficial elements of the conception than of that in it which is primary, fundamental, and intrinsic. On this subject, as on most other theological questions, the thought of the Church has been dominated by outwardness, by the tendency to rest satisfied with what is only extrinsic and adventitious. Let any one who reads these pages collect or re-collect the tone and sense of the various references to 'salvation' which he has or may have heard from large numbers of the members of all our churches, or let him peruse the tracts and sermons and pamphlets which are continually circulating in the churches, and he will find that the common popular conception on this subject is something like the following:—Salvation is deliverance from the wrath to come, escape from penalty, an insurance against the evil chances of the life beyond. In the view even of large numbers who have been stirred to thought in the matter, salvation is mainly, if not

altogether, a translation from an outward state of pain and peril into other circumstances of ease and happiness. *Safety*, as opposed to the danger of penalty, is the salvation which is chiefly looked for. It is a *salvation of circumstances*; I cannot designate it by any more appropriate name. We once saw a tract dilating on that beautiful parable contained in John x., where Christ uses the characteristically Oriental figure of a great sheep-fold, in which His sheep—His saved ones, those who know Him and are known of Him—are enclosed. Chilling the glorious poetry of this parable into dull and lifeless prose, the tract-writer went on to define salvation as consisting in a literal, mechanical enclosure within this fold. To pass the threshold of this place of security—a simple transposition in space from the barren, unprotected, dangerous wilderness outside to the safe shelter of the walled or hedged refuge called the fold—that was salvation. And so heaven was represented as an immense fold, an actual sheltering enclosure into which the terrible wolf of retribution or penalty cannot penetrate. To get beyond the clutch of this wolf seemed the writer's main conception of salvation. To feel safe and to find plenty of pleasant pasture for ever and ever, behold his ideal of being saved.

We call this, then, briefly, *the salvation of circumstances*, and under this designation we class all those conceptions of salvation, however variously complexioned by theological specialities, which make it to consist chiefly in an outward deliverance from wrath or penalty.

Opinions may differ considerably as to the precise extent to which conceptions like this possess the mind of the churches at the present time; but no candid observer can doubt that the view of salvation which we have just briefly sketched is sufficiently prevalent to justify us in treating it as the predominant and most obtrusive interpretation which is given in ordinary religious circles of the nature of salvation. It may be true, also, as some aver, that you will find numbers of people holding this conception who are yet capable, on occasion, of discovering and appreciating the truth of higher and more spiritual representations of the subject; but you will generally find, at the same time, that they do not maintain this level, but fall back again almost immediately upon the old forms of conception and expression. They consent to the higher thought that it is good, but they cling to the old notion notwithstanding. It is the latter which really dominates them after all.

But now we do not wish by any means to be understood as affirming that this definition of salvation, as a salvation of circumstances,

is positively false. On the contrary, we believe it to be entirely true—as far as it goes. Our quarrel with it is not that it is, in itself, at all false, but that it is fragmentary and defective. It is not untrue so much as it is incomplete. Of course we recognise that it may be put in such a form, or be so insisted on, as to involve all the practical evil consequences of a false conception; but, nakedly and abstractly, it errs by simple deficiency rather than by positive contrariety to truth. Salvation is deliverance from the wrath to come; salvation is escape from penalty; salvation is, to some extent, a change of external circumstances. Just as there is some considerable force in the contention of those who tell us that the environment of a man determines, in some degree, what he is or will become (so that, as M. Taine insists, in order fully to comprehend any great character, we must understand its environment), so it is unquestionably true that salvation is, in one important aspect, deliverance from the perils of the wrath to come. There is, without doubt, an honest, a real stage in religious experience when dread of retribution and punishment is the chief element, when salvation is mainly safety. There are thousands—perhaps we may say tens of thousands—who must begin with that if they begin at all. We must not thanklessly scorn the base degrees by which we ascend to higher things. Without them we could not have begun, in many instances, to rise at all. The lower stages are relatively as true as the higher. The green fruit is not so good as the ripe, but it is the necessary precursor of the ripe. The rude strength of barbarism is the indispensable stock on which the culture of civilisation must be grafted. To despise and dismiss a salvation which is primarily only deliverance from wrath and penalty, because it is relatively low and unworthy, is as absurd and unreflecting as to say that you will have nothing to do with the beginnings of English history because your ancestors, whether Saxon or Norman, were roving adventurers, who took possession of the country by force. But for that rude, barbaric force the English character and the English civilisation had not been what they are to-day. The lower is ever the necessary parent of the higher. The child is father of the man in intellectual and moral conceptions as well as in the developments of personal or national character.

There is still something more, however, to be taken into the account. In order that the lower may bear its full fruit, and realise all the value that is in it, the higher must succeed it. If we may not say that the lower experience is worthless unless it lead to the higher, we will say that its value is indefinitely diminished. The elementary conception

tends to become practically inoperative, except it reach upward to something fuller and loftier than itself. In spiritual experience, to cease to grow is to stagnate, and, indeed, to retrograde. When Peter exhorts the Christian Jews of the dispersion to add to, or supply in, their faith, virtue and all the rest of the spiritual graces, he continues—we quote the Revised Version—‘For if these things are yours, and abound, they make you to be not idle nor unfruitful unto the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ. For he that lacketh these things is blind, seeing only what is near, *having forgotten the cleansing from his old sins.*’ To Peter, evidently, the first cleansing and the early faith were nothing unless followed in due course by the fuller developments of the Christian life. The law of Christian development, as expounded by both Christ and His apostles, demands not only that men in general should go through this elementary stage, but also that they should pass out of it, and beyond it to something richer and better. Otherwise, it becomes false to *them*—though it may be still true to others who are just entering on it. As we have already hinted, while truth may be absolute in its intellectual aspects, it is relative in its practical aspects. To the man who is only beginning the Christian life this conception may be true and fruitful, while to one who has long borne the name of Christ, and who ought by this time to have outgrown this elementary experience, it will become false and barren. The green fruit is perfectly in place in May or June, but quite out of place in August or September. It is true to nature in the earlier months, but lamentably untrue to nature in the later. In an age of barbaric strength, when Might was identified with Right, the trial by battle would no doubt appear to be a perfectly fair and legitimate mode of settling disputes and of securing justice; but in the nineteenth century it is an absurd anachronism. To us, it rightly seems in the highest degree unjust and unsatisfactory. Hence our principle, that what is right and true in one stage of development may be false and wrong a few stages later. The very same necessity which requires that many men should begin with the salvation of circumstances makes it also quite as imperative that they should regard that initial experience as only the stepping-stone to something higher. Let the many examples of arrested religious development, and consequently of reversion, witness to the truth of our principle.

All that we have written on the salvation of circumstances is, of course, based on the assumption that there is a higher and worthier conception, and that is indeed the true state of the case. The essential nature of salvation is not to be found in mere deliverance or happi-

ness. We must go deeper. There is something underlying all that. Escape from penalty is but the outward result, the external fruitage of a root or seedling that is deposited deeper. When you see the ruddy cheek and clear eye and erect carriage and elastic step of your friend, do you take these as the *essential elements* of what you call health? or, do you not rather regard them as the signs and results of an inward condition out of which they spring? Do not these outward signs simply indicate that the great main internal organs of the body—the heart, lungs, stomach, &c.—are in full, unimpeded, and healthy action. Healthiness is really and primarily a condition of the inner vital organs. The essential elements of health are to be sought there, and not on the surface.

When a man's veins are filled with fever he can find rest nowhere. He accuses his pillows of being hard and uneasy, he complains that the bed on which he tosses to and fro is badly made up; he wishes every two or three minutes to be changed from side to side that he may find a place of comfort and ease, when all the time the source of restlessness is really in himself. No arrangement of external circumstances will cure his unrest. The real cure must be applied within.

Everyone knows Satan's terrible soliloquy in the fourth book of the *Paradise Lost* :—

Me miserable! which way shall I fly
Infinite wrath and infinite despair?
Which way I fly is Hell: myself am Hell!

And in the first book—

The mind is its own place, and in itself
Can make a Heaven of Hell, a Hell of Heaven.

'What are easy chairs?' asks Dr. George Macdonald, in relation to one of his characters, '*what are easy chairs to uneasy men?*'

In view of these (perhaps somewhat commonplace) considerations, we are not surprised that the salvation of circumstances has been described in some quarters as *other-worldliness*. It is the worldly ideal, the worldly conception of prosperity and blessedness transferred to the other life. In our tirades against the love of the world, we too often forget that there may be worldlings of the next world as well as of the present. The worldly spirit and temper may be cherished in respect of the life that is to come as well as in relation to the life that now is. What is the ideal of the worldling? It is to get perfect contentment, perfect satisfaction from a perfect set of circumstances. It never occurs to either the worldling or the other-worldling to ask

whether there is not something infinitely more important than circumstances, something belonging to the inner soul and self of a man without which the most happy and felicitous surroundings are entirely powerless to give peace and rest. It takes a long time for us to learn that whether he be in this world or the next 'a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth.'

The great problem, then, of salvation is not so much deliverance from outward penalty as from inward evil. It is not primarily to put men in better circumstances, but to put them right in themselves. The outward deliverance results naturally and necessarily from the inward. In the order of time of actual experience the conception of salvation as outward comes first, but in the order of thought and true philosophy, the inward must precede the outward. The salvation of the soul is first the salvation of character, and then the salvation of circumstances. Not character out of circumstances, but circumstances as the consequence of character—that is the true spiritual divine order. Say not, 'Lo! here, or lo! there.' The 'here' and the 'there'—mere outer local surroundings—these are entirely subordinate. 'For behold the Kingdom of Heaven, the essence of salvation, is within you.' Here, then, we have found the true clue to the essential nature of salvation. Let us cease to look around us—let us turn our thoughts inward. The question now becomes, What is that inner soul-state, which may properly be called a state of salvation?

We propose to answer this question by an analysis of the deeper teaching of the New Testament on the subject. In spiritual investigation, as in physical, we ought not to seek to evolve theories out of our own subjective consciousness, but rather construct them upon an honest and wide induction of ascertained facts. And for our facts we must go to the New Testament, and ask what is the plain obvious teaching of our Lord and His apostles on this question. One has some little difficulty in deciding how to proceed in presenting these facts; but perhaps the readiest and safest way will be to confine our attention to some single passage which all will admit to be representative, and seek to exhaust the meaning of that. We have a strong objection to the usual fashion of marshalling isolated proof-texts for the purpose of defending some theological crotchet; but we are confident that the passage we are about to consider is so true a sample of the whole tone and tendency of the New Testament that no one will accuse us of seeking an unfair advantage in adopting this method. We select the passage in question not only for what it says of itself, but more because it strikes the key-note of the entire New Testament doctrine of salvation.

The passage may be found in the Gospel of John x. 9, 10, and is as follows:—‘I am the Door; by Me if any man enter in he shall be saved, and shall go in and out and find pasture. The thief cometh not but for to steal, and to kill, and to destroy. I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly.’ Let me ask my readers to observe that the first part and the last part of this passage are put in a kind of apposition—one is put against or beside the other to explain and fix its meaning. Now, thus looked at, what is the clear and evident inference from our Lord’s words? This, without doubt—that to be saved is to have LIFE; a state of salvation is a state of abundant, overflowing, healthy LIFE.

The good Saviour-Shepherd, let it be noted, is marked off from the cruel, selfish, stealthy-creeping thief by this characteristic beyond all: the object of the thief is to take life—the aim and purpose of the Shepherd are to give life. The thief kills out what little struggling life there may be; the Shepherd’s design is to confer over and above that a superabundant, a full sufficiency of Life, and to do that, if necessary, by the cheerful, ready surrender of His own life. ‘I am the Good Shepherd: the Good Shepherd giveth His life for the sheep.’

We may illustrate our point by a reference to a surgical operation, which is said to have been vaguely known to the medical profession for the last four centuries, but which has only been regarded as a recognised and legitimate operation since the second decade of the present century. It is called the transfusion of blood, and consists in the injection into the veins of the exhausted patient of a sufficient quantity—generally from four to six ounces—of the precious life-fluid taken from the arm of a strong and healthy man. Though resorted to, as Dr. Playfair says, ‘only when simpler means have been tried and failed, and when the symptoms indicate that life is on the verge of extinction,’ it is an operation which has proved highly valuable, about 80 per cent. of the cases recorded having been entirely successful. We do not wish, of course, to press the illustration in any literal sense; but, as an analogue of the spiritual process of salvation, it is extremely suggestive. We are saved by *the blood of Christ*, not simply because His ‘blood’ or *atonement* constitutes the ground of our justification or forgiveness (that is entirely true); but we are saved in a still deeper sense by the infusion of His own life, for ‘the blood is the life.’ In that deeply spiritual sense ‘the Good Shepherd giveth His life for the sheep.’ ‘The blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin,’ objectively and outwardly in the way of forgiveness; but it cleanses us also subjectively and inwardly by the infusion of that

Christ-life of which the blood is only the symbol. 'This is a faithful saying and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners.' But what is it to *save sinners*? Let Christ reply, 'I am come that they might have Life, and that they might have it more abundantly.' Sin is Death, Salvation is Life.

'Tis Life, of which our nerves are scant,
More Life and fuller, that we want.

Here, then, I believe, we strike the true conception of salvation—the deepest, fullest, and worthiest interpretation of the glorious reality of human redemption. The venerable, familiar (perhaps, alas! too familiar) word 'salvation' only encloses its full measure of meaning when we identify it with life.* Here is that salvation of character, of inward condition, which we have been seeking as the necessary basis and foundation of the mere salvation of circumstances. 'The kingdom of heaven is, in very truth, not meat and drink, but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.'

But what, it will be asked, do you mean by life? How do you define it? We need not say that we do not mean that mere shadow of life which men call *existence*. There is, as all our readers will be aware, a certain class of interpreters who read all such passages as that we have just been examining in the barest, narrowest, most literal way. Life is to them simply existence; Death the extinction or absence of being. We must say that to us no kind of interpretation seems more shallow and superficial and unspiritual than this. It contradicts the deepest suggestions of all language. To make immortality, or eternal existence, a mere accidental gift conferred upon the soul from the outside, and not inhering in the soul itself, belonging essentially, intrinsically, and by its own nature to the soul, as a soul, is to us one of the most wooden and mechanical conceptions it is possible to hold. It is a conception which has arisen through the necessities of theological polemic, and has been read into the Scriptures as a means of escape from the pressure of certain speculative difficulties rather than fairly and honestly deduced from those Scriptures. Immortality is more than the continuance of consciousness, the bare sense of prolonged existence. Existence is in itself a colourless thing, and may become either a good or an evil. Without the *quality* or *intensity* which differentiates life from mere existence, existence would not be worth having. It is only when 'God gives us enough of Himself to live on'

* See a Sermon in one of the earliest volumes published by Rev. J. Baldwin Brown, B.A., in which, after working out this thought of Salvation independently, we were agreeably surprised to find a confirmation of our views.

that we feel existence to be a good. We attach only a secondary importance to the idea of mere endlessness in that grand New Testament expression, 'eternal life.' There is something beneath that. Why is this life endless? Because it is worthy of being endless. Its richness and fulness are the inner ground and reason of its endlessness. Love is by its own nature immortal. We cannot resist quoting the fine words of Dr. George MacDonald in this connection: 'If we are one with God in heart, in righteousness, in desire, no death can touch us, for we are life: and the garment of immortality, the endless length of days, which is but the mere shadow of the eternal, follows as a simple necessity. He is not the God of the dead or of the dying, but of the essentially alive.' The sense in which I use the word life will now be somewhat clear at any rate. Our modern physicists find it a supremely difficult thing to define what they call life—that is, vitality; and though Herbert Spencer has elaborated a definition which has been immensely admired by those who are in full sympathy with his system of philosophy, it is not too much to say that it leaves the question as to what life is pretty much where he found it. In these circumstances it may seem an act of great temerity on our part to offer any extended definition of spiritual life, but we propose the following as some approximation to the truth of the matter. Life is that inward condition of energetic moral health in which the soul is entirely in harmony with itself and with the Divine will, and entirely given up to the Divine purposes. We will not elaborate this statement further. Let each see in it what light he may. The pulses of that life must be more or less felt before any intellectual definition of it can be rightly judged. 'The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned; but he that is spiritual judgeth all things.'

That the passage from which we have gathered this definition of salvation as life is in perfect harmony with the sense and scope of all the Scripture will be seen at a glance. The thought of life is inwoven with the structure of the Bible from beginning to end. There is nothing more striking than the persistent and recurrent way in which the Scripture sets forth the state of man in sin and his contrasted state in salvation. If there is one mannerism, so to speak, one favourite characteristic mode of statement employed in the Scriptures for that end, it is the constant antithesis between life and death. We cannot begin to quote, for we should not know where to stop. We should have to transcribe more than half the Bible. The tree of life begins

the book of Genesis and closes the book of Revelation. You cannot open a page at a venture but you light upon some aspect of the same thought. It is life first, life midst, life last. No other thought is so persistent or pervasive as this. If any one needs to be convinced of the truth of what we say he has only to take an English concordance and open it at the words 'life' and 'death.' The lists of passages in which these terms are used are longer than almost any other lists he will find.

But not to wander over the whole book, take Christ as reported by John in his Gospel; take John's own epistles; take the writings of Paul, and you will be struck by the fact that in the mind of the Master, and equally in the mind of his two most spiritual and profound apostles, the innermost thought of salvation is that it is God's own life, God's own fulness of being, flooding and flushing the poor obstructed passages of our souls, until the rich tide of that life has submerged and drowned all shapes of selfishness, has swept away all germs of death. 'Mortality is swallowed up of life.'

And now, by way of illustrating and confirming this fundamental intrinsic thought of salvation, let us note carefully how the very words which are used for 'salvation' in all the most developed tongues of the world bear precisely the same witness. The word invariably used for salvation in the New Testament is *sōteria*, and is derived from the root *sōzō*, which means to preserve safe and unharmed, and also to make whole, to cure, to heal, to restore to health and soundness. *Sōteria* is, therefore, the act of preserving or saving, restoration to health, recovery, safety. Springing from the same stock, there is also an adjective—*sōos*—which signifies safe and sound, in a good state, vigorous, well, living. Though the Latin of the best times, as Dr. Trench points out,* had neither '*Salvator*' (*Saviour*), nor the verb '*salvare*,' it had '*salus*' and '*salvus*,' the former meaning health, weal, well-being, and also safety and security; the latter being an adjective, signifying the same as the Greek *sōos*, namely, safe and sound. It was Augustine who first gave currency to the word '*Salvator*' as applied to Christ. As Dr. Trench says, 'he made no scruple about using it, observing, with a true insight into the conditions under which new words should be admitted, that, however '*Salvator*' might not have been good Latin before the Saviour came, He, by His coming, had made it such; for as shadows wait upon substances, so words wait upon things.' The testimony of the French, the German, and the English is practically the same as in the case of the Greek and Latin.

* 'Study of Words. Lecture 5.

We say *practically* the same, because there is this slight difference (which, however, only serves to accentuate the point we are seeking to make) that, while in the earlier languages the same word contains a duality in unity—the two ideas of safe and sound embodied in one expression—the tendency of modern tongues is to furnish each separate thought with a separate word to express it. The French say *sain et sauf*; we say ‘safe and sound,’ while the Germans have two words still more distinctly separated—*sicher* and *gesund*—to set forth the two conceptions. It ought to be noted, however, that in the German language the word *Heil*, from *heilen*, to heal or to grow well, is used for safety or salvation, as, for instance, in the opening line of a translation of our ‘Rock of Ages, cleft for me,’

‘Fels des ‘Heils’ geöffnet mir.’

Now, what we ought to do is to seek to get back to the old unity of conception on this subject. Let us cease to divorce the two ideas of safe and sound.* Let these two English words be fused into one, or considered as one, and then we are in possession of a full equivalent for the respective words which the Greek and the Roman employed. We are fully aware, of course, that ‘no heathen word or phrase can come up to or correspond with the same term used in a Christian sense.’† We are aware that the entering into the world of the new spiritual forces of the Christian revelation necessitated a new terminology—or rather, to speak more correctly, the deepening and widening of the already-existing channels of human speech, just as a suddenly-swollen river will naturally overflow its old bed and seek fresh and larger outlets; so that M. Renan can speak truly in *Les Apôtres* of ‘the enormous violence which language suffered at the hands of the early Christians’; but that is exactly what we contend for in this case. The Christian Gospel did not take away, did not abstract the old meaning of these words, in order to put an entirely new and different one in its place. On the contrary, this is what it did. It put new vigour and force into the old meaning, saturated it with a spiritual expressiveness it had never possessed before—did not, in a word, take life out of it, but put life into it. The old words still meant *safe and sound*, still conveyed the double conception of safety and health, but in an infinitely truer and deeper way than ever before. Previously, the significance of these terms had been but sensuous and earthly; now they became spiritual and heavenly in their import; from being the mark or token of a mere bounded and physical well-being the old words entered into the new

* Rev. J. Baldwin Brown.

† Cassell's Latin Dictionary.

and nobler service of symbolising the divine and boundless blessedness of the soul to whom the Lord of Life gives His life, and gives it more abundantly.

The only safety, then, lies in soundness. The soundness is the necessary condition of the safety. As Thomas Erskine finely puts it—
 ‘Restoration to spiritual health, or conformity to the divine character, is the ultimate object of God in his dealings with the children of men. Whatever else God hath done with regard to men has been subsidiary and with a view to this; even the unspeakable work of Christ, and pardon offered freely through His cross, have been but means to a farther end; and that end is that the adopted children of the family of God might be conformed to the likeness of their elder brother—that they might resemble Him in character and thus enter into His joy. The sole object of the Christian belief is to produce the Christian character; and unless this is done, nothing is done.’

We may find a suggestive elucidation of our subject in a brief consideration of the miracles of the Saviour. We will at once start the question—what do they mean? We are convinced that the strong reaction against the miraculous which we witness in these times may largely be accounted for by the mechanical and material aspect in which miracles have been presented, and by the way in which they have been sharply divorced from the other elements of our Lord’s ministry. John invariably calls them ‘*signs*’ (*semeia*). But of what are the miracles signs? As we take it, they are signs, first, of the Divine mission of Christ, but even then only to be interpreted by their moral environment and subordinated, as evidences, to the *self-evidential* character of Christ’s person and work (see John xiv. 11); secondly, signs of the constant presence and energising of God in the world—that is to say, signs that God is as much present in the ordinary physical processes called *laws* as when He seems to modify these laws by what are called supernatural interferences; and, thirdly, signs of the spiritual life.

It is in this last view that we wish to direct attention to the miracles more especially. They are not mere wonderful exhibitions of power, but carry a distinct moral impress, and contain a profound spiritual significance as illustrating, *because they are in complete harmony with*, Christ’s great spiritual purpose of salvation. Christ’s economy of miracle is very suggestive. He invariably refused to confer signs, on mere idle curiosity, on those who did not possess the requisite conditions of spiritual receptivity. His miracles were not mere vulgar wonders, addressed to the senses, but moral manifestations

of the deepest import, addressed to the inner soul. His chief miracles, nay, almost the whole of them, were wrought for the purpose of communicating physical health and life, of restoring diseased men to soundness and strength; but this physical restoration was with Him only the outer visible image of a deeper spiritual healing. Life both for body and soul was what He came to impart. His sympathies were with wholeness, soundness, health, vigorous life both physically and spiritually. We sometimes say that Christ had sympathy with weakness and helplessness, and that is blessedly true. But it was only that He might convert such weakness into strength. 'He will not break the bruised reed nor quench the smoking flax,' but it is that He may 'send forth judgment unto victory.' Christ sought and seeks strength, but with an infinite pitifulness. And between the physical miracles which He wrought on men's bodies and the spiritual miracles which He came to perform for their souls there is, let us be sure, a profound spiritual correspondence. In this sense His miraculous works were truly signs of the spiritual life. When John Foster nobly said that miracles were the great bell of the universe, rung to call attention to the sermon which was to follow, he stated, after all, only half the truth. They were not simply meant to arrest attention and to give impressiveness to the sermon—they were sermons in themselves, sermons in act, sermons in very deed. The life which Christ infused into the bodies of men was the outer type and emblem of the more abundant life, the eternal salvation with which He came to endow the human spirit.

And now, with a word or two on the conditions of this salvation, we will close. These conditions are all summed up in the one New Testament word, *faith*. 'Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved.' But what is this faith? Can we present to ourselves a clear, mental image of it? We may be sure, first of all, that, whatever it is, it is, by its own nature, fitted to be to us the inter-medium of salvation. It cannot be a merely *formal* condition. There must be in it some element of intrinsic, natural adaptation, by reason of which it is set forth as the sole, indispensable condition of salvation. We may not be able fully to discover what that is, but we must believe that it is present nevertheless. We cannot but conclude that men are saved by faith in Christ, not because God has appointed faith as the condition of salvation simply of His own arbitrary, absolute, sovereign will, apart from any consideration of natural fitness, but because the Divine appointment is grounded upon the very essential nature of faith as a vital bond of connection between the sinner

and the Saviour. How constantly do Christ and His Apostles connect Faith with Life! 'He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life, but he that believeth not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him.' 'These (signs) are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that, believing, ye might have life through His name.' 'I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, because it is the power of God unto salvation to everyone that believeth: for therein is the righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith, as it is written, The just shall live by faith.'

What, then, is this vital faith which forms the fit and appropriate 'organ' of salvation? May it not be, is it not, in its ultimate analysis, a part, an emanation of the spirit and life which are in Christ Himself? What else can connect us livingly with Him? May it not be the incipient stirrings, the nascent flutterings of that same life which, in its richer developments, is called salvation? May it not be that very life dawning in the soul? May it not be the embryonic, rudimental form of the full salvation? May not faith be *salvation begun* in the most literal and actual sense? If it be objected that this view (which we have stated in the interrogative form as not wishing to dogmatise) seems to involve a contradiction and to make the Scriptures say, 'You must have salvation before you can be saved,' we reply that, in harmony with Scriptural teaching, there is a deep, spiritual sense in which that is true. There is no contradiction when you distinguish between an initial and a developed salvation, and when it is remembered that the former *must* be the condition and antecedent of the latter.

There must be 'first the blade and then the ear, and then the full corn in the ear;' but they are all in the same line of development. There must be a seed-corn in the ground before there can be corn in the ear, just in the same way as there must be the seed of salvation, which we call faith, before there can be the full salvation itself. They do not differ in kind, but only in degree. Or, to put it in another way, Christ, the Eternal Logos, is the true Light, which lighteth every man who cometh into the world. That Light is constantly brooding over men, and it is only through such Divine illumination that a man can receive Christ and get the power to become a son of God at all. He cannot himself create the light. When the Light diffuses itself in his soul and awakes him to a sense of its presence, so that he consents to be led onward by its influence to the Source of it, the Sun of Righteousness Himself, is not that just the state of soul which the Scriptures

call Faith? But what has made him thus consent to seek the personal Saviour but his experience—imperfect, it may be, but, in its measure, real—of something of that very Light and Life of which he now desires to know and possess more? Christ has revealed something of His Life to that man in order that he may long and seek for more; and what is such longing and seeking but the Scripture attitude of Faith? He that believeth on the Son *hath* Life, because Faith itself is incipient Life. Perhaps I am thinking and speaking here of faith in its highest and most spiritual exercise; but all forms of faith, strong or weak, high or low, must contain something of this vital element. They are strong in proportion as they have it, and weak in proportion as they have it not. This is the only spiritual nexus which can so bind men to Christ that they live in Him. There can only be abiding union where there is the truest affinity and likeness. To have something of Christ in us is the sole link of connection with Him which can be enduring. All others will inevitably dissolve or be sundered. We have an intelligent and spiritually-minded friend who holds that there can be no true faith without love, and we suspect that between his view and our own there is, when both are duly analysed, very little difference. But we will not pile up any more words around the great realities of Salvation and Faith lest we hide them instead of helping to disclose them. We could wish heartily that some one with the requisite intellectual and spiritual gifts would undertake to elucidate for us the essential nature of faith. Meanwhile, we may ponder deeply the pregnant words of the beloved disciple, ‘He that believeth on the Son of God hath the witness in himself. And the witness is this, that God gave unto us eternal life, and this Life is in His Son. He that hath the Son hath the Life, and he that hath not the Son hath not the Life.’

JOHN DAY THOMPSON.

VII.—THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE OF FAITH.

FIRST, *Faith a Human Faculty*.—There has been much said and written in regard of faith, and we think sometimes confusedly ; but if a candid and thoughtful appeal is made to the Scriptures and to our moral sense, there need not be mist and uncertainty about it. We are all aware that the term faith is sometimes used in an objective sense, meaning *that which is believed*, as when we speak of a person being of such a faith or belief: ‘The faith as it is in Christ Jesus;’ ‘The faith once delivered to the saints;’ ‘The Word of faith which we preach;’ ‘The faith for which the martyrs died.’ Here we have objective faith, or that which is believed. But active faith is believing assent given to declaration, fact, truth, promise, &c., on the veracity of others ; it is reliance of mind on stated truth or promise, and comprehends the principle of *trust* that is in the mind. Faith, then, is an active principle ; it is the mind’s action put forth by its own powers in relation to the fitting objects presented for its acceptance. ‘Faith,’ said the apostle, ‘is the substance’—the conviction and assurance—‘of things hoped for, the evidence’ of taking as truth ‘things not seen.’

We are so constituted that we are *necessitated* to believe, in many respects, on account of our limited faculties. We are unable to see, examine, and know personally everything. Innumerable things are not objects of the senses ; and we *have* to believe them on testimony, or deny their existence, simply because of the limitedness of our capacities. But in relation to God, Christ, the way of salvation, and to our responsibility and duty connected therewith, there is not a *necessary* faith, but a voluntary one. Like any other faculty of the body or mind, faith, in its exercise, is human ability put forth. I look with my eyes on an object ; I handle with my hands, and I walk voluntarily ; I also love, and hope, and exercise a filial fear as acts of my will. The will governs. The element of will is in all these operations. We know they would and *could* not be performed without this element of voluntary will-power. And faith is the same kind of mental faculty as love, hope, &c., and it is the gift of God only in the same sense in which love, hope, and fear are His gifts. They are all God-implemented faculties, to be used by man in the exercise of his moral sense, his reason, his intelligence, and executive

will-power. Faith viewed in this natural and true light, as an act of voluntary human ability, rationally, and Scripturally, agrees with the Divine requirement of man *to believe*, and with the condemnation pronounced against unbelief. Were man really passive in regard of faith, where would be the reason and justice of condemnation for lack of faith or for unbelief? Is man accountable for anything in which he is absolutely passive? Our natural reason, our laws of society, our whole civil and social arrangements, and all the common sense of life, theoretic and practical, answer *No*. If our understanding and will are not exercised in a thing, it is alike flagrantly absurd and unjust to be made responsible for it. Faith, then, cannot be the gift of God in the *literal* sense, because it is required *doing*; it is human *action*. The eyes and brain are God's gifts; but seeing and thinking are our own acts, and therefore cannot be the gifts of God, except in the *accommodating* sense of being so counted, as the use of *given* faculties. And, of course, it can only be in the same sense that faith, as an active principle, is God's gift. It is the use of given faculty. We have life from God; but our doings in life are not His doings, but our own in the exercise of the life-power with which we are gifted by Him. If it be said faith is the *gift* of God, the significance of such an affirmation must be confined, in all reason and truth, to the accommodating sense of His having *given Gospel truth* as the object of faith, which truth we are called upon to believe; and also because, when faith is *exercised*, the mind exercising it is *assisted* by the Holy Spirit, which helpeth man's spiritual infirmities.

The Apostle's language in Eph. ii. 8 does not teach that faith is God's gift. 'By grace are ye saved through faith, and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God: not of works, lest any man should boast.' Here is the whole period. And we candidly ask, What is its evident teaching but that salvation is by grace, and not of human merit? and, therefore, that our *being saved* is not of ourselves, but by grace, as God's gift, received by us through faith? The passage no more teaches that faith is God's gift—because I receive His grace through my own act of faith—than that love to a parent or friend is God's gift, when I exercise the power of love with which I am constitutionally possessed. Yea, much less, inasmuch as the passage does not contain a shadow of meaning that faith is God's gift, but that through faith we obtain salvation by grace. And, without dogmatizing, the affirmation may be ventured that all the Scripture passages that some have explained as teaching that saving faith—faith as the receptive, active power of salvation is literally a Divine gift—must be

fairly explained to the contrary; and a true principle of exegesis, unbiassed by preconception, will make this manifest; for no isolated textual interpretation, by a fair rule of exegesis, can be allowed to destroy or turn aside the obvious drift and purpose of the general tenor of Divine truth in regard to faith.

We call attention to Heb. xii. 2. Paul, exhorting the Hebrew Christians to patient effort in their life race, speaks of them 'looking to Jesus, the author and finisher of *our faith*.' Faith, in this text, is objective, clearly meaning *what* the parties addressed *believed*, of *what faith* they were; and, being Christians, it was the faith 'as it is in Jesus.' He, of course, is both the author and finisher of the glorious system of truth and doctrine which formed the *belief* or *faith* of those Christians. They were to hold on as believers, patiently endure in the career on which they had entered, looking to the all-sufficient Author and Finisher of their faith, the faith which had been delivered to them and to all the saints. We believe this view of the passage in question cannot be controverted. There is an utter absence here of the barest idea of faith, as an active principle, being the gift of God. We adduce one more quotation, and it shall suffice, viz., Cor. xii. 9. The subject of the Apostle in the context is that of *special* spiritual gifts, gifts of miracle, and their diversity, as bestowed by the Holy Spirit. Such special gifts, we all know, accompanied the early stages of the Christian Church, and in many instances exorcists and magicians pretended to work miracles by the power of the Holy Ghost. The Apostle said to the Corinthians, no man could 'call Jesus Lord but by the Holy Ghost;' that is, no man could own Jesus as Lord and *live his faith*—and probably it meant so much as to imply *perform miracles*, so as to prove that faith—but by the Holy Ghost. 'For to one is given, by the Spirit, the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge by the same Spirit; to another *faith* by the same Spirit,' &c. Matthew Henry rightly says of this passage:—'To another faith,' &c.—'that is, the faith of miracles, or a faith in the Divine power and promise, whereby they were enabled to work miracles; or an extraordinary impulse from above, whereby they were enabled to trust God in any emergency and go on in the way of their duty, and own and profess the truths of Christ, whatever were the difficulty and danger.' This faith, then, was a miracle-performing power given to some of the early Christians, who had *already* believed in Christ and were of the household of faith. Hence, there is not an iota of reference in the passage before us respecting faith unto salvation, faith by which we enter into the Chris-

tian life, and by which we continue therein, being the gift of God; and we cannot find any portion of the Book of Inspiration that teaches that doctrine. Indeed, such a thing is impossible, in our view, inasmuch as, were it the case, it would destroy the consistency and fitness of all that God has said relative to faith and unbelief, as being functions of human ability, according to the decision and execution of the human will.

The whole scope of the Bible in using the words 'believe,' 'trust,' and 'faith,' as an active principle, and also their opposites, 'unbelief,' 'faithless,' &c., and the praise and condemnation attaching to them, most obviously show that faith is something required of man within the exercise of his own powers; and, therefore, is *not* the gift of God—except in the *accommodating sense* named—but man's own act, for which he is held responsible. 'He that believeth is not condemned; but he that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the name of the only begotten Son of God.' 'Have faith in God.' These words, and many more of the same import, are words of Jesus. They mean something, and they carry on their very face the unmistakable significance that man is responsible for his faith; and, therefore, that it is not literally the gift of God. But as He has given the Gospel to be believed, and also promised the aid of the Holy Spirit, while we hold that faith is absolutely man's act and the product of voluntary power, there is beautiful consistency in the prayer of the disciples when they said, '*Lord, increase our faith,*' and in the words of the earnest man to Jesus, '*Lord, I believe; help Thou mine unbelief.*' The request for an increase of faith, in the first case, was for the *same Divine help* to be given to faith as was asked in the latter case against unbelief. God can only increase our faith by rendering *assistance* to our own willing, striving souls to exercise it, and help to send our unbelief away. The opposite of this, or more than this, would be contrary to what He has already done in giving us the faculty of faith, and requiring its free and voluntary use—according to the light and truth presented—under the penalty of condemnation.

What is the position, in all sound reason, of those who say man has no ability in himself to believe and obey God? It is this. If I am not a believer, it is because God does not give me faith. If repentance and faith are irrespective of the exercise of free will, and even of my voluntary acquiescence, it cannot be my fault if I do *not* repent and believe. If I am sinful by creation, and am powerless in obeying God's calls and in accepting by faith the provided means of salvation, the reason why I am unsaved must necessarily be for want

of essential faculties—which are special Divine gifts—which I have not had bestowed upon me, and that are beyond my own power. And as, if ever I am saved by faith in Christ, and if it must be by a faith that has no element of will or choice in it on my part, but the result of receptive faculty that I do not constitutionally possess, how can I be responsible in relation thereto; and, consequently, be condemned for not believing? To affirm that faith is the gift of God, in such a sense as to exclude man's voluntary ability to believe *any time when enlightened and when the object of faith is presented*, inevitably leads to this issue. And what contradiction, jumble, and absurdity a view like this throws into the whole current of plain, peremptory requirements and injunctions contained in a thousand places of Scripture for man to believe in God and in Christ the Saviour.

The Divine call is, 'Repent and believe the Gospel. Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved,' &c., &c., all of which can mean nothing else but that man has power in himself, which he is called upon to use, to believe in *God and His Word*, as well as in the veracity and word of a fellow-being. In the passages just quoted the Gospel and the Lord Jesus Christ are presented as objects to faith, their appropriate faculty; and we, possessing that faculty, are *enjoined to believe* in them.

It may be also observed here that *trust* is an essential element of faith, and can have no meaning but as an exercise of human power. This is most prominently and emphatically set forth in God's Word. 'Commit thy way unto the Lord, *trust* in Him.' 'Be merciful unto me, O my God,' said David, 'for my soul *trusteth in Thee*.' We all know that to trust is willingly and from choice to give credit to, to confide in, to depend and rely on; and the faith we are required to exercise in order to be saved, when the convinced, awakened Saul utters the same question that came from the trembling, anxious jailor at Philippi, is credence of God's truth, confidence in God's faithfulness and love, and reliance on the same Lord Jesus Christ, on whom he was told to believe. 'Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth.'

Second, *Faith a Condition of Salvation*.—It has been frequently affirmed that faith is not a condition, but a fruit of saving grace. The theory is this, that if Jesus, by His atonement, satisfied law and justice for guilty man, then he is freed from condemnation, and must be saved *unconditionally*; and, therefore, faith is a fruit of grace bestowed. But this is an unscriptural view of the whole plan of salvation. The atonement was arranged for and executed by God; and

when made it was God's, and not man's. God owed man no debt to law and justice, but man owed a vast debt to Him. Had man been able to make atonement equivalent to the debt of forfeited obedience, and done it, then he would have freed himself from condemnation by the payment of an equivalent price, and must have been saved on the ground of the satisfaction which he had produced. But the complete opposite of this is the fact. The atonement of Christ opened the way to Divine forgiveness by shifting the more than mountain barrier that stood between God and the sinner's pardon, which consisted in the claims of public justice and the eternal honour of moral government, and thus made it possible for mercy and righteousness, love and justice, to embrace each other in the sinner's justification. This was all the outcome of Infinite love. 'God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son; that whosoever believeth on Him should not perish, but have everlasting life.' 'Herein is love; not that we loved God, but that He loved us, and sent His Son to be the propitiation for our sins.' Thus, Jesus is the way to God, the way that was opened through the rent veil of His flesh, namely, the propitiation He made for the sins of the world: and therefore He can 'save to the uttermost all them that come to God through Him.' But this way, though freely open, is of no avail if sinners do not come to God by it; if they count the blood of the covenant wherewith Christ was set apart to the office of mediator a common and worthless thing and do 'despite to the Spirit of grace,' they might reject provided mercy. Now, what is this coming to God? It is evidently the condition upon which the benefits of the Saviour's purchase are obtained. It is synonymous with repentance of sin and faith in God's love and Christ's redeeming work, and is most emphatically insisted on throughout the New Testament. Jesus said, 'Ye will not come to me that ye might have life.' 'If any man thirst, let him come unto Me and drink.' 'He that believeth on Me * * * out of his heart shall flow rivers of living water.' Hence, we see *coming* and *believing* are exactly of the same import. As the atonement was provided by God, He had a perfect right to appoint conditions upon which its benefits could be enjoyed. We repeat, the atonement was His. His wondrous love removed the otherwise insuperable difficulty, so that the great extremes of sin and justification could be bridged; and He only requires man to cease his rebellion and have salvation by grace through faith.

It has also been held and affirmed that in God there is internal reconciliation with all sinners who ever will be saved. It appears to us that this, substantially, is the before-mentioned theory in another

aspect. Those who entertain this view shrink not from the avowed belief that God has really forgiven men and is reconciled to them while in their sins; that, when in the height of their rebellion and in the depth of their iniquities He treats them as His children; and that they are in this saved state irrespective of either repentance or faith. Hence, faith can be no condition of forgiveness in any case. This is, we are told, the foundation in the Divine character of the work of grace in man; and that existing internal reconciliation of the mind of God is proffered in the Gospel as an objective gift, God having forgiven them already for Christ's sake. The pervading idea of all this is, that Christ has not only done all which was needful in the way of merit, but that everything conditional—acquiescence of will, submission to God, repentance, and faith, are so many mere conditional nullities, and that man has truly no moral agency in relation to the vastly momentous matters that concern him as an immortal and accountable being.

But it is the definite teaching of the Gospel that salvation is by personal faith. Faith is declared to be the receptive power by which we receive and trust in Christ. 'As many as received Him (Jesus) to them gave He power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe in His name.' (John i. 2.) 'These things are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that, believing, ye might have life in His name.' (John xx. 31.) 'He that heareth My Word and believeth on Him that sent Me hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation, but is passed from death unto life.' (John v. 24.) God hath set forth Jesus 'to be a propitiation through faith in His blood, to declare His righteousness for the remission of sins that are past.' (Romans iii. 24, &c.) 'To him that worketh not, but believeth on Him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness.' (Romans iv. 5.) 'To Him give all the prophets witness that through His name whosoever believeth on Him shall receive remission of sins.' (Acts x. 43.) 'Ye are the children of God by faith in Jesus Christ.' (Gal. iii. 26.) 'A man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Christ.' (Gal. ii. 16.) Jesus said to the sorrowful, weeping, penitent woman who washed His feet with tears and wiped them with the hair of her head, 'Thy sins be forgiven thee. Thy faith hath saved thee.' What else is taught in all these pointed Scriptures but that faith is the great required condition upon which we receive Christ, pass from death unto life, obtain remission of sins, become justified persons, and have life everlasting? If faith is not such a condition, then much of the language of the Bible is utterly without meaning.

It has been further said that repentance and faith, if they are conditions of salvation, must be considered works, which would be opposite to the Scripture teaching, 'To him that worketh is the reward not reckoned of grace, but of debt.' (Rom. iv. 4.) In Rom. iv. the Apostle shows that Abraham's faith, and not his works, was the ground of his being justified before God. Faith was imputed, counted, reckoned to him for righteousness, for 'he staggered not at the promise of God through unbelief,' and against all human hope, with respect to seed, &c., believed in hope, based upon God's word and promise. And it was not written for Abraham's sake alone that faith was counted for righteousness, but for ours also, to whom it shall be counted if we believe on Him who 'was delivered for our offences and raised again for our justification. Therefore, being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ.' The Apostle's argument is, justification on the very condition of faith instead of works of merit.

Faith is a *conditional work only*, and belongs to quite another category than that of meritorious works. Its very design and function, in the evangelical sense, is confined to the ground of receiving undeserved favour from God, redemption from sin's guilt and curse, and the gift of eternal life, comprehended in the glorious covenant of promise given in Christ Jesus. The meaning, therefore, of faith as a conditional work is the farthest remove from the unmistakable sense of the Apostle's words, 'By the deeds of the law shall no flesh living be justified.' Were an offender to pay a sum of money to be pardoned, or were he to render years of service without reward as equivalent for the wrong done, he then certainly would obtain pardon by works; but if the injured party promised forgiveness on condition of confession of the wrong and suing for pardon, and if the condition were fulfilled, could this conditional work be truthfully put in the same category as the payment of money for pardon, or the rendering of long service for the same end? No, indeed. The offender would have pardon *by grace* through the *condition* prescribed. So it is with God and man. We are saved 'by grace through faith, and that not of ourselves; it is the gift of God.'

What a miserably absurd plea it would be to say of a drowning man, for whose rescue kind hands and hearts on shore had sent a boat or thrown a rope to his very side, which he could easily reach, that he had been saved from perishing by his own works because he had availed himself of the provided means of help by accepting it and taking hold of boat or rope, and thus being delivered from a watery grave! And

is it not an equally miserable and senseless plea to affirm that if the soul's salvation, brought nigh to us by Christ, is to be had on *condition of a believing* acceptance of it, that it must be regarded as salvation by works, on account of the conditional faith which God has prescribed? Certainly not.

We now offer a few observations on the *nature* of this conditional evangelical faith. It is obvious from Scripture that it is not merely simple assent to the truth that Christ died for our sins, but a *trust of heart* in connection with an intellectual belief of the truth concerning Christ. Thousands intellectually believe the truth of the Gospel who do not give themselves to Christ in a solemn covenant of personal trust for salvation. Hence it is a fact that faith unto salvation must have in it more than bare assent; it must have *heart* in it and the element of *will-trust*. It is plainly taught in the Gospel that the *proffer* of forgiveness is based on the atoning work of Christ, through whom God is just and the Justifier of him that believeth; and that forgiveness can only be had by an appropriating faith, in which we give ourselves to Christ and take Him to our hearts—a faith which, in addition to a reception into the intellect of the *historic Christ*, is trustful acceptance of Him as a personal Saviour. When the eunuch asked what should hinder him being baptized, Philip said, 'If thou believest *with all thine heart*, thou mayest.' 'With the *heart* man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.' Heart faith, the clinging of the soul to Christ in trustful reliance, as well as theoretic belief, is the great requisite. This is the faith that takes hold of the purchased and promised forgiveness and of Divine acceptance.

Christ Himself beautifully illustrated this by the case of the brazen serpent. The dying people were healed through an act of obedient faith. Their looking to the uplifted serpent was a voluntary act, performed by their own ability, and not by a compulsive faith, as the gift of God, as some teach, must be the case with repentant, believing sinners who come to Christ. Theirs was a look of faith in God's promised engagement that they should live on condition of looking to the appointed, elevated serpent. It was to them a strange *mystery* that they were to be healed and have life by such means. There was nothing either in the material or form of the object to which they were to look that could reach the deadly venom that was burning in the life-current of their blood and producing agony and death. Those who looked trusted God in what He said through Moses. They believed in the *great mystery*, that in connection with the required

look, by Divine interposition, unseen, and in a way unknown to them, they would live. And 'As Moses lifted up the serpent,' so has the *Godman, Jesus*, been lifted up, 'that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life.' It was not for the dying Israelites to say, in presumptuous unbelief, Why adopt such a plan? Where is the adaptation between such means and the end of salvation from this bitter, painful, lingering death? What of the brazen serpent or the looking? It was God's simple method. And though the people could not understand the how and wherefore of the case, they had nothing to do with that. It was their part to give a submissive, obedient look of faith in obedience to God's Word, and have life as His gift. So in the bleeding victim of Calvary's Cross we see God's method of deliverance from perishing and the giving of eternal life to those that look with believing hearts to Him who was set forth a propitiation through faith in His blood. It is the moral power that centered in the death, agony, and blood of the Son of Man and the Son of God crucified for us that has opened the way by which the believing sinner may escape perishing and lay hold of the gift of everlasting life. That moral power availed—though we can only see it as through a glass darkly—to harmonise the functions of law, justice, and mercy in the free justification of him who, with broken and contrite heart, believeth in Jesus.

Third, *Faith, a Necessary Continuous Exercise in Christian life.*—The ideal of some persons relative to religion is belief in a code of ceremonies, in a round of church forms, and in a certain line of outward moral conduct, while it does not take in the fact that Christianity is an experimental power, an inward life, *maintained* by ever-abiding faith. And may it not also be said that some others seem to conclude that the *one act of faith* at the time of conversion, when in penitent suit they came to God and *believed* to the forgiveness of sins, was almost all the faith that is necessary? At least, this apparently has been on the face of what one has often heard. The thought has not sufficiently possessed them that the whole of *Christian life* is made up of a continuous faith, like that which was exercised at the time of conversion—faith that is a recognition with the mind and an acceptance with the heart of God as *He is*, full of love, tender, gracious and merciful, through the atoning work of Jesus Christ. Such a living faith is always necessary.

There is a higher life than that which is physical and sensuous, or than that which is to-day, and to-morrow is no more. Yes, there is an unseen inner world, the world of spiritual being. In it a life

from Heaven is shared by man in virtue of his faith in the Divine and Invisible. This life, though unseen by us with the outer eye of sense, is, nevertheless, by no means unknown. It is known to faith. Faith is its adapted faculty, inasmuch as it is spiritual in its source, its objects and effects. The true type of Christian estate is a Divine life lived by faith. Faith unites the soul with God when it is first morally renewed and transformed, enabling it to live in Him and for Him; and it is only by ever-abounding faith that this life can be sustained, perpetuated, and perfected.

This was a Pauline faith: 'I am crucified with Christ; nevertheless, I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me; and the life I now live in the flesh I live *by the faith* of the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me.' (Gal. ii. 20.) 'I know whom I have believed, and am persuaded that He is able to keep that which I have committed to Him against that day.' (2 Tim. i. 12.) 'The just shall live by faith.' 'Thou standest by faith.' 'We walk by faith, and not by sight.' (Rom. i. 17. 2 Cor. i. 24.)

This is the faith of assurance, and it can be abiding in the darkest day of sorrow, in the deepest tangle of perplexity, in the roughest and hardest conflicts of principle, under the heaviest burdens of turmoil and care, in the hottest furnace of trial, and through the ever-shifting mutations of time and humanity, because God and His truth are changeless—the same now and for ever. He is the same loving Father, the same best, greatest Friend, the same good and righteous Lord, as when in ages gone He gave the revelation of His grace and sent His Son to accomplish redemption's work, and the same as when he enfolded in His arms of mercy our believing souls, and implanted in them His own peace and joy. 'Whom, having not seen, we love; in whom, though now we see Him not, yet believing, we rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory.' To what a grand height does Christian privilege rise through faith's prerogative! When the heaven's gather in blackness, when storms rage in howling blasts, when temptations come like descending hail, when destruction threatens, and when sin, earth, and hell unitedly assail, it is faith's prerogative to stand in calm unruffled majesty, standing on the eternal rock of God's changeless love and truth.

The possessors of this faith of assurance can say, '*Now* are we the sons of God' And it is a matter of permanent consciousness; not the subject of uncertain inference and doubtful conjecture, but a blessed assurance, a conscious certainty. It is known by faith. It rests on God's

promise, on the witness of the Holy Spirit, and on the testimony of man's own renewed spirit. The voice from Heaven is answered by the voice from within, saying, '*Now* are we the sons of God.' This is a faith that does not merely pertain to creed, nor to facts of history, nor to theologies; but it is the vital cord that connects man's spirit with God, the Infinite Spirit. It is, too, the means of spiritual nourishment by which the inner life is lived. This life, thus sustained and lived, presents itself to my consciousness. It is my inmost self intuitively apprehending what I am—myself knowing myself. If I know anything and am sure of anything, I know what pertains to my inner life. 'He that believeth on the Son of God hath the witness in himself.' (1 John v. 10.)

This assurance of vital connection 'with God and of being His children and heirs to life eternal is *held* by a constant living faith. If it be not held fast, that life necessarily must cease of which faith is the means. Let faith cease or die; let it be supplanted or destroyed by self, the world and sin, and Divine Sonship is sacrificed; for 'We are the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus.' Also, as faith is the means of spiritual nourishment, by which the life of God is sustained in the soul, if the soul cast away its confidence in God, making shipwreck of obedient faith, then, as a natural, certain consequence, there cannot be existent spiritual life. No end can be answered in anything if essential means thereto are withdrawn. And no more can true Christian life continue without a continuous operative faith than a watch can keep moving and tell the time without its mainspring. We stand, live, and walk, says the infallible Word, as God's children by faith. This is the true perseverance of the saints—the holding confidence and trust in God steadfast unto the end; *not* being of those that draw back, but of them that believe to the final saving of the soul. Paul, who had lived his life in the flesh by the faith of the Son of God, could exclaim, at the finish of life in the flesh, 'I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept *the faith*; henceforth is laid up for me a crown of righteousness.'

In the foregoing observations we have noticed faith as a human faculty, for which man is held accountable, and which God requires him to use in belief of the truth of what He has said concerning Himself and His Son, and concerning human duty; that faith is an indispensable condition of justifying grace, and that a constant, living faith is also a necessary condition, as man's act, of the continued possession of spiritual union with God; that the whole scope of Scripture argu-

ment, appeal, and injunction can only have reasonableness, fitness, and unity; on such grounds; and that Divine Sovereignty and man's accountability *must and do* completely accord with the nature, requirements, and results of faith on this basis.

Would God that the time may soon come when our orthodoxies and theologies shall be so pared, smoothed, simplified, and harmonised with the common-sense tenor of the Divine Word, and with what God has done in His creative and moral economy, that the Christian faith—the scheme of Christian doctrine—shall be presented to man's intellect and heart in *its own beautiful unity*.

THOMAS CROMPTON, Canada.

VIII.—HINTS ON CONNEXIONAL EVANGELISM:

AN ADDRESS.

CAN the evangelistic work of the Connexion be regarded as satisfactory? If not, what can be done to improve it?

From the beginning of their history Primitive Methodists have been remarkable for their energetic evangelistic labours. In all sections of Christ's Church their past successes and present position and prospects have been and are the subjects of sympathetic remark. Need we wonder at this, for, little more than seventy years ago, Primitive Methodism had neither a name nor a place among the churches of our land, but to-day about six hundred thousand souls are directly influenced and guided by its teachings, and its places of worship are studded all over the land. So rapid, indeed, has been its progress that, 'according to this time, it shall be said of Jacob and of Israel, What hath God wrought? Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto Thy name give glory for Thy mercy and for Thy truth's sake.' If I am, therefore, to give an answer to the question before us, I shall most certainly affirm, in sight of the present position and prospects of the Connexion, that its evangelistic work, on the whole, has been satisfactory, and that, taking into account its feeble origin, its small means and surrounding circumstances, it would be ungenerous to find fault or complain. We would rather speak forth words of commendation and blessing upon our fathers in the ministry and upon the societies which have done so well. But if I am to restrict the question to the *present and past two or three years* of the Connexion's working life, we would reply in the language of the Conference to the societies under its care. The address for 1879 says:—'Part of the work of the Conference, as you are aware, is to review the labour of the year which closes with the assembly, and we regret to say the retrospect has not been in all respects satisfactory. The returns of members show a decrease of 171. This is not a large decrease, certainly, but it is painful to report a decrease at all.' The address for 1880 says:—'The review of the past year, which the Conference in the discharge of its duties had to undertake, was not in all respects pleasant. A decrease is again reported in our membership. This is far from satisfactory, and ought to lead to deep searching of heart before God.'

Brethren, is it not a sad fact that the last year's* labours of 1,041

* This Paper was written before last Conference.

ministers, 14,244 local preachers, 10,220 class-leaders, working in 5,918 chapels and other preaching rooms, have resulted in a decrease of 101 members? Why, if each society *now* established could only report a nett increase of one or two members per year, the Connexional increase would be counted by thousands. That seems but a small affair for a society to accomplish in twelve months, and yet how few societies really do it. There are many societies that talk as though they were doing it when they really are not. Some of these talking societies have not even maintained their ground for years; down, down, down has been the order of the day with them. They have substituted *talk* for *work*, legislation for action; and it does not pay, and it never will pay. The old worn-out members say that things are not as they used to be in such places, and they are quite right. The old fire of holy zeal is burning itself out, and the glory is well nigh departed from such societies. They are become languid, helpless, spiritless. We know societies and circuits which used to be aggressive and flourishing that now seem to be utterly powerless, and they can hardly manage to live at all. How is this? There must be a cause, and we think the cause is not far to seek. Are not these societies crawling on all fours instead of walking uprightly? Are they not grumbling, fault-finding, and back-biting, until they have neither the time nor the disposition to work for Christ? They are constantly looking at their difficulties, and are full of doubts and fears and gloomy forebodings instead of rejoicing in the triumph of faith. They are poor, soulless societies. We cannot, therefore, regard the evangelistic work of the Connexion as being altogether satisfactory at the present time. What, then, can be done to improve it?

First, we would suggest that all our preachers, itinerant and local, and all the office-bearers of our several societies, should carefully read and re-study the history of the origin and progress of the Connexion. How and why is it that Primitive Methodism exists at all as a separate and distinct church? What were the leading characteristics which distinguished its early history from the rest of the churches? Surely there must have been a 'Divine reason' for its distinct origin and separate existence as a branch of Christ's universal church. It is well known to those who have carefully studied its origin that Primitive Methodism is not a *split* from any of the other churches, but that it is a real, natural growth. God planted and reared the seedling in spite of many opposing influences, and now it has grown into a sturdy, giant tree, under whose branches thousands and tens of thousands in this and other countries are cared for, instructed, sheltered,

and religiously trained. But are the times so changed that Primitive Methodism must leave the old lines of church work and seek out fresh ones? Is the charge true that the 'Connexion year by year relinquishes, bit by bit, its original position and character; that, with increasing worldly respectability and costlier sanctuaries, it endeavours to imitate Wesleyan Methodism, and conforms, as far as possible, to the craving for a more Congregational method of church order and worship?' We are bound to admit that the charge is not altogether without foundation in some places. We fear there is too much truth in it. But, brethren, is it not time to halt? Have we not gone far enough in that direction? We think we have; and we are glad to record the fact that the Connexion is feeling its way back to the old lines of church work, and, we believe, to church success. Surely the 'Divine reason' for our distinct and separate existence as a Christian church is not entirely lost sight of? Our mission to the 'great unwashed' is not yet fulfilled. The Saviour's words are still true: 'Say not ye, 'there are yet four months, and then cometh harvest.' Behold, I say unto you, lift up your eyes and look on the fields, for they are white already to harvest. And he that reapeth receiveth wages, and gathereth fruit unto life eternal: that both he that soweth and he that reapeth may rejoice together.' Let us, then, my brethren, insist on the day's praying on 'Mow Cop,' or somewhere else, in all our societies. Let open-air services be attended to both in winter and summer, that we may keep up our character as camp-meeting Methodists. And let a deep feeling of serious earnestness characterise all our services indoors and out. These things attended to, in humble dependence upon the power of the Holy Ghost, what is there that cannot be accomplished by our Zion? Mark these characteristics of the early Primitive Methodists. They were plain, blunt men, who sternly believed in praying down the gift of the Holy Ghost upon themselves and upon those amongst whom they laboured. They worked unceasingly, putting forth vigorous aggressive efforts in the open air, particularly in low and neglected localities. They were terribly in earnest in all their labours. The Rev. John Smith's heart-breaking utterance, 'Give me souls, or I die!' was often theirs, for souls lay upon their hearts like great burdens, from which they could only find relief in success and God. Their custom was to press all new converts into Christian work at once, for in this hive everybody must work for souls and Christ. No wonder that they succeeded so well. Special meetings for prayer, real earnestness, vigorous personal and united efforts to save souls indoors and out, with the baptism of the Holy Ghost, these were some of the leading character-

istics of the early Primitive Methodists; and if the societies of the present day will work on these lines vigorously, we venture to say that we shall hear no more of Connexional decreases. Besides, our circumstances are more favourable for success than theirs were. We have a church membership of 182,691. We have 372,570 children in our Sunday-schools. We have a cheap literature and a free printing press. We have religious books and tracts in abundance, many well-organised and influential churches, and a people generally growing in wealth. With these advantages we ought to succeed numerically at a greater ratio than our fathers did. But the fact is, we have not done so of late years. What, then, can be done to improve the evangelistic work of our churches in addition to those matters to which we have already made reference?

First, we must earnestly demand from Conference the establishment of a regular order of evangelists as distinct and separate from the regular ministry to assist in this glorious work. That such an order of workers is Scriptural we have no doubt. The Rev. J. Barfoot states that this 'order' is the link left out of our Connexional organization. If that be so, it is high time the link was put to it, as it seems impossible for us to do what we ought as a Church for the unsaved multitudes about us without the assistance and labours of such a class of workers. Many of our ministers have so much care and so many business matters of one kind or another pressing upon them, that it is impossible for them to do much evangelistic work, however much they may desire it. Some few do attend to it, but at a fearful cost to themselves and the Connexion. We believe that the real reason for the decrease of the last few years is the fact that times have been bad and money very difficult to get hold of, and, as a result, the preacher's time and energies have been taken up in many circuits almost entirely with the temporalities of the churches. Now, if such ministers could lay hands at these times on a real man of God, a Connexional evangelist, who knows how to get sinners converted and believers sanctified, what a blessing and relief it would be both to ministers and circuits. We believe twenty such men might be fully employed in our Connexion at the present time. Probably more than that number will be employed every winter, unattached revivalists, and that, too, in face of the minute of last Conference on the subject.

Secondly, there must be a larger employment of female talent in evangelistic work in all our societies and circuits. Perhaps there never was a time in Primitive Methodism when so many women could

be found possessed of leisure and in a position to devote the whole or chief part of their time to evangelistic work ; and yet how few are thus engaged amongst us. In this matter how is the fine gold become dim in Primitive Methodism ? We remember the time when female labour was a characteristic feature in the evangelistic labours of the Connexion. But is it so now ? What say the voices that reach us from our public prayer-meetings and Sunday-schools ? ‘ Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon, lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice, lest the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph.’ ‘ We persist,’ says Miss Whateley, ‘ in taking a pickaxe to supply the place of a sculptor’s chisel, and a finely tempered blade to do the work of a rough saw, and then we wonder at our failure.’ Some women have not the desire to do any Christian work at all, and others who have the desire are kept back by timidity and indecision ; such need an encouraging word and a helping hand to give them a start, as for want of these they remain unemployed. Let the ministers and office-bearers of our several societies stretch out the helping hand to give them a start, and thrust forth our female friends into the great harvest-field. There is plenty of work for them to do. They make first-rate Sunday-school teachers and leaders of female classes. They make capital missionary collectors and tract distributors. And it is well known that they make the best district visitors of the sick and poor. We submit that in connection with every well-organised Church there ought to be a vigorously-worked tract society and a weekly mothers’ meeting, conducted by the Christian ladies of those Churches.

And, lastly, the Churches must work more efficiently our Sunday-schools. It cannot possibly be said that our Sunday schools are worked efficiently and successfully while only six out of every one hundred scholars are meeting in class. 20,663 are not a great number to be meeting in class out of a grand total of 345,561 scholars. It is plain there is a screw loose somewhere in the working of our Sunday-schools. Hardly one in ten of our scholars ever become members of the Church before leaving school altogether. Where go the nine ? They go out from the school into the world and become the lost sheep in the wilderness and the prodigal from home. They go out and find other companionship, which leads them, step by step, into the abysses and miseries of sin, until many of them early in life are found bankrupt in pocket and character. There is certainly something wrong in the liberalism of Protestants when applied to the religious education of their children. They are getting so soft and tender that their children must be guided by principles which they don’t understand, instead of

the plain, simple laws of God, which are written in the Bible ; and no matter what they do in these days, you must not speak unkindly to them or treat them harshly. In all discipline the law should precede the Gospel. Nature left to itself runs useless and wild. Law, order, and discipline first, and then, if you like, apply the principles which govern all really beautiful and Christian lives. It is really pleasing to know that in after life many of these lost ones are found and brought back to their Father's house. The Rev. Jos. Wood says :—‘ It is the opinion of men of long experience and observation that from the Sunday-school, directly or indirectly, at least three-fourths of the present membership of the churches is derived. It follows that it must be next to suicidal to leave this institution very much in the hands of the feeblest and least educated members of our churches and congregations, and not to exercise the greatest care in the training and appointing of its officers and teachers.’ We have got the children in the Church, for ‘ of such is the Kingdom of Heaven.’ How is it we don’t keep them there ? Is it not grievous to hear the secretary of the Sunday School Union saying—‘ The elder scholars are not retained beyond fourteen or fifteen years of age ; and, therefore, are not gathered into our churches.’ But why are they not gathered into the churches ? Are there not teachers enough ? We know there are teachers enough of the sort. We have one teacher for every six or seven of the scholars. But one-fifth of the teachers are not church members themselves. Just think of the idea of retaining and gathering the children into the fold of Christ when the teachers are not in the fold themselves, It is very unlikely. Brethren, we think the time has come when no *one* should be a Sunday-school teacher who is not a thoroughly decided Christian. The prevailing notion that anybody will do to teach children in our Sunday-schools must be scouted and stamped out, and the sooner the better. And into this work must be thrust the most talented, influential, and pious of our members. No field of Christian labour will pay better for careful and thorough cultivation. The children are the lambs of the flock, and should be well cared for. Our Saviour said, ‘ Feed my lambs.’ Our Sunday-schools should, therefore, be thoroughly religious institutions. We believe that fifty or sixty per cent. more of the devotional element might, with advantage, be introduced into many of our Sunday-schools. Children love singing—then let there be plenty of singing in all our schools ; sing the same hymn over and over again until every child in the school knows it by heart and can sing it without book. This is a capital way of putting a number of Gospel truths into the hearts of

children, which they will carry home with them, and with which they will beguile in after-life many a weary hour. We know several schools where this is done, and the results are most encouraging. Children love stories, then tell them plenty of stories about Jesus and His love; your lesson should sparkle with them—the Bible is full of them. The kingdom of heaven is *like* unto ten virgins which took their lamps and went forth to meet the bridegroom; *like* unto leaven hid in meal; *like* to a grain of mustard seed; *like* unto treasure hid in a field; *like* unto a merchant-man; *like* unto a net that was cast into the sea, and gathered of every kind. Yes, gather *likes* of every kind and from every possible source for the children in our Sunday-schools. Hardly an incident of any moment occurs in a locality that the Sunday-school teacher cannot use to purpose and advantage in his class. We know a Sunday-school teacher who gathers all his stories from passing current events and the Bible. He will use the story of the burial of a good or wicked man in any neighbourhood, a serious railway collision, an explosion in a coal mine, or a shipwreck at sea, with considerable point, effect, and purpose. When the attention of his class is secured and the story is fastened upon their minds, some point in the story is laid hold of to apply the teachings of the lesson in hand. From every story he has a way into the kingdom of God. One way or another he always manages to get his boys to Jesus. Children love talking aloud, then let them have plenty of time to talk aloud about Jesus and heaven in all our schools. I mean let them have their weekly prayer meetings and band meetings that they may hear one another pray to and speak for Jesus. It is surprising how they love such meetings when they once get used to them. We know a Sunday-school of 300 children, divided into two parts, where this plan has been tried for several years with remarkable success. Twenty minutes only are set apart before closing the schools for the teachers and scholars to talk about Jesus, and they do talk about Him. We have heard twenty of them speak about Jesus in ten minutes. We said to the superintendent once, 'But some of these children really don't understand the meaning of what they say.' 'Probably not,' he said, 'but we will teach them to say it until they do understand it.' No wonder that the scholars there are anxious to meet in class, and that the society has grown from 32 to over 150 members during the last five years.

In conclusion, dear brethren, let me commend these matters to your prayerful and serious consideration. They are the utterances of a heart in deep sympathy with evangelistic work. We believe that God is calling us as a people by a thousand voices to-day to increased

activities in evangelistic work. Ours is a soul-saving Church, or it is nothing at all. The other Churches of the land and the ungodly world about us can ill afford to dispense with the vigorous evangelistic labours of Primitive Methodists. They are needed in the present day as much as ever they were in the past. Let us, then, to renewed work, and the people will gather about us. Our resources are not exhausted, and the glory is not departed from us, for the Holy Ghost still lives and burns in hundreds and thousands of our hearts. Keep up your class-meetings and prayer-meetings. Make them thoroughly efficient means of grace. Get there the baptism of fire, the power from on high, and then go out into the world and witness for Jesus at home and abroad. Be cheerful, earnest, resolute workers in the vineyard of Christ; put the whole of your soul into your work, whether it be in teaching a class in the Sabbath-school, or in visiting the sick and poor in their homes, or in distributing tracts from door to door, or in conducting mothers' meetings, or in any other Christian mission work, and you must succeed in your honest endeavours. And 'let him know that he which converteth the sinner from the error of his way shall save a soul from death, and shall hide a multitude of sins.'

WILSON BARRETT.

IX.—JOHN ANGELL JAMES.*

JOHN ANGELL JAMES, like many other distinguished men who have been rendered a blessing to their age, and whose names are cherished in the national heart, was of humble origin, and, by dint of persevering industry and constant devotion to a noble pursuit, raised himself out of obscurity to that position of influence and honour he so worthily occupied for half a century. He was born at Blandford Forum, in Dorsetshire, on the 6th of June, 1785. The following interesting account of his ancestors appears in his autobiography :

I have nothing to boast of as regards the distinctions of earthly heraldry, none of titled rank and fame can be found in the line of my ancestry ; but what to a Christian is of far greater honour, some of God's nobility were among them. I am descended from an old Dorsetshire family, and once had in my possession, but have unfortunately lost it, a list of my pious progenitors on my father's side for two hundred years back. They were not men of wealth, but belonged to the yeomanry of the country, and lived principally in the neighbourhood of Dorchester. One of them was upon the jury at 'the bloody Assizes' of the ferocious and sanguinary Judge Jefferies, and, with his fellow-jurors, received the menaces of that ermined tiger if they did not do their duty ; by which he meant consign by wholesale to the gallows the objects of his fury. My grandfather was a native of Swanage ; a man of simple, earnest, and consistent piety. He endured the persecution of ridicule and opposition for his religion.

The father of John Angell James was a linen draper and button manufacturer. He was a regular attendant at public worship, but till the close of life made no profession of religion. Very little is known of the ancestors of Mrs. James. Her father was a builder in Blandford, and she was brought up under the care of a Mr. and Mrs. Angell. She was a devoted Christian woman, of a peaceable and loving disposition, who felt a profound interest in the spiritual welfare of her children. She used to take them one by one into her chamber, and there earnestly plead with God on their behalf. She was of the Baptist persuasion, but as there was no Baptist meeting-house in Blandford she used to worship in the Independent chapel with her husband.

John was her fourth child, but eldest son. He is described by his

* An essay read before the Ministerial Association of the Tunstall and West Midland Districts, at Old Hill, on Thursday, April 7th, 1881.

biographer as 'a bright, merry boy, with exulting animal spirits and a kindly, generous temper, and withal a good hand at trap-ball and rounder.' On one Guy Fawke's day he had the audacity to let off a squib at a soldier, which singed the warrior's whiskers. On another occasion he had filled his pockets with fire-works, which, by some accident, exploded and set his clothes in a blaze, and he was only saved from a tragic death by being placed under the pump spout until the fire was extinguished. We read, also, of his youthful pugilistic encounters. One day he had a 'battle royal' with a school-fellow, which lasted for half-an-hour. 'Thirty years passed before the combatants met again, and having talked over the heroic deeds of their boyhood, Mr. James looked his old foe and old friend in the face, and said, with genuine and affecting earnestness, 'My dear friend, I hope we are one in Christ?''

He was not much indebted to schoolmasters for either secular or spiritual knowledge. His father intended him for business, and so, at the age of thirteen, he was taken from school and apprenticed to a linendraper at Poole, near Bournemouth, for seven years. He speaks of a fellow apprentice as being in some sense the occasion of his conversion. On the first night of his coming under the roof this young man knelt down at his bedside, in Mr. James' presence, for silent prayer. 'I shall ever have reason to bless God,' he writes, 'for this act of Charles B——' Here we have a striking illustration of the power of example and of the importance of the duty of confessing Christ. By his own request, Mr. James was taken by Charles B—— to the house of a pious cobbler, named John Poole, and the instructions he received there were the means of deepening his former religious impressions, and of leading him to a final and full decision for God. He soon commenced to labour as a Sunday-school teacher, and it was while thus employed that he was impressed with the conviction that he might be more extensively useful as a preacher of the Gospel, and at length decided to consecrate himself fully to the service of the Lord as a minister.

His father was strongly opposed to the carrying out of this new plan. Having paid a handsome sum as a premium at the time of his apprenticeship, and being required to advance still more money to procure his liberation—considering, too, that the time spent at Poole, as well as the money, would be thrown away, he offered many and strong objections. But by the advice of Dr. Bennett the father yielded at length, and Mr. James left Poole and went to Gosport to study under Dr. Bogue.

The college at Gosport had been founded by Robert Haldane, Esq., a gentleman of landed estate in Scotland, who had disposed of much of his property with a view of consecrating himself and his substance to Evangelistic work in India. Finding insurmountable barriers placed in his way by the East India Company, he undertook to diffuse the Gospel in his native land. He built chapels in different parts of the country, and appointed itinerating ministers both in the Highlands and Lowlands, and kept up preaching stations in the chief towns and cities. He also employed Dr. Bogue at Gosport to train suitable young men for the work of the ministry at home and abroad. The Gosport Academy was in truth a missionary institution, and many of the early missionaries sent out by the London Missionary Society were prepared for the work at Gosport. One of Mr. James' college associates was Mr. Morrison, afterwards known as Dr. Morrison, of China, the greatest missionary of his age. There is no doubt that the missionary spirit which worked so powerfully in the heart of Mr. James was imbibed at Gosport.

In August, 1804, Mr. James, then only nineteen years of age, entered Birmingham to preach to the church at Carr's-lane as a supply, and with no idea of becoming the pastor; but he had only preached to them four times when a deputation waited upon him to request him to become their minister as soon as he should leave the college. He returned to Gosport, and after another year spent there came back to Birmingham to enter upon the duties of the pastorate. At that time the Carr's-lane congregation consisted of not more than 200 persons, and the church itself of not more than sixty members. And it is a remarkable and almost incredible fact that during the first seven years the pulpit ministrations of Mr. James did not increase the number of his hearers. But there are circumstances which shed light upon this apparent failure. His predecessor had resigned his connection with Carr's-lane church in consequence of alleged immorality; but on account of his splendid talents and the representation of his friends that he was a persecuted man, he had succeeded in taking with him nearly half the church and a large proportion of the congregation, and had also gained the sympathies of the public on his side. It should also be remembered that Mr. James was very young and inexperienced when he entered upon the pastorate, and that he preached in an unattractive chapel, situated in a dirty street. Nevertheless, his want of success was a great trouble to his mind; and while it disheartened and distressed him, it led to increased diligence in his studies, and also drove him to his knees in earnest supplications to the God of heaven for the

great blessing of success in his arduous toil. And at length the answer came in a marvellous manner. In the eighth year of his ministry the chapel underwent complete renovation and repair, during which time he occupied the pulpit of the Unitarian chapel, and then seemed, for the first time, to arrest the attention and win the hearts of the general public ; so that when he returned to his own pulpit the people followed him in such numbers that the chapel proved too small to hold them. Six years later the chapel was taken down, and a new one erected, capable of seating 2,000 persons, which was crowded from Sabbath to Sabbath till the day of his death.

The secret of John Angell James's great power and influence as a man and as a minister may, doubtless, be found in the following particulars : uncompromising fidelity to his convictions, perfect naturalness in voice, manner, and matter, never tiring industry, punctuality in all his engagements, singleness of aim, and burning enthusiasm in the prosecution of his work.

Time will not allow of enlargement upon each of these particulars ; but I will endeavour to illustrate some of them. I have spoken of his industry, and certainly no man ever more diligently traded with his talents in order that he might give back to his Lord His own with usury. One of his people, writing to the late Dr. Miller respecting his industry in the year 1852, says ;—

At that time he was fulfilling all the duties of his ministry and pastorate, preaching in both the Sabbath services and on Wednesday evening, administering the ordinances, presiding at weekly prayer-meetings and monthly church meetings, and attending, as far as possible, church district meetings and anniversary and other periodic gatherings in connection with the various institutions promoted by his church and congregation, such as Sunday-schools, brotherly society, ladies' missionary working party, &c. In all circumstances, everywhere and always, he presented the unvarying aspect of one who had a great work on hand, and was solemnly, earnestly, and cordially devoted to its accomplishment. It seemed never out of sight. 'One thing I do' was not more appropriate as an utterance of the Apostle than it would have been of Mr. James in reference to both his own religious culture and the full discharge of his work.

He was ceaselessly engrossed with the ministry he had received of the Lord Jesus. 'Eternity is long enough,' he writes, 'and heaven is place enough for rest ; till then I mean to work on.'

He was a rigid economist of time, and to this fact alone we may trace, to a very large extent, the secret of his wonderful success. 'Had he been an idler, he might have lived and died comparatively useless and unhonoured ; for he was not what would be considered a genius, neither was he possessed of the highest order of intellect ; but he always

did his best, and by constant plodding attained to eminence not only as a preacher and pastor, but also as an author and platform orator.

As a preacher he had one object before him, at which he constantly aimed. What that object was will be very clear from the following extracts:

The work of conversion is the great thing we must drive at; after this we must labour with all our might. If, without an offence to the law of modesty, I may refer to my own history, labour, and success, I would observe that I began my ministry, even as a student, with a strong desire after this object; and long before this, while yet a youth, engaged in secular pursuits, I had been deeply susceptible of the power of an awakening style of preaching, which was strengthened by the perusal of the rousing sermons of Dr. Davies, of New Jersey. From that time to the present I have made the conversion of the impenitent the great end of my ministry, and I have had my reward.

His theory and standard of preaching may be gathered from his introduction to Dr. Spencer's *Pastoral Sketches*:—‘In all preaching,’ he urges, ‘there should be a prevalence of the converting element, *i.e.*, of truths, and the manner of treating them, which are likely to rouse the hearer to the state of his soul; to show him his condition as a sinner; to awaken a deep solicitude for his eternal welfare by convincing him of his danger; to make him feel the necessity of repentance and faith; and to urge him to flee without delay to Christ for salvation.’

His preaching was of the expository kind, which he believed to be the most useful because the most comprehensive in its range, the most practical, and, as he thought, the most acceptable to the general public. But in all his preaching and teaching Christ was held up as the friend and Saviour of men, and the atonement by His blood as the only hope of the lost. He desired that this should be the constant theme of every minister of the Gospel. Preaching to his own congregation on the subject of justification by faith at a time when a movement was on foot for the erection of several new churches in the town, he said, with great solemnity, ‘If, after my decease, another Gospel than that preached by St Paul should be introduced into this pulpit, I hope these pews will be empty, and that you will be found in some of the churches about to be built.’ He had no sympathy with the vague and mystical forms of presenting the truth so much admired by some preachers. He believed in a simple Gospel, that could be understood by the common people as well as by the philosophers of the schools. ‘It may be rested upon,’ said he, ‘as an everlasting maxim, that the eloquence best fitted to thrill the heart of a philosopher is that which melts the heart of a child.’

In his work on *An Earnest Ministry*—one of the most valuable and useful books in the English language—appears the following epitome of the sum and substance of the Gospel ministration :—

I advert first to the *matter* of our ministrations. And this must consist, of course, of those topics which bear most obviously and directly upon the great ends we are seeking to accomplish. Earnestness will take the nearest and most direct road to its object, nor will it be seduced from its paths by beautiful prospects and pleasant walks that lie in another direction. Now, what is the end of our office? The reconciliation of sinners to God, and their ultimate and complete salvation when so reconciled. It is easy, then, to see that the matter of our instruction and persuasion must be the ministry of reconciliation. Of course, it must be our purpose to declare the whole counsel of God, and to remember that ‘all Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable,’ &c.

In the way of exposition a minister should go through the greater part of the whole Bible, fairly and honestly explaining and enforcing it. But since the whole Bible, as explained by the more perfect Revelation of the New Testament, directly or indirectly points to Christ, or may be illustrated and enjoined by considerations suggested by His mission and work, our preaching should have a decidedly evangelical character. The Divinity, Incarnation, and death of Christ, His atonement for sin, His resurrection, ascension, intercession, and mediatorial reign, His Spiritual kingdom, and His second coming; the offices and work of the Holy Spirit in illuminating, regenerating, and sanctifying the human soul; the doctrine of justification by faith and the new birth; the sovereignty of God in the dispensation of His saving gifts—these and their kindred and collateral topics should form, so to speak, the staple of our public ministration and teaching. It surely must be this which the Apostle meant when he said, ‘I determined to know nothing among you save Jesus Christ and Him crucified.’

To a body of students leaving college he said :—‘Preach Christ, my brethren, and for Christ’s own sake. Exhibit Christ in the divinity of His person, the efficacy of His Atonement, the prevalence of His intercession, the fulness of His grace, the freeness of his invitations, the perfection of His example in all His mediatorial offices and Scripture characters, and as the Alpha and Omega of your whole ministry. Let your sermons be fragrant with the odours of His name; carry this precious unguent to the pulpit, break the alabaster box, and let the precious perfume fill the house in which you minister. Christ has Himself told you the secret of popularity and success where he said, ‘I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto Me.’ With this Divine loadstone magnetise your sermons; here lies the attraction. Preach

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as in full view of all the wonders of Calvary, and let it be as if, while you spoke, you felt the Saviour's grace flowing into and filling your soul, and as if at that moment you were sympathising with the Apostle in His sublime raptures—'God forbid that I should glory save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ.' When Popery and Puseyism are lifting up extensively the *crucifix*, or, at any rate, a mere ceremonial religion, let us exhibit the *cross* in all its grandeur and attractions. This is our strength, our defence, and will ensure our success. Turning with disgust from the puerilities by which the doctrine of the cross is substituted, the people will feel afresh the power of Gospel truth if *we* have but the wisdom and fidelity to present it.'

As an earnest, devoted, evangelical, and successful minister, John Angell James deserves to be named in company with Wickliffe, Latimer, Ridley, Baxter, Hooper, Howe, and Whitefield, and all the most illustrious and distinguished champions of the cross in the church of the past. Not only as a preacher, however, was he distinguished, but as an author, and as a platform orator. The first event, it is said, which fairly brought him forth as an orator and a public man was a speech he delivered at the formation of the Wolverhampton Auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, on December 12th, 1815. From that time he became known as one of the great lights of the British platform. He frequently spoke at the London Meetings, and was always listened to with pleasure. At the great public meetings in Birmingham his voice was constantly heard.

Dr. Miller, referring in a funeral sermon to his platform efforts, says:—

No man ever rose on a town hall platform who was more welcome to the auditory. Earnest, grave, or with a gravity relieved by playfulness only, never by levity—touchingly pathetic; rising not seldom to lofty eloquence; his language fluent and choice; every speech presenting the difficult combination of all the polish of the most finished preparation, and all the freshness of extempore address, his face betokening high intelligence and often lighted with a smile of Heaven's own love; he was a speaker not often surpassed. I never saw him sit down without regret that his speech was not longer.

Thousands upon thousands in this and other lands who were never privileged to listen to his eloquent tongue have been charmed into a higher and purer life by means of his many publications. Testimonies by hundreds have been furnished of the usefulness of his best known work, *The Anxious Enquirer*. Mr. Dale relates that eight or nine friends who happened to be together were conversing about their religious history, and they discovered that they had all found in the

Anxious Inquirer the guidance and stimulus by which they had been led to trust in the Lord Jesus Christ. Mr. James says, 'Had I preserved all the letters I have received, both from other countries and my own, of its usefulness, they would have formed a book.'

Not only for 'anxious inquirers,' however, did he write, but for every class of the community, as a brief enumeration of his principal works will show. One of his earliest publications was *The Sunday-school Teacher's Guide*. This was followed by *Christian Fellowship, or the Church Member's Guide*, *Christian Charity Explained*, *The Family Monitor*, *Christian Progress*, *The Young Man's Friend through Life to Immortality*, *The Christian Father's Present to his Children*, *The Young Man from Home*, *Female Piety, or the Young Woman's Friend and Guide*, *Christian Hope*, *The Course of Faith*, *The Christian Professor*, *The Earnest Ministry*, *The Church in Earnest*, *The Voice of God from China*, and a multitude of smaller and less important publications. Many of these books had an enormous circulation. The Religious Tract Society alone had, at the time of his death, in 1859, circulated nearly three millions of his books and tracts. Some of his writings will long live to bless the world; and through them, he being dead, will continue to speak to the hearts and lives of men.

To his work as a preacher, orator, and author, must be added some notice of his labours in connection with Spring Hill College, the Chinese Missions, the Congregational Union, and the Evangelical Alliance. The two latter were originated by him, and have both been useful in their way.

The proposal to raise a fund for the distribution of 1,000,000 copies of the New Testament in China, though originally suggested by Thomas Thompson, Esq., of Poundsford Park, was made known to the public by Mr. James, and agitated by him through the press and on the platform, until not one million only, but *two and a quarter millions* were subscribed for at a cost of about £40,000!

His labours in advocating Chinese Missions, and in connection with the founding and establishment of Spring Hill College, were so abundant that, to read this part of his history alone, one would think that the whole of his time had been given to the prosecution of this department of Christian toil. Letters were written by him to the ministers of all Christian denominations, including the clergy of the Establishment, appealing for their sympathy and help. Lectures and speeches in great numbers were delivered in all parts of England, while many gentlemen of wealth were personally visited on the subject of the college, and frequently with the most gratifying results.

When John Angell James entered upon his ministerial career the spiritual life of the churches was at a very low ebb, and the preaching of the times was very defective. Latitudinarianism in matters of faith was widely prevalent. The great truths of the Gospel were proclaimed in such vague and mystical phrases, and so much of the spirit of lethargy had settled upon the churches, that the hearts of the pious longed for the return of the days of apostolic simplicity and power.

But during the last fifty years a great change has taken place, and that change is, in no unimportant degree, owing to the life and ministry of John Angell James. A ministry so fervent and devout, so clear in the statement of all the vital truths of Christianity, and so successful in leading men to Christ, exercised for a period of fifty-four years by a man who was constantly coming in contact, in one way or another, with the clergy of all denominations, must have wielded a mighty influence in moulding the preaching of other men. Add to all this the influence of his work on *An Earnest Ministry the Want of the Times*, which passed through several editions during his life and is still extensively read, and the work done at Spring Hill College, and you must be convinced that the labours of Mr. James did much to change the style and character of popular preaching.

At Spring Hill College his influence was exerted for the training of a class of distinctly evangelical ministers, who should make soul-saving the great object of their lives. He was elected chairman of the Board of Education at its formation, and held the office until his death, a period of twenty-one years. The duty of this Board was to examine candidates for the college, and to decide upon the testimonials to be given to students on leaving. Mr. James was a man of extraordinary penetration, so that his judgment of the fitness of candidates was seldom at fault. During the twenty-one years that he was connected with the college fifty-four students completed their course of study. And of these forty-five entered the Congregational ministry, two gave up through illness, three became clergymen in the Establishment, and four left the ministry to engage in other pursuits. It was Mr. James's custom to invite some of the students to dinner every Saturday, and to spend the afternoon with them. At these meetings he directed their attention to the grandeur and solemnity of that ministry to which their life was to be devoted; and urged them to consecrate every power and faculty they possessed to the work of saving men from sin to holiness, and from the peril of an everlasting perdition to eternal salvation; and he assured them that no joy could equal that arising from the knowledge that souls were saved from wrath by their instrumen-

talities. His interest in the students did not cease when they left the college; he kept up a regular correspondence with most of them, and often visited their churches and assisted them in their work. And whether preaching in the pulpit, speaking on the platform, corresponding with the ministry, or writing for the press, he was ever seeking to interpret the mind of the Lord and to increase the zeal and devotedness of the Church of his age. The last year of his life was one of the most laborious of the 74 he spent on earth. On the 1st of October, 1859, he calmly passed from the labours of earth to the rest that remaineth to the people of God. May this review of his life and labours lead us as ministers to increased earnestness in the prosecution of our work, that, after having done the will of God, we may receive the reward of GOOD and FAITHFUL SERVANTS!

HENRY PARRISH

X.—MORALITY AND RELIGION.

THAT morality is independent of religion is one of the sceptical maxims of the age. Their connection, we are told, was unavoidable and even beneficial in the early stage of human culture, affording a shelter to the yet tender growth, and defending it against the rally of half-checked, fierce, and brutal passions. But the continuance of this connection beyond that early stage has only been productive of mischief, arresting the development of morality, sometimes almost destroying it, by connecting it with brutal rites and delusive beliefs, and always hiding its own proper sanctions and native authority. Religion is thus represented as a sort of swaddling clothes of morality, necessary, no doubt, while morality was in its babyhood ; but once that stage is passed, to be cast off as not only useless, but positively injurious. The apostles of this so-called new teaching—for it is really very old—assure us the world has been for some time at a standstill because it has persisted in clinging blindly to that no doubt beautiful but worn-out myth called Christianity. With their advent, however, a new departure is to be taken. Morality is to be freed from its trammels and permitted to advance to full maturity ; while, by casting aside the swaddling clothes which hinder its progress, the race is to resume its onward march of development.

To expose the fallacy, as well as the dangerous character and tendency, of this teaching, it will be necessary to define the nature and respective spheres of morality and religion, together with the relation existing between them, then inquire whether morality can be secure of preservation if severed from religion and deprived of its sanctions.

Religion is the recognition and acknowledgment of our dependence upon and responsibility to a Supreme Being. This assumes in man the existence of a religious sense—a sense which has not been acquired, but is part of his natural constitution. This religious sense bears witness to the existence of One on whom man is dependent, and to whom he is responsible. Now, it is reasonable to suppose that, having implanted this religious sense in man's nature, God would also provide means for its expression and development. Such means are furnished in Divine revelation. Revelation is an appeal to man's intuitive sense of dependence and responsibility for the purpose of giving it additional strength and clearness. Hence, it makes known the relation

between man and that Being of whose existence and claims he is dimly conscious. This relation is declared to be that subsisting between the Creator and the creature, the Giver and receiver of blessings. Such a relation involves dependence, responsibility, and obligation of the very highest order, for if this Being on whom we are dependent is the Supreme Being, we must owe Him an allegiance such as we owe to no other being whatever. Hence, the declaration, 'I am the Lord thy God which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage,' is immediately followed by the command, 'Thou shalt have no other gods before Me.' Religion, therefore, concerns specially man's relation to God, and involves the recognition of those obligations devolving upon him in consequence of this relation. Such recognition can only be secured in the highest sense where the principle of love to God rules in the heart. We have, then, in our Lord's brief summary of the first table of the law the very root and essence of religion: 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind.' Religion, therefore, in its highest form consists in the love of man towards God and the attitude towards God which such love implies and involves.

Morality has to do with conduct; it deals with the duties we owe to our fellow-men. Human society can only exist under certain conditions; morality treats of those conditions, and lays down rules for the regulation of human conduct. The first question that suggests itself here has reference to the standard according to which these rules are framed. Why are certain acts or courses of conduct right and others wrong? What is the ultimate basis of morality? The utilitarian theory makes utility, or the greatest happiness, the foundation of morals. Actions are right according as they tend to produce happiness, wrong as they tend to produce misery. This theory, however, does not really answer the question as to the ultimate ground of our feeling of *ought*. That certain courses of action lead to happiness, and that the desire for happiness is a common motive of action, cannot be denied. But this does not answer the question with which we started, for the idea of right cannot be derived from the idea of happiness. Happiness is an effect rather than a cause of action. What we ask, and what the utilitarian fails to tell us, is the reason *why* certain actions tend to happiness. He points merely to a consequence, whereas the nature of the case demands a cause.

Closely connected with this theory is that of evolution, which regards morality as the final result of a number of progressive stages from the lifeless to the living, from the living to the sentient, from the

sentient to the conscious, from the conscious to the moral. Our special concern here is, of course, with the last stage in the process—the evolution of morality from human consciousness. Morality, we are told, was forced upon man extremely slowly by his outward circumstances Nature—by which term is meant the whole system of forces and inviolable sequences which compose the universe, whether within man or without him—Nature was the great teacher, and necessity and experience first forced man to read, and taught him to store up her lessons. Men learnt the value of mutual trust and support by standing shoulder to shoulder to resist the onset of fierce animals. These ‘struggles for existence’ also gave birth to the sentiments of approval and disapproval of his fellows as cowardice or courage were displayed, and awakened the desire for approbation. In seeking to retain approbation occasional failure to reach an ideal standard produced disapprobation of self, and in this way conscience was evolved. In the early family life of the race tenderness, patience, self-denial, and care for others were evoked; the formation of families into communities and nations called forth justice, equity, and kindred ideas. Disregard of the laws thus evolved resulted in the destruction of loose and effeminate races; their observance in the growth of self-restrained and virtuous ones. Thus, by endless sufferings, it was gradually burnt into human consciousness that virtue meant strength, happiness, and prosperity; that vice was weakness, misery, slavery, and degradation. This theory, like the last, fails to solve the question as to why right is right, and wrong is wrong; it cannot give us *ought*. In fact, it does not profess to deal with anything higher than second causes; everything beyond that is relegated to the region of the unknown and unknowable.

The only satisfactory theory is that which finds the basis of morality in the nature of God, the one absolutely perfect Being. This Being has given man a double rule of conduct, as the expression of his own perfect nature—one internal, called conscience, by which he arrives intuitively at a knowledge of moral distinctions; the other external in a written law. This law is the declaration of God’s will as to the constitution and government of human society. It carries in itself evidence of its Divine origin and authority, for it is in perfect harmony with man’s nature, which requires just such a law for the promotion of its highest good, and to enable it to fulfil its purpose.

The respective spheres of morality and religion will now be evident. Whereas religion is specially concerned with our life in its relation to God, morality has reference to it in relation to man and social claims; it demands truthfulness, justice, honesty, and purity in our dealings

and relations with our fellows. Hence the distinction between the religious man and the merely moral man lies in the fact that the former recognizes both his relation to God and his relation to man, whereas the latter recognizes only the last and ignores the first. It will be seen, therefore, that we conceive there can be a morality without religion. We are not referring here to the larger question—the effect on society, in the long run, of a severance of morality and religion—but of certain isolated cases that are sometimes observed at the present day. People may occasionally be met with who are strictly moral, who would shrink from doing an untrue or dishonest thing, and who would not hurt a living thing by deed or word if they could help it, and yet they are not religious. Now, what they require in order to become religious is the recognition of their relations and obligations to God. As it is, they ignore God. The proper realization of this fact will produce a sense of sin; this, followed by repentance and faith in Jesus Christ, will awaken in their hearts that love to God which is the very essence of religion. It may here be observed, *en passant*, that the morality of such persons is too frequently denounced as a thing evil in itself. Instead of endeavouring to bring home to the conscience the great sin involved in ignoring God, there is such an unwholesome iteration respecting the ‘filthy rags of morality’ as too often conveys the notion that morality is a thing of very little consequence so long as there is a profession of faith in Jesus Christ. Burns has hit off this point admirably in his well-known *Dedication to Gavin Hamilton*. After describing his patron as honest, truthful, kindly to his neighbours, and generous to a fault; as not failing to do his part in any of the relations of life, whether as master, landlord, husband, or father, the poet points out that, according to the prevailing religious teaching of the time, none of these could be called a ‘godly symptom;’ the whole thing was nothing but a ‘milder feature of our poor sinful corrupt nature;’ that pagans, who have never heard of orthodoxy, manifest all these excellences; while the fact that he was a gentleman in word and deed, and a friend in need to the poor, was ‘just a carnal inclination.’ He then gives the following apostrophe as the creed of these defenders of a pseudo-orthodoxy:—

Morality, thou deadly bane,
Thy tens o’ thousands thou hast slain!
Vain is his hope whose stay and trust is
In *moral* mercy, truth, and justice!
No! stretch a point to catch a plack;*
Abuse a brother to his back;

* An old Scotch coin.

Be to the poor like onie whunstane,
 And haud their noses to the grunstone;
 Ply every art o' *legal* thieving;
 No matter, stick to *sound* bekeving.
 Learn three-mile pray'rs an' half-mile graces
 Wi' weel spread loaves an' lang wry faces;
 Grunt up a solemn lengthened groan,
 And damn a' parties but your own:
 I'll warrant, then, ye're nae deceiver,
 A steady, sturdy, staunch believer.

This is only too correct a description of the kind of thing that prevailed in many quarters in Burns' day, and it has not entirely disappeared in our own. It is by no means uncommon to hear preachers of a certain school denouncing morality and assuring their moral but irreligious hearers that their morality and good works will only sink them deeper in hell. Need we be surprised that, instead of being won to the Saviour by such teaching, many are repelled and utterly disgusted. We need earnestly to remind men that morality will not save them; but, in doing this, care should be taken not to leave them with the impression that they can be saved without morality. While faithfully preaching the grand doctrine of Justification by Faith, let us not ignore the teaching of the Apostle James: 'Faith without works is dead.' A recent writer on Morality affirms that a man may be religious and yet not moral. But what does he understand by religion in such a case? Simply the belonging to a church or chapel, and conforming to its rites and ceremonies. That with a religion amounting to nothing more than this immorality may coexist, we readily admit; but that a man can be truly religious and yet immoral, we utterly deny. Morality is enjoined by God, and is therefore part of our duty to God. We owe certain duties to our fellows, because God has commanded them. These duties are summed up in the New Testament in the word *love*. 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.' If, then, we recognize God's authority over us, if we love Him with all the soul—all of which is involved in religion—we cannot fail to be prompted to implicit obedience to this command. Regarding our fellow-men as being with ourselves the children of one common Father, we shall love them as brethren and treat them accordingly.

We now come to the question whether morality can be secure of preservation if severed from religion and deprived of its sanctions. We argue that it cannot, because morality is not a human invention. It is the expression of God's will as to the constitution of human society. Hence, unless we first of all recognise God's authority over us, we shall not acknowledge the authority of His law. If men are to ac-

knowledge God's law, they must, as a prior condition, acknowledge His right to give them a law ; and this acknowledgment, in its ultimate form of love, is religion. Now, it might be shown in regard to each of the commandments of the decalogue that this recognition of law as God's law is the only safeguard to the maintenance of its authority. Men will cease to obey God's command if they cease to believe it is God's command they disobey. When God is no longer the supreme, moral tribunal, we have no supreme tribunal of morality at all, none that is universal, before which all must bow, and from which none can escape. Every man will then construct his own moral standard, or do without one altogether, and speedily the foundations of human society would be dissolved. That some people retain their allegiance to morality while discarding religion does not really affect the argument. We are speaking of the result of the separation in question in the long run, and on society in general, and not of the few isolated cases whose continued allegiance to morality, notwithstanding their repudiation of religion, is not difficult of explanation. A school of thought exists at the present day which rejects altogether any belief in religion, or even any concern with a personal God, yet holds fast by morality. This continued allegiance to morality is unquestionably due to the influence of public opinion as enlightened by Christian teaching. Take away this teaching and that influence, and we hesitate not to say the morality of Positivism would perish. If the nature of God be the only satisfactory basis of morality, if right be right and wrong be wrong primarily and eternally because a personal God distinguishes them, and causes us by the light of conscience to perceive and acknowledge this distinction, the overthrow of morality must follow sooner or later the denial of His existence or the repudiation of His authority. But if God be acknowledged, revered, loved, such recognition of a supreme eternal righteousness will justify and support the ideal estimates of the conscience, will deepen every guilty shame, will guarantee every righteous hope, and will help the will with a Divine casting vote in every balance of temptation.

That morality will be endangered if divorced from religion may also be argued from the fact that such divorce is contrary to man's nature ; morality and religion are inseparably united in his moral constitution. The two things which chiefly distinguish man from the animal creation and which he can never utterly destroy are, his consciousness of God, already referred to as his religious sense, and his conscience. These are not acquired any more than the faculties of sight and hearing. Now, let this consciousness of God find expression,

and the result is religion, while the expression of conscience gives morality. To sever religion and morality is, therefore, to ignore man's nature, and must inevitably destroy the unity and perfection of his life. And in the provision God has made for the expression and development of these two faculties we find further proof that their union is necessary and their severance dangerous. Revelation is in harmony with the nature of man. The Old Testament combines religion and morality in the decalogue, the two parts or tables into which it is divided dealing respectively with our duty to God and our duty to man. In the new Testament we have the completion of what was begun in the Old Testament. The union of morality and religion is everywhere recognised in the teaching of Jesus Christ, and exemplified in the highest sense in His person and life. The matchless beauty and moral excellence of the Redeemer's life have commanded the admiration of Christian and sceptic alike. His enemies in His own day and in subsequent times have been unable to find any fault in Him; but His life in the service of man was a life in God. In Him morality and religion were combined.

But the question will naturally be asked, Has it ever been proved in the case of any nation or people in the past that morality deteriorates when severed from religion? In reply, we appeal to history, which has pronounced its verdict on this maxim of an irreligious morality, a verdict of unqualified condemnation; and we hesitate not to assert that any attempt that is made to reverse that verdict will only result in its emphatic endorsement. We select two examples, the one from ancient, the other from more modern times. For the former take Greece. We find that previous to the time of Aristotle morality was not regarded as deriving its origin, but only its external support, from religion. This slight bond, however, was dissolved by the great master of ancient philosophy. Life, he taught, was no longer to be fashioned after the heavenly model of the Divine ideas, as Plato had insisted; the reality of these ideas was denied. Man's conduct was not to be regulated by any reference to his own nature. Hence morality was demanded, not by religion but by the reasonable nature of man. This central idea of the Aristotelian morality was the prevailing view of the then Greek world. Aristotle simply gave expression to general opinion, and carried it to its ultimate consequences. And what was the result? Is it not to be seen in the anarchy and universal corruption that overtook the ancient heathen world? Morality became powerless, and, indeed, collapsed utterly. And this collapse is distinctly traceable to the fact that ancient morality depended upon itself.

For our second example we take China, respecting which Dr. Marcus Dods, in a recent article, makes the following statements:—‘I think we should be neglecting our advantage in living so late in the world if we refused to see in the history of China Positivism on its trial. Evolution was not scientifically made out by the Chinese, but from a speculative point of view it was accepted. The existence of a personal Creator was not denied; it was merely relegated to the limbo of uncertainties. Man was accepted as the highest known manifestation of the world—soul or productive energies of nature. Worship of ancestors was the sole religion, and duty to men was the only duty. In fact, feature by feature the modern philosophy was represented by the school of Confucius. And, so far as I can see, the experiment of a morality without any higher religion than filial piety could never be made in more favourable circumstances. In Greece the moralists were not canonized; even the dramatists, influential and didactic as they were, cannot be called authoritative. But the teachings of Confucius have been for two thousand years accepted as canonical, and no boy has been educated without having his mind imbued with these teachings. Philosophy had a chance in China which it is never likely to have in any other country. No population can reasonably be expected to yield itself so passively and so steadily to this species of influence.’

Nor is it creditable that a purer non-Christian system of ethics will ever be devised. Yet, what has been the result? Ask any man who has lived in China—read the narratives of the most impartial travellers, and you find that with one voice they pronounce the Chinese as among the most immoral of people.

The lesson, then, which history teaches respecting this severance of morality from religion is that such morality is doomed. It can no more exist than a tree whose root has been destroyed. The vitality previously derived from that root may enable it to flourish for a time, but ere long it must wither and die. There is an inherent weakness in human nature, and, unless linked with the divine root of eternal goodness, its moral life will deteriorate and ultimately perish. Hence the wail of conscious weakness that comes from every generation of men. Hence the craving of the soul, observable in every age and race, for something higher and better than itself, by which it may rise to a nobler and diviner life. This craving is met in the God-man, Jesus Christ. He has fulfilled the hope of Israel. He has met the ‘Desire of nations.’ He has united the tree of humanity with its divine Root, from whence it shall derive a new and ever-increasing life, purging out the virus of moral disease, restoring moral health and strength,

and clothing with the unfading beauty of moral loveliness. Severed from Him who is its Life, the morality of the world would perish, and the race itself become extinct ; but, united to Him, as branches to the true vine, morality will increase in vigour, until the relations of men, of communities, of nations, shall attain that ideal perfection of which the noblest spirits of our kind have vaguely and fondly dreamed, but which only the Christ of God has rendered possible—the universal realization, in theory and in fact, of the brotherhood of the race.

JOSEPH RITSON.

PRACTICAL HOMILETICS.

THE DIVINE HELPER.

‘There hath no temptation taken you but such as is common to man; but God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able; but will, with the temptation, also make a way to escape that ye may be able to bear it.’—1 Cor. x. 13.

THE connection between this verse and the foregoing is the first thing to claim attention. The current idea is that the one verse forms a balance to the other. We approve of this view. But some have held that this, as well as the preceding verse, enforces caution, and keeps up the solemn tone of warning which that verse commenced. They assume the meaning to be that temptations more severe than any yet endured were impending, that as yet only trials of smaller magnitude had befallen this Corinthian church, and, as a heavier pressure was in prospect, they were admonished to be on their guard. As, in our judgment, the words will not bear this much, we will follow the more natural and obvious connection.

After solemn warning, given with emphasis, comforting assurance comes in very seasonably. There are two practical lessons enforced, the one of which is, that we must not presume—the other, that we must not despond. As we are in danger of falling into extremes, it is well for us that there is a fair proportion of caution and of comfort administered. An excess in either of these would have had a bad effect. A disproportion of caution, intimating peril and hazards, would oppress, as with the dread of moral failures, and so dishearten us that we would have no spirit to meet duty or difficulty. On the other hand, a surplus of assurance and comfort might engender unguarded presumption and lead us to sin through heedlessness. The two things combined and well proportioned will preserve the balance. Men’s temperaments differ. Some are of a bold, fearless spirit. They should appropriate the cautions of Scripture. Some are timorous and timid. They should live largely on promises and words of assurance. The same person is liable to be in various moods—now low, and then high. Let him cherish hope when he is low, and in his elevated state let him take heed.

We will endeavour to explain the sense on hand by dealing with

single words and clauses. We begin with *temptation*. In its worst sense it signifies an effort made to solicit some one to do what is wrong. Such solicitation is usually accompanied with some pleasureable enticement, some plausible argument, some profit, or some consideration supposed to be influential. It would be a very blind movement for any one to propose to another to do an action in flat contradiction to the moral sense, and without some inducement to overcome the scruple which a wakeful conscience is sure to raise. Few, indeed, would do wrong from the mere love of wrong-doing. A devil might, but a man scarcely would.

Besides this odious view of temptation, upon which we stop not to enlarge, there is another sense in which the term is employed and which is ascribed to Divine agency. It shocks us somewhat to hear it said, either expressly or impliedly, that the Divine Being brings men into temptation. We are conscious of a shrinking from such a thought. But this arises simply from our forgetting, for the moment, that the word bears another meaning besides that of allurements to sinful action. Temptation is a general term. Diabolical suggestions and providential visitations are species, and both of the nature of trial. Nothing alarms us in the Scripture statement that 'the Lord trieth the righteous.' By severe providences, which we naturally shrink from, sound character is disciplined and cultivated. 'Though now for a season, if need be, ye are in heaviness, through manifold temptations, that the trial of your faith being much more precious than of gold that perisheth, though it be tried with fire, might be found unto praise and honour and glory at the appearing of Jesus Christ.' (1 Pet. i. 6, 7.)

Next, the temptation in question is characterised, 'There hath no temptation taken you, but *such as is common to man*.' The original word signifies 'human,' or 'belonging to a man,' as if he had said, only such temptations have taken you as are fit for a man to endure and conquer, such as it is in the power of a frail, fallible man to resist and withstand. The revised version gives an equivalent sense—'such as man can bear.' The word in the margin is very expressive and tender, though it does not retain the ideal notion of the original—'such as is *moderate*.' And it harmonises well with the view of the whole verse, being consolatory rather than cautionary. It is comfortable to be assured that our temptations, from whatever source they come, shall be moderate. If *men* vex and annoy us, they cannot pass a given limit. The surplus of human wrath is restricted, and the allowed amount is under tribute for good. He who

shows the waves of the enraged ocean their mark how far they may reach, sets bounds to the raging passions of men. 'Which stilleth the noise of the seas, the noise of their waves, and the tumult of the people' (Ps. lxxv. 7.; Comp. Ps. lxxvi. 10). For the elect's sake the days of tribulation are shortened. Also, Satan's malice is moderated and baffled. What would he not do to us but for the check of Omnipotence! There are great angels in heaven able to put his chain on, to say nothing of infinite Power. At the Almighty's pleasure his chain is lengthened or shortened. The history of the man of Uz shows how subject he is to the all-ruling hand. Whatever mischief he did to the object of his spite was done by permission. He insinuated that Job's seeming piety was sustained entirely by his property, and if that prop were removed, his loyalty would fail. To falsify this vile accusation, the protecting hedge was taken down and a clean sweep was made, and lo! Job knelt upon the ground, which was the only thing left him, and rendered homage and worship. Then a further liberty was sought. If a breach could be opened upon his body, the enemy was sure that that would make him renounce his allegiance. So a very large permission was granted, including everything short of taking his life, which the adversary would have been glad to take also. In this also the accuser was worsted. The battered citadel would not yield. Job would not curse his Maker, though he did curse his natal day and the entire month it belonged to, but not God nor the devil either. Fallen spirits have a strange liberty allowed them to act on men. We wonder why it should be so. Let it content and comfort us to know that they operate only within marked limits. Even an unclean animal, proscribed by Levitical law, which might therefore seem to belong to their province, lies out of their range without leave obtained by humble petition. Lo the devils besought him, saying, 'If thou cast us out, suffer us to go away into the herd of swine.' (Matt. viii. 31.) Furthermore, if our kind keeper moderates the action of others in relation to us, we may well trust Him to treat us moderately in His providential dealings. He will not plead against us with His great power. Since he moderates the wind to the shorn lamb, He will not handle us with unmeasured severity. 'In measure, when it shooteth forth, thou wilt debate with it: He stayeth His rough wind in the day of the east wind.' (Isa. xxvii. 8.)

The translation, 'Such as is common to man,' would yield the idea that our trials are not of a different kind from those of other human beings, nor of greater magnitude. The plain inference is, that if others

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have borne up under and been benefited by the like discipline which falls to us, there is no reason why we should take damage, or indulge in the spirit of complaint. This is Peter's argument with the suffering Christians of his time, 'Be sober, be vigilant; because your adversary, the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour, whom resist stedfast in the faith, knowing that the same afflictions are accomplished in your brethren that are in the world.' (1 Pet. v. 8-9.) In respect of personal afflictions are you more severely handled than others? Ask an experienced medical man if he ever saw one that endured half your pain, and he will smile at your simplicity. If you droop under bereavement, do not think you are alone in your grief. How many who pass you in the street wear the significant dark crape! If you have suffered heavy losses, you can only have lost your all. You are not the first that was ever in such case. One who suffered the loss of all things said, 'Naked come I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return thither; the Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord.' (Job i. 21.) Then no strange thing has happened unto you as to the world's opposition. A cloud of witnesses has fore-run you in the thorny path of persecution. 'Ye have not yet resisted unto blood, striving against sin.' (Heb. xii. 4.) Our small troubles are mere trifles compared with what many have had to endure from a malignant world. Above all, let us think of our beloved Master. 'Consider him that endured such contradiction of sinners against himself, lest ye be wearied and faint in your minds.' (Heb. xii. 3.) He has put dignity upon suffering, and set us an example of patient endurance. 'For we have not an high priest which cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities; but was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin.' (Heb. iv. 15.)

The faithfulness of Deity stands pledged for the due adjustment of our trials. 'But God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able.' He is your fast friend. 'Faithfulness is the girdle of his reins.' Faithfulness is the bond that holds the believing soul and Christ together. But it is His faithfulness that is the grand security. 'I will even betroth thee unto Me in faithfulness.' The sure mercies of David are made over to believers. To win us to confidence the steadiest things are quoted as the pattern of Divine love. The hills and mountains, for example, are referred to. Who does not see that they are the very types of firmness? Their shape and outline give security that they will not fall. It is impossible they should, with their bases spread out all round, their compass diminishing as their height goes up, and their tops being the

narrowest part of all. The broader the base the surer the standing. Invert them, and they would certainly topple, being carried over by the weight of the higher part. The narrow basis could not sustain the superincumbence. The broad part being down, they must, in the nature of things, stand firm. So it is written, 'The mountains shall depart and the hills be removed; but My kindness shall not depart from thee, neither shall the covenant of My peace be removed, saith the Lord that hath mercy on thee' (Isa. liv. 10). Again, how steady is the course of nature! 'The sun knoweth his going down' westward, and punctually reappears in the east at the moment due. The alternation of day and night, the succession of seasons, the ebb and flow of the tides, and other natural appointments, have continued uniform through ages, because God is faithful. So it is written, 'Thus saith the Lord; if my covenant be not with day and night, and if I have not appointed the ordinances of heaven and earth; then will I cast away the seed of Jacob, and David my servant.' (Jer. xxxiii. 25, 26.) Again, how deep and true is a mother's love! As a rule, it may be relied on almost like a law of nature. This also is quoted to help our faith in God, whose love is of the highest order. 'Can a woman forget her sucking child that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb? Yea, they may forget, yet will I not forget thee.' (Isa. xlix. 15.) Believers are taught to connect what has already been done for them with the Divine veracity, and to cherish hope of final happiness on that ground. 'Who shall also confirm you unto the end, that ye may be blameless in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ. God is faithful, by whom ye were called unto the fellowship of His Son Jesus Christ our Lord.' (1 Cor. i. 8, 9.) In our darkest hour we may commit ourselves unto Him in well-doing as unto a faithful Creator. He may suffer us to be tried—indeed he will do so—but not beyond our power of endurance.

'But will, with the temptation, also make a way to escape,' &c. It is His province to make for His people a way to go out at where there is no way, a way through the sea if needful. He can shift a mountain, or dry up an ocean, or drive back an enemy, or send the pursuers on a false track. There is no end to His resources. If we are enclosed in the net of temptation, and the meshes bar us in on every side, sooner than we shall be taken captive the Invisible Hand will slash the net at a convenient point for our egress. In various ways this is possible, as, for example:—

1. *He can rebuke the tempter and positively forbid further action.* See Zech. iii. 2, Mark ix. 25.

2. *He can find other employment for those who trouble us.* See 1 Sam. xxiii. 27, 28.

3. *He can yield us such sensible support under pressure as to make it bearable.* See 2 Cor. xii. 9; Deut. xxxiii. 25.

4. *He can diminish the force of the sinful allurements or the weight of our burden.* He strengthens the back for the burden, or shapes the burden to the back. He knows to the fraction of an ounce how much we carry, and how much we can carry.

Eventually, we shall escape through the dark door of death to a better state of being, not militant as here, but triumphant, not probationary and hazardous as now, but retributive and safe, where no temptation, trouble, or sin can intrude. In the prospect of happiness so perfect, secure, and unalloyed, we certainly ought to bear up manfully. 'Behold, we count them happy which endure.' 'Blessed is the man that endureth temptation, for when he is tried he shall receive the crown of life which the Lord hath promised to them that love Him.'

T. G.

PROVIDENCE.

Now there cried a certain woman of the wives of the sons of the prophets unto Elisha, saying, 'Thy servant, my husband, is dead,' &c.—2 Kings iv. 1-7.

THIS was a most lamentable case of distress. It was that of a widow, who had been bereaved of a kind and pious husband. She was a poor widow, even in destitute circumstances. To add to her trouble, she was deeply involved in debt, caused, we may safely venture to affirm, not by carelessness, indolence, or extravagance, but by the protracted and expensive affliction of her husband. Her creditor was a hard-hearted, selfish man, who was threatening to take her sons away and subject them to 'enforced service' until the debt should be 'served out.' Thus was this poor woman overburdened by calamity—bereavement, poverty, death, and threatened distraint of her children. Thus afflictions do not always come upon us single-handed. One trouble is often the cause of another, and that of still another, so that we may at times reasonably fear that we shall be overwhelmed by trouble and sorrow.

She was a good woman. Her late husband had been a servant of God, and this evil had come upon her notwithstanding. This fact might possibly be to her a cause of 'a trial of her faith.' Godliness does not ensure worldly prosperity and freedom from 'cross-providences'—nay, it is often accompanied by them for wise and spiritual purposes;

and when this is the case it becomes a temptation to scepticism of God's goodness. Whether this person was thus tempted as Asaph or not, it is not said ; but, if she was not, she was much more mercifully dealt with than most of her fellows ; however, she appealed to Elisha for help, and was instructed as to a course which, with God's blessing, delivered her out of her straits, and rendered her conspicuous as a person specially befriended by God. This event illustrates the principles of God's Providence. What Elisha did for this sorrowing woman by miracle is only what God is doing for His people in the ordinary course of life.

Although there was much that was special and miraculous in this deliverance, there was also sufficient room for the woman's own personal efforts ; indeed, Elisha made a special point of bringing out into full action her own work. Thus Providence is a combination of Divine and human forces. It is not all Divine—that were degrading to man. It is not all human—that were insulting to God. But it is both beautifully mixed ; so was it in this instance. God worked ; the woman worked ; both worked together ; and the plan thus worked out succeeded. Let us notice the two respective portions of this work as illustrating the human and Divine agencies in Providence.

I.—THE HUMAN AGENCY.

1. *Self-help.* Said Elisha, 'What can I do for thee ? Tell me what hast thou in the house ?' This answer, and the plan which he propounded, were, most likely, altogether different from what she anticipated. She was sent home as poor as she went, with nothing save instruction as to what she was to do. She was to help herself out of the difficulty by entering into business. Personal effort is one of the principal modes by which God assists His people. Self-help is the first duty of man, with which Providence never dispenses. God does much for His people. He does more for them through their own endeavours. And this is by far the better plan. If Elisha had miraculously assisted this woman without her own co-operation it would have been a great mercy, but it would not have 'brought out' her higher qualities as did this plan. So is it ever. If Providence dispensed with man's own industry and energy, the effect would be to pauperise and demoralise him ; but, by helping him through himself, the principles of his true manhood are developed, and thus the inner man is educated by overcoming the difficulties of the outer.

And every person has something, however little, with which to begin. This woman spoke depreciatingly of her small 'pot of oil,' as though nothing could be accomplished by it ; but that was the very thing

Elisha instructed her to use. Thus the beginning of success is **WITHIN** ourselves, and it is immaterial how small that beginning is if it is only wisely employed. This truth is particularly applicable to all in all spheres and circumstances of life. It is right that we should seek help from God and our friends; but we ought also to carefully examine ourselves and our own little resources, however few there are left us, to see if we cannot see something by which to *lift ourselves* out of trouble and into more prosperous circumstances. Self-help is always better than foreign. Brains, muscles, and purity are infinitely superior to legacies. Also, in dispensing charity it is often better to put suppliants into the way of earning for themselves than to give them money.

2. *The Spirit of Adventure and Faith in God.* Although this plan of deliverance was conceived by Elisha, in its working out there was ample room for the woman's 'push' and confidence; and if she had not exercised these qualities it would have failed. If she had been a person of sight instead of faith she would have 'reasoned within herself' on the impossibility of the plan succeeding—on its unreasonableness—a small pot of oil to fill so many large vessels! But she believed, and her carrying out this plan was an evidence of her faith. Confidence and adventure are most necessary to success in any enterprise. It is not the calm, timid, calculating soul that effects the greatest work; but it is the bold and enthusiastic spirit that attempts the apparently impossible. We don't believe in luck. It is a word which ought never to have been coined; but we do believe in 'pluck' and hopefulness. If we have faith and courage, and find the vessels, God will fill them. Many fail because they do not make arrangements to succeed. Prayer should be attended by preparation for receiving the answer; we should look to the cloud while we ask for rain. Said God to Joshua, 'Only be thou strong and very courageous that thou mayest prosper whithersoever thou goest.' Ask God for oil, and find vessels.

II.—THE DIVINE AGENCY.

1. *Advice.* This plan was conceived by Elisha. The woman would never have thought of it; indeed, she seemed at first to think the oil was worth nothing. It was special advice, which human wisdom could not and would not have devised. So this is the first work of Providence, to give advice. Success depends particularly on proper measures, and these measures are revealed by God to His saints. 'Trust in the Lord with all thine heart, and lean not unto thine own understanding; in all thy ways acknowledge Him, and He shall direct thy paths.' We

have no prophet to appeal to in times of distress, but we have God Himself. He gives His people impressions of His will. 'The anointing which ye have received of him abideth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you; but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is truth, and is no lie, and even as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in Him.' In times of trouble we pray, and in answer to our prayer a thought suddenly strikes us. That thought is from God, which, embodied in action, delivers us, and we 'glorify Him.'

2. *Multiplication of Means.* She had no sooner began to pour out the oil than it multiplied and continued until every vessel was full. This was undoubtedly miraculous; but it is only a specimen of God's ordinary mode of assisting His people. The truth taught here is, that when a man does his best with what little he has it is increased. The talents are doubled. Men who are industrious and hopeful generally succeed better than their first beginnings promised; so that we are well advised not to 'despise the day of small things.'

3. *Opening out of our path in the world.* God infused a spirit of generosity into the hearts of her neighbours, so that they were willing to lend her empty vessels 'not a few.' He also found a ready and profitable sale for her oil, so that she might obtain money to pay the debt. Thus does Providence go 'before us to prepare our way.' A good man asks God's blessing on his business, and he receives it.

4. *The blessing of God extending to the limits of our endeavours.* 'The oil stayed' when the last vessel was filled, not because it was exhausted, but because the vessels were finished. Our faith is the limit of God's power, our work is blessed to its full extent. If we have faith, and manifest it by arranging for success, God will not fail to give us that success.

These are some of the truths taught us by this event. Do not despair in times of trouble. Go to God for advice. In every instance of misfortune He will find a way of deliverance. Trust in Him, work out His will, and you shall never be confounded. C. RUMFITT.

MAN, HIS OWN REGISTRAR.

'Despise thou the riches of His goodness, and forbearance, and longsuffering, not knowing that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance? But after thy hardness and impenitent heart treasurest up unto thyself wrath against the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God, who will render to every man according to his works.'—Rom. ii. 4-6.

WE have here:—

I.—MAN A RECIPIENT OF DIVINE GOODNESS.—According to the teachings of geology, our globe was undergoing a course of preparation

for man for thousands, if not millions, of years prior to the creation of the human race. Be this as it may, we have abundant proof of its present beautiful adaptation to man's requirements. Light for the eye, disclosing endless varieties of form and colour, around, above, and beneath; air for the lungs, and also as a medium for conveying sounds to the ear; and food for the sustenance of animal life. A particle of dust in the eye causes intense pain; but it is at least conceivable that man might have been so formed that all sights, sounds, &c., produced as much pain as the dust in the eye; and had our world been created by a malevolent being, it is probable that it would have been so. Formed as it is, however, 'the light is sweet; and a pleasant thing it is for the eyes to behold the sun. The majority of sounds, too, are agreeable, many of them—the strains of music, to wit—being positively delightful; and every child is a witness to the enjoyment derived from the sense of taste. Thus, at the very threshold of our existence we meet with evidences of the goodness of God; and as we advance in life such evidences appear to multiply. Think of the pleasures of knowledge, and of our opportunities for acquiring it! Sir Humphrey Davey started in life as a surgeon and apothecary's apprentice; Michael Faraday, F.R.S., was the son of poor parents, and he began life as a bookbinder's apprentice; Dr. Kitto was the son of a jobbing mason; and John Bunyan was a travelling tinker. And who are the present monarchs in the realm of intellect and morals? Have they not almost without exception risen directly or indirectly from the ranks? If so, is it not a proof of God's goodness that all have such opportunities for advancement? We grant that all cannot distinguish themselves after the manner of those whose names we have given; but all have the power to rule their own spirit; and as they do so they will accomplish a greater work than that of Sesostrius, Alexander, or Napoleon, for it is notorious that these men found it easier to destroy cities than to govern themselves. All have it in their power to give the 'soft answer' which 'turneth away wrath;' all may live so that, in accordance with that marvellous arrangement by which 'all things work together for good to them that love God,' their very difficulties become blessings; all may live soberly, righteously, and godly until, at length, they become 'equal to the angels.'

II.—MAN RESISTING THE NATURAL OUTCOME OF THIS GOODNESS.

—If, on my removal to a strange town, I find that some kind friend has provided for me a good house, with rooms beautifully furnished, and cupboards well filled, will not such conduct be calculated to arrest my attention, excite my admiration, and win my affection? Entering

this world—what with a mother's tenderness and a father's care, I am, indeed, well provided for; and if Almighty Power is calculated to excite my reverence, if Infinite Wisdom is calculated to excite my admiration, if everlasting love is calculated to move my heart, surely the more I consider these things the more profoundly shall I enter into the meaning of the refrain of the 107th Psalm: 'O that men would praise the Lord for His goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men.' And this will be but the simple and natural outcome of Divine Goodness; for, all the world over, 'love begets love.' Too many, however, care for none of these things. Divine goodness (including those aspects of goodness that we call forbearance and longsuffering) appears to be entirely wasted upon them; for, day by day, they live upon the Divine bounty without gratefully acknowledging the source whence all their blessings flow. By so living they resist the natural outcome of the goodness of heaven.

III.—MAN BROUGHT TO FACE THE CONSEQUENCES OF HIS OWN UNNATURAL CONDUCT.—Men may and do resist the goodness of God; but escape the consequences of their conduct they cannot. If at present they are somewhat oblivious of the result of transgression, the future will make it clear; for, on the day appointed for the 'revelation of the righteous judgment of God,' punishment will be seen to be the direct effect of transgression. Then 'God shall bring every work into judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good or whether it be evil.'

It is pretty generally known that Mr. Eddison, of New York, has invented an ingenious instrument (which he calls a phonograph) by which *a permanent record of human sounds is so obtained that they can be reproduced any number of times afterwards*. Some time ago Mr. Sankey sang 'Hold the Fort' in such a manner that the sounds and words were recorded by the phonograph. The tin-foil (containing the record) was afterwards placed in a bottle under the foundation-stone of Mr. Moody's tabernacle at Chicago; therefore it is possible that, hundreds of years hence, while Mr. Sankey is joining in the choruses of the skies, his voice may be heard on earth singing the well-known strains of 'Hold the Fort.' If man can thus produce a permanent record of human sounds, which can be reproduced at pleasure, surely it must be a very easy matter for the Almighty to reveal to every man the history and consequences of every thought, word, and deed.

'What!' said Macaba, an African chief, with whom Mr. Moffatt was conversing, '*the dead*—THE DEAD RISE?'

‘Yes,’ said the missionary, ‘all the dead shall rise.’

‘Will all the slain in battle rise?’

‘Yes.’

‘Will all that have been killed and eaten by lions, tigers, and crocodiles rise?’

‘Yes, and come to judgment.’

‘Hark! ye wise men,’ said Macaba, turning to his warriors, ‘did your ears ever hear such strange and unheard of news? Did *you* (turning to the oldest man in the company) ever hear such news as this?’

‘Never!’ said the old man. ‘I thought I had all the knowledge of the ancients, but I am astonished by these words. He (Mr. Moffat) must have lived before we were born.’

The chief then turned to the missionary, and, laying his hand upon his breast, said, ‘Father, I love you much. Your visit has made my heart white as milk. The words of your mouth are sweet like honey, but the words of the resurrection are too great for me. I do not wish to hear about the dead rising again. The dead cannot rise—*the dead shall not rise. I have slain thousands, AND SHALL THEY RISE?*’

The man of blood—as well he might be—was horrified at the thought of having to face the consequences of his own wrong-doing. Like Macaba, many people dislike the thought of judgment; but, however much men may dislike it, judgment is inevitable—‘*whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap.*’ ‘Deeds,’ says George Eliot, ‘like children that are born to us, cannot be recalled. They live and act apart from our own will. Nay, children may be strangled, but deeds never; they have an indestructible existence, both in and out of our consciousness.’ Yes, and if the unity of Nature is such that a pebble cannot be dropped into the ocean without causing a slight agitation throughout its length, and breadth, and depth, and the hand cannot be moved without effecting a vibration throughout all space, surely it is possible, if not probable, that the day of judgment will disclose to a man, as in letters of fire, his own life-history which he had himself faithfully and minutely, although unconsciously, recorded.

In many of the towns and cities of our Gospel-lit land there are men and women who, like beasts of prey, evade the pure light of day, and, under the dark cloak of night, go prowling about, seeking whom they may devour. And yet there was a time when, innocent and full of promise, they were dandled, fondled, and caressed by loving parents. Who uttered the first oath in the hearing of the child who afterwards became a bold blasphemer, glorying in his shame? Who suggested

the first degrading thought to the pure-minded girl that has since become the 'strange woman' whose 'steps take hold of hell?' Did the original actors pass away, having forgotten the chains of influence which they had set in motion? Verily the day of judgment will awaken unpleasant memories. Tell me not of the outer darkness or the unquenchable fire—what are they compared to the terrible picture of the text—*that of an ungodly man treasuring up unto himself wrath?*

Is it argued that God is merciful? True; but He always exercises His mercy in accordance with wise, just, and unchangeable laws—*e. g.*, a farmer neglects to sow, or is careless about the kind of seed he sows. Undoubtedly God could bring up a crop of wheat where nothing but thistles had been sown; but would it be reasonable for Him to do so?

Would you have Omnipotence delay the seasons and alter the operations of natural law to remedy the mischief caused by indolence, negligence, or wickedness? Here is a youth, who, disregarding a father's counsel and a mother's tears, persists in keeping late hours and bad company, until, sinking deeper and deeper into sin, wealth, health, and strength, all are squandered in the service of Satan. But, through mercy, he is saved at the eleventh hour. Will his penitence bring back the health which he had previously wasted? No; for God's laws are unalterable. 'Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap.' But 'As I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked;' He 'is not willing that any should perish;' why, therefore, thwart His will? As the goodness of God is intended to lead us to repentance, let us yield our hearts to its benign influence; and then, 'by patient continuance in well-doing, seek for glory, and honour, and immortality.'

S. G. B.

CHRISTIAN FIDELITY REQUIRED.

'Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.'—Rev. ii. 10.

THE church in Smyrna was poor and persecuted. Its past history was one of toil and tribulation. The future was dark and ominous. The introductory words addressed to this church express infinite tenderness. No complaint is made, no threat uttered. And while the Saviour reveals to them coming distress, He disarms their fears and urges them to continued fidelity, stimulating them to patient endurance by the promise of immortal honours in the kingdom of God.

The exigencies of the church to-day render the earnest reiteration of this text imperative. Dangers of a different kind, but not less deadly, are lurking around. The dungeon, the scaffold, and the flames, as a consequence of a religious profession, are things of the past; but Christian fidelity is exposed to trials as numerous, as subtle, and as perilous as in any past age. And Christ is as intimately acquainted with His Church and as tenderly concerned for her welfare now as ever. He knows the poverty and tribulation of His Church in her aggregate numbers and her individual membership, and He comes as sympathetically to us as He did to Smyrna, and we hear His voice as tender in sympathy, as earnest in appeal, and as authoritative in command. 'Be thou faithful,' &c.

I.—THE DUTY ENJOINED UPON THE CHURCH: Faithfulness. And what does this involve?

1. *Fidelity in Allegiance*.—Christ sustains the office of King in his Church. He is the Captain of His people's salvation. He is the Head of the body—the Church. In each of these capacities He claims the loyalty and firm adherence of His followers. Under the feudal laws established in this country after the Conquest an oath of allegiance must be taken by every person holding an estate under the Crown. And in modern times the oath of allegiance must be taken, or an equivalent declaration made, before any person can occupy any of the public offices of State or enter the army. The vows taken at the marriage altar and the declarations of fidelity between mutual friends are also illustrations of the Christian's consecration vows. Christ calls His people to be faithful to their vows of fealty. The cowardice that will forsake a cause or betray a friend, especially in times of disaster, is despicable; but unfaltering allegiance is indicative of true nobility. Whenever you are tempted to betray your Master, like Judas, or deny Him, like Peter, or run in cowardice and terror, like the rest of the disciples, be loyal to your King, and, like the Hebrew patriots, bravely answer, 'We will not forsake the house of our God.'

2. *Faithfulness in Trust*.—The office of a steward is a frequent and familiar illustration of Christian responsibility. It is required in a steward that a man be found faithful. In Moses and Joseph we have splendid examples of inflexible fidelity in trust. The parable of the talents illustrates Christian responsibility and the importance of fidelity. A sacred trust has been committed to the Church. The honour of her Lord is, to a certain extent, in her keeping. The Gospel, with its histories, doctrines, and precepts, must be preserved in its integrity. The past history of the Church contains records of a noble

army of martyrs who have cheerfully sacrificed liberty and life in defence of the truth. The Church of to-day has fallen upon perilous times. Her members are less exposed to social disgrace and physical torture than formerly; but their fidelity to truth is exposed to no less severe a strain. In the most specious forms and under the most plausible names the temptation is presented. Heresies of the most pernicious nature and dangerous tendencies are rife amongst us, and no misty apprehensions of the truth, nor half-hearted attachment thereto, will be able to resist the strain. Christ, who committed the sacred deposit to the Church, cries, 'Be thou faithful.'

3. *Fidelity in Service.*—Titus was required to urge upon servants that they 'show good fidelity in all things.' Honesty and industry distinguish all who deserve to be called faithful servants, whether that service be rendered on behalf of the Sovereign in a congress of nations, or of a constituency in the councils of the State. Whatever capacity a man may occupy as a servant, fidelity is required in him. The Christian is the servant of Christ. One is our Master, even Jesus. Faithful service will be complete, sincere, and persevering. We must obey *from the heart*. We must be perfect and complete *in all* the will of God; and we must continue patiently in well-doing. When a man puts his heart and conscience into his service it deserves the name of *faithful service*.

4. *Fidelity under the most intense form of Trial.*—'Faithful unto death.' Death, and death under the most favourable circumstances, is repulsive to most minds. But death, associated with all the horrible accessories of the dungeon, the axe, the flames, and the wild beasts, becomes infinitely more repulsive; and to this test Christian fidelity has been subjected in thousands of instances. The loss of liberty, property, and friends; the disgrace of the stocks, the pillory, and the brand; the torture of the rack, the thumbscrew, and the gridiron have been no insignificant forms of trial; but death in the forms in which Christian martyrs have had to meet it has been the most crucial test of all. Christ urges His Church to faithfulness unto death; and He has not urged in vain. Thousands have bravely responded, 'I am ready not only to suffer, but also to die.' Old Testament history contains some stirring records of faithfulness unto death, and the history of the Christian Church, from Stephen downwards, is rich with instances of heroism. We have all heard of the noble Six Hundred, whose courage and unquestioning obedience to orders have been immortalised by the Poet Laureate, and we have admired the bravery of these noble men. But it is to a higher kind of heroism that Christ

calls His Church. In the excitement of the battle danger may be forgotten, but the patient endurance of reproach and torture in the dungeon, on the rack, and at the stake has been a severer test, and has often developed a grander courage.

II. THE REWARD PROMISED TO THE CHURCH.—‘I will give thee a crown of life.’ In this promise we have—

1. *The Princely Gift*: ‘A crown of life.’—Under the significant figure of a crown the Christian’s reward is frequently set forth; and thus represented to the Church at Smyrna, it would be understood and appreciated. The *crown* suggests such ideas of reward as no other term can. Kings and priests and conquerors were crowned. Appropriateness of figure has been observed in all Scriptural representations of reward. It is always in striking contrast with present circumstances, as riches for poverty, rest for weariness, honour for indignity, glory for shame, and *life* for *death*. The reward will be rich and enduring. To fully describe or conceive it is impossible; but the terms of the promise warrant us to expect, after the conflicts of earth, the highest honours which heaven can bestow, and honours that will be as enduring as eternity—a crown ablaze with a glory which will never fade.

2. *The Royal Donor*: ‘I will give thee,’ &c.—The value of a gift in the estimation of the receiver depends very much upon the giver. A book, a flower, or a trinket of trifling value is often prized as a memento of the donor. A few simple words of commendation uttered by the Queen’s own lips and a medal of trifling value pinned by her hands on the breasts of soldiers who have returned victorious from battle have sometimes driven men into a perfect frenzy of enthusiasm, and all the privation, and suffering, and danger of the campaign have been forgotten in the honours of the reward. Christ will crown His people. He will delegate no angel to do this, but will bestow His own royal favours with His own royal hand. His hand will place the diadem on his people’s brow, and His voice will pronounce their eulogy.

3. *The Certainty and Publicity of its Bestowment*: ‘I will,’ &c.—It is His will to give the crown to all the faithful; and who shall withstand His will? It is His purpose to bring many sons to glory; and who shall thwart His purpose? This is the royal proclamation of the King. It is our sure word of promise. The Christian’s record is on high, and his recompence is sure. Christ’s royal word has gone forth; and all our experience proves His faithfulness. The chief butler forgot Joseph; but Christ never forgets His people, nor violates His

promise. The crown will be given *publicly*. Honours, as rewards for distinguished services, are usually bestowed publicly. The valour of an army returning shattered, but victorious, is publicly honoured. The coronation of a King is an occasion of great pomp. These things are not done in a corner, and they are faint emblems of the honours to be conferred upon the saints who are 'faithful unto death.' Before the universe Christ will acknowledge and honour the fidelity of His people. Unostentatious services will be honourably mentioned, and thousands whose names have been unknown to fame, and whose lives have been spent in obscurity, shall be brought into honourable distinction; and amidst the acclamations of seraphs the followers of the Lamb shall have placed upon their heads crowns of imperishable splendour, and shall have administered unto them an abundant entrance into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

We urge the exhortation of the text. Be loyal to your King. Be faithful in the trust with which He has honoured you, and the service to which He has called you. However subtle and intense the form of trial may be, endure it with patience and constancy. Contemplate the inspiring example of those who have passed the fiercest trials unscathed, who have overcome through the blood of the Lamb, and who now inherit the promises.

T CAMPEY.

THE TEMPTATION OF CHRIST.

'Then was Jesus led up of the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil,' &c.—Matthew iv. 1-11.

THE narrative of the Temptation has been the subject of much enquiry and criticism, and still very different opinions are entertained respecting it. Some regard it as a myth, some as a parable, some as a dream. We, however, believe in the reality of the narrative in all its details. We are aware that the subject is beset with difficulties, and we do not hope to remove them by our present effort; nevertheless, a prayerful consideration of the subject, under God's blessing, may be profitable. Notice the temptation—

I.—IN ITS RELATION TO THE TEMPTER.

1. *The Tempter's Design in attacking Christ.* It was possibly twofold—first, to test the Saviour's Messiahship; and, secondly, to lead him

into sin, and thus dishonour him and frustrate his purposes in regard to human redemption. No doubt the tempter was acquainted with the Scriptures, and also well-informed respecting the passing events of the day, and probably had watched the progress of Jesus all the way from Bethlehem with great interest and anxiety. But it does not appear that Satan knew that the person he was attacking was indeed the Son of God. Satan was not omniscient, and therefore, like those whom Christ came to redeem, he could only understand the Saviour in proportion as his character and purposes were developed and asserted. At any rate, whether the tempter believed in Christ's Messiahship or not, he evidently believed in his peccability. And so he entered the list with the man of Nazareth not only with determination but with manifest confidence of success. And his confidence was not unreasonable, for he had never failed with any human being. Not only was he at that moment the god of this world, leading captive millions of the race, but no man had been able to stand before him. Not only had David, Moses, Jacob, Abraham, and others of the strongest and best of human kind been dishonoured, but Adam and Eve, whose nature was sinless and perfect, were beguiled and ruined. We do not wonder, therefore, that Satan should have advanced with apparent confidence to test, beguile, dishonour, and subdue the second Adam. Notice—

2. *The Tempter's Tactics.* The arrangement, time, place, and subject matter of the temptation bespoke the intelligence, cunning, and subtlety of the accomplished foe. What could be more plausible than these suggestions that he made to the Saviour, and what could be more likely under the circumstances to succeed? They were especially adapted to the Saviour's condition at that time, they had the appearance of much piety, and were also backed by passages of Scripture misapplied, but very artfully put. As the acorn contains the oak, these suggestions contain the principles which underlie all the temptations by which men are plied. The first suggestion was addressed to the physical appetites, and was an appeal to the susceptibilities and infirmities of sense. The second suggestion was addressed to that strong inherent love of man for admiration and applause. And the third was addressed to the universal disposition and craving of man for possession and power. The lust of the flesh is said to be the prevailing sin of youth, ambition the besetting sin of maturity, and covetousness the dominant sin of age; and here we have them all included. This temptation was truly representative in its character. The Saviour was tried on all the most vulnerable sides of humanity in a most artful manner, and under circumstances peculiarly favourable to

success. If we cannot see the adaptation and force of this temptation it is because we cannot enter into the circumstances, or because we do not realise that Christ was completely human. No doubt the tempter expected to succeed in dishonouring Christ and frustrating his life-mission, but he was disappointed. The prince of this world came, but he found nothing in Christ. Notice—

3. *The Tempter's Defeat.*—He had subdued the first Adam, but the Second Adam proved invulnerable. This was a crisis in the human life of Christ, but he was equal to the occasion. Satan was baffled and defeated, and made a shameful and inglorious retreat. He plied the Saviour until he exhausted his craft, and his character and purpose became manifest; and his blasphemous assumption and lying pride aroused the Saviour's indignation, and he exclaimed, 'Get thee behind me, Satan,' and immediately the enemy fled from His presence. This was the first recorded attack made by Satan upon Christ, and this is the first recorded victory of Christ over the Prince of Darkness in this World. This was the beginning of the enemy's fall before Christ in His human life. This was the first open blow towards the bruising of his head and the destruction of his power.

II.—CONSIDER THE TEMPTATION IN ITS RELATION TO CHRIST.

1. *It was a Proof of His Humanity.* While the divinity of our Lord has been denied by some, his humanity has been denied by others. His two-fold nature is indeed full of mystery to us; but we think it is plainly taught in the Scriptures, and we accept it. Christ was divine, and He was also human—perfect God and perfect man. And although His two natures were so united as to form one person, yet they were not so amalgamated and confused that the one lost its identity and completeness by being united with the other. This fact should be borne in mind in the interpretation of all the Scriptures that refer to Christ. Many passages which refer to His humanity can only be understood and interpreted intelligently by totally excluding from the interpretation all idea of His Divinity, because those passages have no reference to His Divinity any more than if he were not Divine. And, on the other hand, the same fact must be observed in interpreting many passages that refer to His Divinity, because they have no reference to His humanity any more than as if He were not human.

If we approach the subject of Christ's temptation with the idea that His two natures were blended or confused, and not each one remaining complete in itself, then the temptation of necessity loses all its

force. In fact, it loses its reality and becomes a mere farce, as it must be the veriest folly to talk of His Divinity being tempted. But the Scriptures say that Christ was 'tempted in all points as we are.' He was therefore capable of being tempted. In considering the temptation of Christ we have nothing whatever to do with His Divinity. He was Divine, but His Divinity rendered Him no more assistance in his trial than Adam or any other man might have received under similar circumstances. He met, resisted, and defeated the devil not as God, but as man. We consider that the sum total of the temptations and sufferings of Christ were all endured and exhausted within the proper limits of His humanity.

2. *The Temptation was a test of His Moral Character as a Man.* While Christ was perfectly human he was also perfectly sinless. In Him there was no moral or spiritual deficiency. In the constitution and condition of His human nature he was on a par with Adam before the fall—perfectly human, but perfectly sinless—capable of sin, but without any bias whatever towards it. Adam being tempted, might have resisted and retained his innocence and dignity; but he yielded and fell. Christ being tempted with all the force and cunning of the same great foe, and under less favourable circumstances, resisted and defeated the enemy. Peter's courage gave way before the accusations of the servant-maid in the hall. David's character was trailed in the mire by an inordinate passion. Samson yielded to the solicitations of Delilah and was dishonoured. Moses' patience failed him at Meribah; and Adam and Eve were deceived and ruined by the serpent. But the heart and character of Christ proved invulnerable to every attack. After repelling repeated assaults of Satan, He could boldly lift up His head and exclaim, 'The Prince of this world cometh and hath nothing in Me.' And into the eyes of scheming Pharisees he could look unabashed and ask, 'Which of you convinceth me of sin?' And as the testing of the true mettle makes more manifest its reality and worth, so the beauty and strength of the moral character of Christ were more fully revealed by the temptations and sufferings through which He passed.

3. *The Temptation was part of His Discipline for the Messianic office.* It was necessary that Christ should be tried and tempted in all points as we are, in order to the fulfilment of Scripture prophecy, and in order that He might be able to sympathise with those whom he came to succour and save. A person who has always lived in the light cannot be expected to have a fellow feeling with those whose lot

it is to walk in darkness. Jesus Christ was not only the most unselfish man that ever lived, but He was emphatically 'a Man of sorrows.' He was touched with the feeling of our infirmities, and is able to sympathise with and succour them that are tempted in as much as He Himself has suffered, being tempted. 'For it became Him for whom are all things and by whom are all things in bringing many sons unto glory to make the Captain of their salvation perfect through sufferings.' Consider the temptation—

III.—IN ITS RELATION TO US.

It furnishes us with several useful lessons.

1. *That Holiness of Character does not Exempt from Temptation and Trial.* There never was so perfect and holy a Man as our Lord. All that gives beauty and strength to manhood He possessed in the highest degree. In His disposition and character He was altogether lovely. And yet He was led into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil; and thus we see that the best of men are liable to be conducted to the dreary wilds of life to do conflict with the great enemy of their souls. Daniel, David, Job, and Paul were all conversant with temptations and trial. 'The beauty of the flower does not keep it from withering. The ripeness of the fruit does not preserve it from decay. The artistic genius of the picture does not protect it from injury. And so the purity and perfections of moral character do not secure it against the attacks of Satan. There is, however, this difference. The picture, the flower, and the fruit have no power to resist the attacks that are made upon them, but man has; he can repel the approach of evil, he can resist the devil.'

2. *That Solitude is no Safeguard against Temptation.* Thousands since his day have said with David, 'Oh that I had wings like a dove, for then would I fly away and be at rest. Lo, then would I wander far off and remain in the wilderness,' and, like David, did not know what they were saying. Solitude is certainly no safeguard either against the approach of Satan or the evil promptings of our fallen nature. Christ was in the wilderness, but there the devil found Him and severely attacked Him. We think those who go to monasteries and nunneries to escape sin make a mistake. They take their own evil hearts with them and find the devil there awaiting them. Our safeguard is the shield of faith and the sword of the Spirit.

3. *That our Seasons of most Exultant Joy may be followed by severe Temptation and Trial.*—It was just after the heavens had opened upon

Christ, and His Father had said, 'This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased,' that he underwent this severe and protracted conflict with Satan. One of David's worst falls took place directly after he had boasted of his security, saying that he should never be moved. It was immediately after that splendid victory on Carmel that Elijah fled for his life, terrified by the threat of Jezebel. It was just after Peter had expressed his absolute devotedness to Christ, saying, 'Though all men shall be offended because of Thee, yet will I never be offended, though I should die with Thee, yet will I not deny Thee,' that he shrank back in the presence of the servant-girl, and, with oaths and curses, denied that he knew his Master.

It would seem impolitic on the part of the enemy to attack men just after they have been abundantly blessed and filled with joy—just after some especial manifestation of Divine favour. But the devil knows that nothing more readily throws people off their guard than prosperity. When men are highly exalted and filled with joy, they are apt to forget their weakness, grow self-confident, and neglect prayer. Christian perfection, the higher life, or sanctification, is a doctrine of Scripture, is attainable in this life, and should be earnestly sought after by all believers; but it is truly painful and humiliating to witness the slips and falls of some whose professions are very loud on this point. We have heard men profess the 'rest of faith' and 'perfect love' one moment, and almost the next moment we have seen their faces red with passion under very slight provocation, and we have thought in their case the 'rest of faith' was a rest from watchfulness, prayer, and work; and consequently a rest of unconscious and unprotected danger. We may well say, 'Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall.' Not only when in the valley, but when on our Pisgah mountains, we shall do well to 'watch and pray that we enter not into temptation.'

4. *That a Well-sustained Resistance of Temptation will bring a Reward.*—Christ resisted until the devil gave up the contest and retired; and it is said, 'then the angels came and ministered unto Him.' We cannot fully understand how spirit influences spirit, and therefore we cannot say how the angels ministered to Christ; but undoubtedly they comforted and strengthened Him. And then, strong in conscious innocence, full of blissful thoughts, and encouraged by these angelic messengers, Christ went forth to toil and suffer until He should finish the work which He came to do. And, like Him, we may overcome. Though the great enemy is still abroad, deceiving the

nations and tempting man to sin and ruin, we need not fear. We go not on a warfare at our own charge. The angels have charge concerning us. 'Are they not all ministering spirits sent forth to minister for those who shall be heirs of salvation?' Whenever the devil can come to tempt and harass, then angels will come to soothe, strengthen, and deliver the faithful; for 'the angel of God encampeth round about them that fear Him and delivereth them.' The reward of resisted temptation and faithful service in the present life includes an increase of moral strength and courage, a deeper and more appreciative experience of Divine favour, the soothing and inspiring ministries of angels, and greater success in all that pertains to Christian life. And all that may be enjoyed here is but the earnest. The fulness of the reward is yet to come. 'Eye hath not seen,' &c. 'Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.'

THOMAS PRICE.

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND POLITICS.

LITERATURE.

THE apologetic literature of Christianity has received a valuable addition in *Natural Elements of Revealed Theology*, by the Rev. G. MATHESON, D D. (London: Nisbet & Co.) The volume is the Baird Lecture for 1881, and the design of it is to show the extent to which the doctrines of revealed religion have a basis in the natural instincts of the human mind. A more important subject than this Dr. Matheson could scarcely have selected at the present time. The infallibility of the Church in matters of faith is now abandoned by all except Romanists, though there is great trust in authority and antiquity on the part of High Churchmen; and the infallibility of the Book is rudely shaken by modern speculation and various theories of inspiration that find more or less favour. Recognising all this, Dr. Matheson proposes to do more than establish the historical truth of Christianity; he undertakes to show its thorough adaptation to the known and felt needs of human nature, and upon this ground to found an argument for its credibility. To the view commonly held in the last century and the early part of this—that the credibility of Christianity cannot be tested by the truth of the message it brings, but that all that can be done is to test the credibility of the messengers by whom the message is communicated, Dr. Matheson takes very decided objection. Christianity is a Divine remedy for man's needs; and the adaptation of remedy to need should certainly count for not a little in evidential value. Dr. Matheson takes some objection to Butler's apologetic position, which, though admirable enough so far as it goes, is scarcely suited to the argument as it now stands between Christianity and its opponents. When Butler wrote the purpose of Apologetics was not so much to show that Christianity was true as to show that its opponents had not proved it false. There was more attempt to show that nothing in Christianity shocked the natural instincts of humankind rather than that the Gospel of Christ harmonized with these instincts and adequately met the deep spiritual needs of man in his present condition. Now, Dr. Matheson's purpose is not to show that other forms of faith are encumbered with the same difficulties as the Christian faith, and that the latter no more shocks the instincts of men than the former; but that the Gospel of Christ affords positive evidence of

its Divine character in its fitness to the needs of man both for rectification and perfection of nature, a fitness of which man himself, notwithstanding his sad perversion, possesses competency to judge. A revealed religion is not a religion which is true because it is revealed, but revealed because it is true, the last criterion of truth to the individual man being not anything outward in relation to him, but the inward or subjective one of conscience, which, despite debasement and degradation, will recognise in the long run the Gospel of Christ as the one religion that yields satisfaction, and is 'worthy of all acceptance.' All who secure this work will find it a refreshing and stimulating study.

Another contribution to the apologetic literature of the Church is *Unbelief in the Eighteenth Century, as Contrasted with its Earlier and Later History*, by Principal CAIRNS, D.D. (Edinburgh: A. and C. Black.) We are indebted for this volume to the foundation designed to perpetuate the memory of the late Principal Cunningham, one of the chief actors in the Disruption in 1843; and the Free Church leaders have done well to afford Principal Cairns, who belongs to a sister community, an opportunity to deliver the course of Lectures now published. Dr. Cairns abandons the sermonic method still retained in connection with the Boyle and Bampton Lectures, and confines himself in the main to a historical treatment of the subject. The ground he traverses is in considerable part—as, for instance, in lectures three, four, and five—the same as that which Mr. Leslie Stephen goes over in his work on Eighteenth Century Thought; but, of course, the whole question is considered from quite a different standpoint and in a much briefer way. Dr. Cairns opens his course of Lectures with a sketch of the unbelief of the first four centuries, and, by considering the character of it, seeks to prepare the way for an estimate of modern unbelief. Ancient unbelief was defensive, the new faith that was rising up being the aggressive force; it was also associated more or less with polytheistic notions, whereas in later times it is intensely aggressive, and has disconnected itself from all positive religious thought, and no longer appeals to sacred books, which in some sense were regarded as a revelation, but to so-called philosophical conceptions, which are supposed to afford it warranty and support. And appearing thus in these later times as the champion of liberty and freedom, Unbelief gains no small degree of advantage. The second lecture contains an admirable estimate of the two great Apologists of the seventeenth century, Grotius and Pascal, and their work; and, while admitting the excellence and value of both, Dr. Cairns has no hesitation in assigning the

balance of advantage to Pascal, who, though trained under the influence of Rome, founded his defence of the Christian faith not upon external evidences, but upon its characteristic nature and operation in the life of mankind. The eighteenth century unbelief is discussed in the three following lectures, one of which is devoted to the English deists, a second to the French school, and a third to that of Germany. Notwithstanding the excellence of these lectures, it is probable that many who read them may experience a sense of disappointment. It may be that some particular representative of unbelief, in whom they have some interest, does not receive so lengthy a notice as was expected. Among English deists, Middleton scarcely receives a mention, and Hume does not occupy the space that might have been expected ; but still no one can read the chapter devoted to English Deism without receiving the impression that here, at any rate, Dr. Cairns is perfectly master of his subject and possesses an intimate knowledge of the men and literature he handles. The French encyclopædic school is treated more sketchily than the English school, though evidently here there is no lack of acquaintance with the subject, as may also be said relative to German rationalistic thinkers, though some of them are only lightly touched. These drawbacks are due to the circumstances under which the work was done, and we only wish that Dr. Cairns had been at liberty to have treated the subject with greater fulness. As it is, however, the work will take a high place among our apologetic literature, as it deserves to do. The concluding lecture deals with the unbelief of this century, and the position of such writers as Strauss, Mill, Renan, and others, is considered as lengthily as the inexorable obligations of space will permit. We hope this is not the only volume upon this subject with which Dr. Cairns will enrich our modern Christian literature.

It sometimes happens that the men who greatly influence the life and thought of a period are comparatively little known. Their work is done quietly and in seclusion. Other men appear prominently in the arena of active life, and attention is diverted from those who have really supplied the vital force that has shaped the course of human development. This is singularly illustrated in a volume of more than common excellence, which has recently been published, *William Law, Nonjuror and Mystic*, by J. H. OVERTON, M.A. (London, Longmans, and Co.) Very little is known of Law by the present generation, and yet, as may be learned from Mr. Overton's volume, few men who have lived within the past two hundred years have exercised a greater influence upon religious life and thought in England than William Law has done. It is said of some men that they are born out of due

time, which is doubtful, and that they are in advance of their age, which may be admitted. Law was certainly in advance of his age in all the higher elements of Christian attainment and experience; but that he was born out of due time, or before his time, can hardly be granted, when it is remembered how largely he has influenced the development of not a few of the religious and social activities with which we are now surrounded. The first chapter of Mr. Overton's work delineates in broad outline Law's personality, and exhibits the contrast in which he stood to his own age, while at the same time impregnating it with an influence that has proved fruitful in wide and lasting results. The second chapter recounts the principal incidents of his life from his birth in 1686 till 1713, when he was deprived of his degree at Cambridge. A political speech he had made having offended the Whig authorities there, and in 1714 giving further expression to his convictions in this direction, he became a Nonjuror, refusing to swear allegiance to the House of Hanover. Mr. Overton carefully analyses nearly all Law's writings, and discusses their respective merits with great candour and ability. The letters to Hoadley, by which Law first commanded attention, develop his theory of the Church, and had no little influence upon the Tractarian movement of some forty odd years ago. The value of the argument may be fairly estimated from the statement of it in Mr. Overton's pages. A similar outline is given of the refutation of Dr. Mandeville's speculations on moral and social questions, propounded in his 'Fable of the Bees.' For a time Law was tutor to Edward Gibbon, the father of the great historian, and after the college studies of young Gibbon were completed, Law resided in his father's house for some twelve years as a sort of domestic chaplain. It was during this period of his life that John and Charles Wesley came under his influence, and though they afterwards parted, Law's influence made a lasting impression upon them, and Methodism owes more of its peculiar character to this influence than is perhaps at all times admitted. Shortly after his separation from the Wesleys, Law seems to have begun his acquaintance with the mystics, a circumstance brought about mainly through the instrumentality of Dr. Cheyne, an eminent physician of that time. The 'Serious Call,' and the 'Christian Perfection,' receive in Mr. Overton's pages a careful consideration, as these are the works by means of which Law has, perhaps, influenced most powerfully the development of Evangelical religion; and, while admitting the sterling merits of both of them, there is no hesitancy in pointing out wherein they are defective in their teaching. Law took part in the Deistic controversy of the last century, and wrote the 'Case of Reason' in reply

to Tindal's 'Christianity as old as the Creation.' The purpose of Tindal was to show that Christianity contained nothing that was really new, and that no special revelation was needed to make known what reason had long ago discovered. Law, in his work, contended that reason had no case to present in relation to the question at all, as in matters of faith reason was without vocation. The latter part of the volume is full of interest, in which Law's mysticism comes under review, and the deep and subtle speculations that engrossed him are detailed with remarkable skill and care. His opponents and associates—all, in fact, who come in any way into contact with him—are more or less noticed, and the concluding chapter of the book contains a sketch of the last effort—and a vigorous effort it certainly was for a man of his years—Law made to communicate his thoughts to his fellowmen by the use of his pen. It was an address to the clergy, and was directed against the low worldly tone that prevailed among them. William Law was evidently a remarkable man—High Churchman, Evangelical, and Mystic, the latter element ultimately dominating, but none of the three being really absent at any part of his thoughtful and studious life; and his influence may be distinctly traced in these several provinces of religious life, thought, and action, as they appear at the present day. Mr. Overton has done an excellent service in giving us this monograph on Law, and making his name and teaching familiar to a century which had permitted him to sink into forgetfulness, while preserving names not half so worthy of being remembered.

The Resurrection of Christ is frequently regarded as of importance from an evidential point of view, and its doctrinal significance and value is well-nigh, if not altogether, overlooked. This, however, cannot be said of a volume, *The Resurrection of our Lord*, by W. MILLIGAN, D.D., Professor of Divinity and Biblical Exegesis in the University of Aberdeen (London: Macmillan). In these pages, between three and four hundred, Dr. Milligan furnishes a very substantial contribution to apologetic and doctrinal theology. The possibility of miracles and the authenticity of the Scriptures are not argued but assumed in this volume; and, after noting the point whence he starts, Dr. Milligan proceeds to define the nature of the fact he proposes to consider. The view that the Resurrection of Christ was simply a revival of belief in Him in the hearts of His disciples, the modern Gnostic view of the subject, is shown to be wholly inconsistent with the teaching of the New Testament, as is also the notion that Christ is now a purely spiritual being, assuming bodily form from time to time. The risen body of the Saviour, Professor Milligan points out,

is not to be absolutely identified with that which was crucified, as important differences are as clearly indicated in the accounts we have as are resemblances. The glorification of the Lord Jesus began at the Resurrection, and not at the Ascension, which, according to Professor Milligan's exegesis, would be not the beginning of a process, but a stage in its progress. A careful discussion is accorded to the objections raised against the position Professor Milligan adopts, and nothing that can be alleged in opposition to his views is either overlooked or disposed of in a perfunctory way. The second lecture—for the work consists of six lectures—is mainly of an evidential character, in which Paul's testimony to the Resurrection of Christ is handled with considerable skill and force, as are also the institutions and liturgies of the early Church, with a view to show how entirely the Christians of the first centuries recognised the Resurrection as the primary fact and cause of their Church's existence. Then follows a searching examination of the three principal theories opposed to the historical character of the Resurrection—first, that the supposed death upon the Cross was merely a swoon, from which Jesus subsequently recovered; second, that the whole story is an imposture; and, thirdly, that the accounts of Christ's appearances after death were mere imaginations, arising out of the enthusiasm of His disciples, and that they had no objective existence whatever. The first and second of these theories don't find much favour now, and are speedily disposed of by Professor Milligan; but more space and time are devoted to the third. It is shown that, in the case of Paul, he was not likely, when he says he saw the Lord, to be carried away by any enthusiastic feeling. The spirit and temper of the Cilician Jew as he approached Damascus were not at all congenial to the creation of a vision favourable to the faith he was commissioned to destroy. In the case of the disciples, too, after the crucifixion, there was no such enthusiasm as is a necessary condition of the triumphant and gladdening vision this theory demands, but a deep and sad depression. The appearances of the Saviour don't lend themselves to favour this theory of imagination and vision. They are characterised by a distantness and reserve scarcely consistent with visions created by enthusiasm. This lecture (the third) and the one preceding it are excellent examples of effective apologetics. In the fourth lecture Dr. Milligan turns to a consideration of the bearing of the Resurrection upon the person and work of Christ, and proceeds to develop the doctrinal significance of this fundamental fact of the Christian faith. A large share of attention has been devoted in the theology of the Church—using this phrase in a broad sense—to Atonement and

Redemption; and the union of man with God in a higher life, of which the Resurrection especially speaks, has fallen comparatively in the background. The selfish thought of escaping bondage by the work of Christ fills a somewhat wide place in modern Christian teaching rather than the use to be made of the freedom thus gained. It is to the Crucifixion that Christian thought is mainly turned, and the Resurrection, if not lost sight of, is mostly regarded as a mere evidential fact, designed to attest the Divine acceptance of Christ's completed work, whereas it is itself really a part of that work. It was as essential for Christ to rise that He might be the Saviour of men as it was for Him to die that He might deliver His people. The Resurrection affected his Person. It was the beginning of that glorification in Himself—that passage out of humility—to accomplish which in humanity He was manifested. It affected Him in his office, for, apart from it, He could not have entered into the heavens—the Holy of Holies—as the High Priest of human kind to make atonement for them. It is as the risen Lord that Jesus reigns as King: and the dispensation of the Spirit did not begin till the tomb had been left empty and the heavens had received Jesus from the sight of His wondering disciples. The Resurrection is more than an evidential fact. It is part of the work of Christ and full of doctrinal significance. The fifth lecture brings under consideration the union with the risen Christ, which results in sanctification, which is the perfection and ideal of Christian life, and is realised through that experience of redemption which it is the especial prerogative of the exalted Prince and Saviour to grant. The concluding lecture relates to the Resurrection as it bears on the Church and the world, and contains a powerful plea for unity among them that believe. The volume is one that cannot be studied without profit, and an acquaintance with it will certainly help to make Christian life richer, stronger, and fuller of Christly sympathy and beauty.

It is very convenient to have within reasonable compass a fair statement of the principal ecclesiastical systems that have secured a footing for themselves in England, and so be able, without reference to the encyclopædias or other sources, to form a tolerably accurate judgment of their respective merits and claims. Those who care to make any acquaintance with the several modes of church organisation which Englishmen prefer may easily do so under reliable guidance in *The Church Systems of England in the Nineteenth Century*, by J. G. ROGERS, B.A. (London: Hodder and Stoughton.) This goodly volume of seven hundred pages is the last published Congregational lecture, and

will be found far from being the least interesting and instructive of the series to which it belongs. Mr. Rogers has taken a keen and active part in ecclesiastical controversy, both on the platform and in the press; but in this volume he does not appear as a mere ecclesiastical partisan, but endeavours, as he says, to do justice to the motives and state fairly the principles of those to whom he is conscientiously opposed. The broad and liberal sympathies manifest throughout this volume, and the generous feeling evinced by Mr. Rogers towards those who differ from him, cannot fail but command a respectful attention to what he has to say. He strikes hard enough at what he deems to be error, but in doing it he does not forget what is due to an opponent. The volume possesses a historical as well as controversial value, and will be a welcome acquisition to all students of ecclesiastical questions. The lectures may be divided into three groups. The first two are general in their character. They do not relate to particular Church systems, but to all, the topics being, 'The Age and the Churches,' and 'Religious Liberalism in its Influence on Church Polity.' In the first of these lectures attention is directed to the changes that have come over Anglican Christendom without destroying or even sensibly weakening any one of the great ecclesiastical systems embraced in it. There is abundant evidence that each of these systems has influenced the other, but there are no indications that any one either has gained or is gaining a decided advantage over the others. They act and react upon one another, but the dominant idea of each maintains itself intact. There may be more or less of injurious development, but there is, in Mr. Rogers' judgment, a steady growth of the spirit of true unity. Priestly pretension, it is declared, has no chance of ultimate success, since the lay sentiment of the age is unquestionably against it; and an audacious and reckless rationalism is not likely to meet with any more favour. In the second lecture Mr. Rogers maintains that true Liberalism is in harmony with the purest conceptions of Christianity; but this does not render him blind to the dangers from which the Church may suffer through an abuse of liberty. Liberalism may pass over into 'a latitudinarianism which does not stop short of absolute neutrality in relation to all creeds and churches.' Points of difference are minimised until it appears as if they were of no importance whatever, and it seems a wonder why they are maintained at all. There is a tendency also to permit the esteem felt for individuals to influence regard for the systems with which they are identified, a notable instance of which is given in the case of Cardinal Newman, for whom an esteem is felt by many which leads them to

look upon Romanism with a toleration that otherwise they would not have been disposed to accord to it. The worth and danger of religious liberalism are considered with a care and candour in this lecture leaving little to be desired. In the second group of lectures Mr. Rogers reviews the position of the Episcopal Church and the various ecclesiastical phases it has presented in recent times. The evangelical party in the Episcopal Church is first noticed. This lecture contains a brief sketch of the sad condition of the state of the Anglican Church from the time of Queen Anne to the days of the evangelical revival under the labours of Whitfield, Wesley, and others. Vivid sketches are furnished of the leaders in this work, of the revival, and the service they rendered to the Church and the nation. There is little said concerning the present position and influence of the evangelical party, and to some probably this may be a disappointment; but a careful study of the lectures immediately following will be found to supply this lack. The sacerdotal party in the Episcopal Church have considerable space devoted to them, for they are the subjects of no fewer than four lectures—‘The Oxford School,’ ‘The Tractarian Struggle,’ ‘The Church and the Courts,’ and ‘The Ritualistic Controversy.’ The genesis and progress of this movement are sketched with a masterly hand, and ample justice is done to the ability, devout earnestness, and self-denying zeal of its leaders; but, in the judgment of Mr. Rogers, ‘there has been little permanent gain to religion from a revival which has undermined the foundations of faith in Christ in order to strengthen the authority of the Church.’ The lecture on the Church and the Country is not devoted solely to the sacerdotal party, but embraces a consideration of the anomalous position of the Broad Church party as well. Following these lectures is one on ‘The Established Church and the Free Churches,’ which forms a transition to the brief but remarkably able consideration of the position of Nonconformity. And here the question of Establishment receives a passing notice. Nonconformity presents three main types of Church life—a complete and elaborate organisation, in which the independence of individual churches largely disappears; a combination of the independence in individual churches with such co-operation for common objects as is compatible with the preservation of self-governing rights; and a distinct repudiation of all organised forms of Christianity. The Methodists and Presbyterians belong to the first class, the Independents and Baptists to the second, and the Plymouth Brethren to the third. And nearly approaching this latter class Mr. Rogers places the Society of Friends, though they have a definite organisation of their own. The

Plymouth Brethren are severely handled ; but we cannot say the treatment is too severe. Their influence is 'disintegrating, disturbing, and dividing.' They make it their main business to detach members from other churches, and do little in the way of seeking to bring sinners to Christ ; and hence, wherever they go their path is marked by discontent and division. The arrogance of these straitest of all sectaries, who yet repudiate all Sectarianism, their virtual claim to infallibility, and their disregard of all active and heroic Christian service, are sharply censured. It is admitted that there are saintly men among them ; but they are saintly, not because of their system, but in spite of it, for in it there is precious little excellence of any kind. The lecture on Methodism is very eulogistic, and its eager aggressiveness, its capacity for meeting the wants of the masses, its cultivation of Christian fellowship, and its skill in uniting those converted through its agency into a strong and compact body are described with a genuine admiration. Presbyterianism is somewhat briefly discussed, and, perhaps, on the whole, this is the most unsatisfactory piece of work the volume contains. The concluding lecture is devoted to Congregationalism, in the course of which Mr. Rogers refutes the misconceptions of opponents that have emerged in recent controversies. Some space is also devoted to the Broad Churchism of Congregationalism, in opposition to which Mr. Rogers maintains that Congregationalism is more than a system of church independency ; it has 'a distinct evangelical foundation,' a 'definite system of historic beliefs,' upon an adherence to which it may properly insist as a condition of fellowship. Congregationalism has in Mr. Rogers an able defender but, at the same time, a faithful leader, who does not hesitate to insist upon what the conditions of the age demand from it. If its true position has to be maintained, it must be more aggressive, and less content to live upon its past. It has work to do in planting free and independent churches, and to this work it needs to bring an energy and self-consecration which will eclipse anything the past has witnessed. The imperfect sketch we have given will indicate, to some extent, the character and worth of this remarkable volume ; but, in order to know its full value, our readers must consult its pages for themselves.

LITERARY JOTTINGS.—The revision of the New Testament being completed, and the results of the lengthened labour being now in the possession of the public, considerable interest is turned towards the revision of the Old Testament, which is in progress, but which will not be completed for some time yet. In the meanwhile it appears the American and Foreign Bible Society have concluded an arrangement

with Dr. Conant to produce a revision of the Old Testament in about four years from the present time. Dr. Conant, it is said, has already revised the Pentateuch and the Psalms. His work is not to be an independent translation; but a revision of the authorised version, the phraseology of which is to be preserved as much as possible. Dr. Conant has to receive £5,000 for his labour. Dr. John Hill Burton, the Scottish historian, has quietly passed away from among us in his seventy-second year. He was one of the few survivors of a circle of literary men whose name made Edinburgh famous some thirty or forty years ago. His *History of Scotland* is a book that will live, though as much can hardly be said of his *History of the Reign of Queen Anne*. His *Life and Correspondence of David Hume* and his biographies of *Lord Lovat* and *Duncan Forbes of Culloden* are books that might be more widely read with advantage. His *Book Hunter*, which is an amusing production, full of anecdotes and of knowledge of books and men, is now little known. It is singular that a work so popular and possessing so much real charm should never have passed beyond a first edition. Dr. Burton was a kindly, genial man, whose loss will be regretted by all who had the pleasure of knowing him. The *Home Words* publishing office have sent out an interesting and instructive biography of Joseph Livesey, the pioneer of total abstinence, by F. Sherlock. Livesey, by shrewd common-sense and indomitable endeavour, elbowed his way on, if not up, in the world, and spent the vigour and strength of his life for the good of his fellows. Whatever may be thought of Livesey's total abstinence views, no one can deny that few have excelled him in strong, earnest, and self-denying effort to help his brother men to become better. Livesey's biography is a book to be read by young men with special advantage. Just after the middle of last July the members of the Wordsworth Society held their annual meeting at Grassmere, under the presidency of Professor Knight, of St. Andrews. Several unedited and unpublished scraps, either the work of the poet or having relation to him, were read, among them being a letter from Charles Lamb, referring to the Duddon sonnets. A paper was also read on 'Wordsworth's influence in America,' with special reference to the Inman portrait of the poet and the lectures of Mr. H. Reed. It was decided to issue a circular letter to all the members of the Society asking for any information they may possess relative to the letters of Wordsworth, whether in manuscript or published. The intention was also expressed of publishing at some time before this year ends a bibliography of Wordsworth's works issued during his lifetime, with illustrative notes, and an engraving or etching of one of

Wordsworth's portraits, to bear the name of the Society. Lord Coleridge was elected President for the ensuing year, Professor Knight continuing to act as Secretary. The next meeting is appointed to be held in London, on May 3, 1882. The papers of the late Dean Stanley have been left in charge of three literary executors—Canon Pearson, of Windsor, Mr. Theodore Walrond, C.B., of the Civil Service Commission, and Mr. G. Grove, editor of *Macmillan's Magazine*, and upon these gentlemen will depend any acquaintance the public may make with the unpublished writings of the excellent Dean whose loss England still mourns. A rather remarkable figure among literary men—George Borrow—has passed away at a ripe old age. Borrow was, perhaps, better known to the generation past than to the present one. His *Gypsies in Spain*, published about 1841, took the world by storm, and was by far the most popular of his works, though not his best, *Lavengro*, a story of rural life, being, perhaps, of all Borrow wrote, entitled to this distinction. Borrow was a splendid man physically, standing over six feet in his stockings. He was fearless and resolute, and full of love of adventure, and had 'War Correspondents' been in vogue when he was in his prime there would have been few better than George Borrow. As it was, he travelled widely and picked up a knowledge of many tongues and an acquaintance with the manners and customs of many people. He was a great friend of the gypsies, who were always welcome to camp on Borrow's property. For more than a quarter of a century he lived at Oulton, near Lowestoft, in comparative retirement, and there he died some two months ago. Another name famous in its way has been added to the roll of the dead—that of Samuel Sharpe, the Egyptologist, the reviser of the Scriptures, and the munificent benefactor of University College and school. Mr. Sharpe was a Unitarian in his theology, though he numbered, we believe, among his ancestors so orthodox a man as Philip Henry. His mother was a sister of the poet Rogers. Born to position and wealth—for he belonged to a family of bankers—literature and study had greater attractions for him than commercial life, though he did not abandon the latter. His *History of Egypt*, published about forty years ago, was accepted as a standard work, and has maintained its character and position notwithstanding the more recent works relating to the country of the Pharaohs. For years Mr. Sharpe was engaged in Biblical revision, and a translation of the Scriptures completed by him has been published in various forms and had a wide circulation. His revised Bible, with his latest emendations, was stereotyped and published early in the present year. It is rumoured

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that among the Christmas books of this year will be included a birthday book by Her Royal Highness Princess Beatrice. The book will be published by Smith, Elder and Co., and will consist of illustrations in water colours. The illustrations are said to be charmingly executed, and designed to represent, by their appropriate flowers, the months of the year. The chromo-lithographs will be done by a Leipzig firm, and the volume will be got up and issued in a style worthy of its distinguished author, and will rank among the most magnificent gift books of the year.

SCIENCE.

THE British Association met this year in the ancient city of York. In 1831 the first meeting of the association was held in the same city, and now, after a career of half a century, the great parliament of science meets in the place of its birth. The President for the year is Sir John Lubbock, and, as might have been expected, his address at the recent meeting was determined by the age at which the Association had arrived. No startling speculations were advanced relative to the significance and meaning of some of the readings of scientific research, but a very wonderful story was told of the progress made from 1831 to 1881. Sir John Lubbock could undoubtedly have made a valuable contribution to the addresses delivered from the Presidential chair of the Association had he confined himself to one of the special lines of investigation to which he has devoted the labour of years. He could have told a wonderful story about bees and ants and the strange doings of the little creatures that have been for men during ages past the symbol of prevision and industry. He could have discoursed charmingly about old monuments and the history written in the relics of races who lived when the weapons and tools of men were roughly shaped in bone and stone. But the occasion demanded something different from this. The year had been looked forward to as a fitting time to pause and pass from the specialities of the individual scientific workers to the wide and wonderful story of their united labour during the past fifty years. This was the task to which Sir John Lubbock addressed himself, and from the chair of the Association he read over a succinct statement of half a century's work in almost every department of natural and physical science. It was fitting enough for Sir John to begin with a department to which he himself has devoted so little attention, and in which some of the most striking achievements of the past fifty years have been accomplished — Biology.

Throughout the whole department of the science of life in zoology, botany, physiology, embryology, and every other section, what a chronicle has been written since 1831! But, without spending time upon the numerous discoveries that have been made, Sir John proceeded at once to deal with what is now, and has been for some years past, the central and shaping principle in biological science—Evolution. With brevity but clearness the nature of Darwin's doctrine was set forth—the evidence upon which it was based and some of the results following from its application indicated. Passing from this, Sir John told the story of prehistoric archæology—how, after a hard and long fight, it was now admitted that anthropology reached away back beyond the beginnings of history, and had to be learned from gravel beds, cave deposits, the remains of lake dwellings, and sources similarly remote and obscure. The progress of geological science was described with a charming simplicity, and the influence of Sir Charles Lyell's 'Principles' was fully recognised. No man has left a deeper mark upon geological science during the past fifty years than Sir Charles Lyell. Under the influence of his 'Principles' the story of the past has been read in the light of the present, and the everyday working of nature, as men see it, is used to interpret the phenomena of the past. In Geology Lyell taught men to reason from the known to the unknown, and put the methods of investigation upon a rational basis. Glacial phenomena, as having commanded special attention during late years, were noticed by Sir John, and the services of Agassiz, Forbes, and others in this field of research were duly recognised. The views of Croll and Geikie relative to the cold of the glacial epoch, arising mainly from the eccentricity of the earth's orbit, combined with the obliquity of the elliptic, were referred to with approval. The venerable science of Astronomy was not behind its younger compeers in the account it had to give of the fifty years' work. The discovery of Neptune and the satellites of Mars, with substantial progress in a variety of directions, marked the path of the science during the last half century; but nothing more wonderful could be told in relation to any science than the discovery of the spectrum analysis and its application to celestial physics, so that the chemical composition of the heavenly bodies can be made the subject of research and study. In Physics the progress has been equally wonderful, and Sir John Lubbock had a wonderful story to tell of achievements in optics, electricity, and in chemistry. Mechanical science, too, had its record to present, and a passing reference was made to the progress of education. In preparing the record we have so imperfectly sketched, Sir John Lub-

bock had the aid of scientific friends who were familiar with branches of research with which he himself was not so well acquainted, so that not only was his labour lightened, but the address itself was made much more valuable, and, as a resumé of scientific progress for the past half-century, it will be widely welcomed.

There is no more valuable and effective febrifugal remedy than the Peruvian bark, commonly known as quinine. For two centuries and a half now this remedy has been known to Europeans. Formerly it was only obtainable from South America; but the Dutch Government, some few years ago, promoted the cultivation of the chinchona tree, from which the bark is taken, in the island of Java, and our own Government introduced it into Southern India. The experiment in India has proved a success, and the cultivation of the tree may be expected to increase at a reasonable rate. There are now about four and a half million trees in the Indian plantations, and the bark produced annually not only supplies the medical depots of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, but yields a surplus of about 3,000lbs. for sale to the public. The plantations are the property of the Government, and were started about twenty years ago. The progress made affords abundant evidence that in a few years this country will be entirely independent of South America for its supply of this valuable remedy in fever cases.

Sir George Airy, whose name has been for more than a generation associated with astronomical science, and who for forty-six years has filled the office of Astronomer-Royal, having been appointed in 1835, has resigned his position. After such long and valuable service as Sir George has rendered, he is entitled to a period of rest and freedom from the burden of official duties before he pays the debt we all must pay. Sir George's name does not stand prominently connected with any particular astronomical discovery, though he has taken an active part in all the progress of the science for over half a century. He is succeeded in his office by Mr. W. H. M. Christie, who, since 1870, has occupied the post of Chief Assistant at the Royal Observatory. Mr. Christie has gained considerable distinction by his labours in astronomical research, and the efficiency with which he has fulfilled his duties at the Observatory will render the scientific world satisfied with his appointment.

Lieutenant Kitchener, who is well known in connection with the survey of Western Palestine, has so far completed his labours as Director of the Survey of Cyprus that he has brought home to England a completed sheet of the new one-inch map of the island, which, through

the eccentric diplomacy of the late Lord Beaconsfield, came in a very unsatisfactory way under the influence of British rule. The survey has been executed to the scale of four inches to the mile for revenue purposes, and has been reduced on the island itself to an inch to the mile for publication. In all probability part of the map will be ready for issue early next year, and by the middle of 1882 the whole will be completed. Lieutenant Kitchener conducted the survey of Galilee for about £1 the square mile; but he has done the work in Cyprus for a less sum than this. If this were the only outlay likely to be incurred in connection with this 'strong place of arms' of the late Tory Premier, no one would regret it, for there is fair value gained in accuracy of topographical knowledge.

The enterprising 'Correspondent' of the *Daily News* in Central Asia has, by a display of endurance and pluck seldom equalled and still more seldom excelled, made his way to Merv, in spite of all efforts to prevent him. He has added considerably to the accuracy of our knowledge of the wide wastes over which the Turcomans wander. And when his promised map of the region in which he has spent so much time is issued, some considerable changes will have to be made in our maps of the district lying east of the Caspian. Merv, from his description of it, is much as it was when Conolly visited it two score years ago. It is a wretched assemblage of mud huts, and destitute of the prosperity of the older cities of the same name, the ruins of which lie scattered over the region east of the present city, if city it deserves to be called. It is hardly likely, now that the Russian advance has hemmed in the Tekkes and banished them from their most productive plundering grounds, that Merv will ever in the hands of its present masters become a place of any importance again. From the accounts forwarded to the *Daily News* by the 'Correspondent' it does not seem likely that the Russians in their advance eastward, if they do advance, will select the deserts that encircle Merv as their line of progress. They will be more likely to take the easier and more available route along the valley of the Tejend river in the direction of Herat. Our knowledge of Central Asia, which has been very misty, will ere long be of a more satisfactory character.

Two South Sea Missionaries, the Rev. H. Codrington, of Melanesia, and the Rev. L. Fison, of Fiji, have recently rendered important service to comparative sociology by papers they have supplied to the *Journal* of the Anthropological Institute. Mr. Codrington's paper relates to the religious beliefs and practices of the natives of Banks Islands, the New Hebrides, and the Solomon Islands. He discusses at

some length the traces of belief in supernatural beings, the myths as to the origin of man, and the introduction of death into the world found among the degraded tribes inhabiting these islands, and institutes inquiry into the meaning of the various superstitions he found prevailing among them, and the organization of secret societies and other practices which, from the point of view of comparative sociology, are full of significance. Mr. Fison calls attention to the customs of land holding established and made sacred by long tradition in a savage society—a question of some interest in India and the far islands of the sea, as well as in Ireland and England. From the account Mr. Fison gives of the connection of the Fijian to the land, there would be no difficulty in stirring up a violent controversy respecting land tenure. The direction of investigation taken in these papers is full of interest, and is not without its bearing upon the question of the unity of the race and the spread of humankind from a common cradle.

A very interesting account is given of the vertebrate fauna of Yorkshire in a neat 'Handbook' by Messrs. W. E. Clarke and W. D. Roebuck, the Secretaries of the Yorkshire Naturalists' Union. The little volume is dedicated to Sir John Lubbock, the President of the British Association this year. The vertebrate animals found in Yorkshire are carefully enumerated, and their geographical distribution and faunistic position clearly defined. There are, it seems, in the premier county 508 species out of a total British list of 756, a higher number than can be found in any other single county in the British Isles. The list includes 46 mammals, more than 300 birds (every doubtful species being omitted), 12 reptiles and amphibians, and upwards of 150 fishes.

POLITICS.

PARLIAMENT has finished its labours for the Session of 1881, and the representatives of the people and the members of the Hereditary Chamber are seeking, in various ways and various places, rest and recreation. The Session has been unusually long, and as wearisome as it has been long. The patience and forbearance of the Government have been sorely tried; but, still, the Session has not been a barren one. The principal work of the Session—the Irish Land Act—will have an influence upon the future of the United Kingdom of the best kind. The advantages that it confers upon the tenant farmers of Ireland are of the most substantial sort. It does not give in one

clause and take back in another, but honestly and frankly concedes to the Irish farmers benefits for which they have long asked in vain. The question of rent does not now rest with the landlord, so that a tenant must either comply with his demands, or quit the home to which he is bound by so many ties. The tenant may invoke the interference of the Land Commission, and obtain a settlement of the rent question, with due regard to his rights, as well as to those of his landlord, and the rent thus fixed cannot be altered for fifteen years. No landlord can get any advance of rent on account of improvements on a farm that have been made by the tenant, and for which he himself has not paid anything. The property right of every tenant in the improvements he may make is recognised, and, under the Act, if he leaves his farm he can sell his interest in unexhausted improvement just as he can sell any other property he has. The Irish tenant has now the benefit of 'fair rent,' a 'durability,' if not 'fixity,' of tenure, and the right to freely sell his interest in his holding in the best market. Other provisions are also made for the security and welfare of the tenant in relation to arrears of rent, ejectment leases, emigration, and other matters that concern him closely in his relation to the land. The House of Lords accepted the measure with great reluctance; indeed, it was only when the difference between them and the Commons threatened to develop into a serious crisis that they gave way and passed the Bill without any substantial alteration. There are two parties to whom the Bill is very unacceptable—the landholders and the Irish Land League. But these two parties, though they both dislike the measure, take up a very different attitude in relation to it. The landlords are obviously making up their minds—and in some cases have done so—to carry out the Act in its spirit as well as in its letter. Such Lord Waterford has declared to be his purpose, though in his place in the House of Peers he opposed the Bill stoutly. The Land League, on the other hand, shows a disposition to prevent the acceptance of the Bill by the Irish farmers so far as it can, or so to hamper the administration of it that it may prove more or less ineffective. There are signs, however, that Irishmen are not ignorant of the value of the boon they have received, and they are hardly likely to be induced to throw away benefits so substantial as those now in their hands at the dictation of men whose work is agitation and whose purposes are impracticable.

Wales has obtained a Sunday Closing Bill, though there is some doubt as to the date upon which it has to take effect, and the publicans are taking the benefit of the doubt, and still keeping their houses

open on the Sabbath. This uncertainty cannot last long, and probably by the time these lines are read a decision from the higher courts may have been obtained. England cannot long be denied this boon now that the other parts of the United Kingdom have secured it. Very important questions still await settlement, such as county government, land tenure in England, reform of bankruptcy law, equalisation of borough and county franchise, &c., and to some of these no doubt attention will be given by the Government during the recess—an attention the result of which we shall hear when Parliament assembles next February. Some members of the Conservative party are raising the question of protection under the guise of what they call 'Fair Trade,' and are appealing to certain interests that have, undoubtedly, suffered from one cause or another during late years. This cry is especially addressed to agriculturalists and certain classes of manufacturers, whom it is sought to influence by an indefinite proposal of protective duties for the stuffs they produce. And this cry, in combination with two or three questionable alliances, has helped to decide more than one bye-election in favour of the Conservative candidate. The leaders of the party are beginning guardedly to use the cry, though the *Standard* and some other respectable and sensible Conservative organs do not look with any favour as yet upon this new-fangled protectionism. It will be strange, however, if the working classes of Great Britain, with the political and economical knowledge they now have, are captivated by so hollow a sham and delusion. 'Fair Trade,' so far as we can gather the meaning of it, is, to tax all imports into this country from those countries which tax the exports we send to them. It is a system of retaliation. Because the consumers in America are foolish enough to pay a higher price than they need for the produce of British industry in order to keep up in an artificial way the price of the same articles produced by American industry, therefore we in this country must undertake to make American products imported dearer to us by taxing them in order that similar products raised on British soil may bring a higher price. And upon whom does the effect of all this higher price payment fall, the producer or the consumer? Let the working classes of England ask themselves this question. America, for instance, refuses to take our manufactured iron except subject to a protective duty—that is, they tax the import of British iron into America—and, as a consequence, all persons using iron in America have to pay a higher price for it than they would if the market was free and open. And in retaliation for this we are asked to put a duty upon American grain, cotton, &c., imported into this country, and so have to pay a higher

price for food stuffs and all cotton goods. Protection, even under the guise of 'Fair Trade,' means higher prices to the consumer. And what reason is there for this cry? During the last ten years the exports of British industry have been greater than during any previous period of similar length, so that it seems British manufacturers and capitalists, on the whole, have been able to sell more goods abroad than ever they did, despite these protective duties. They have not realised such great profits probably; but why ought the consumers of foreign products to be taxed in order that certain British producers should be able to realise greater profits? The economic fallacy of 'Fair Trade' will hardly serve to carry the Conservatives back to power.

The Government still continue to steadily pursue their foreign policy—a firm and dignified maintenance of the power and influence of Great Britain throughout the world, and a use of these for the promotion of good understanding among the nations without any unnecessary meddling. The heritage of disturbance and danger bequeathed to the Government by the Conservatives has been dealt with till now little remains except the bills for which the British and Indian subjects of the Queen have to find cash. We are well out of Afghanistan, and the rival princes there are left to settle which of them rules, or whether they will divide the territories of the late Shere Ali between them. But a bill of over £23,000,000 has to be paid for the search which Lord Beaconsfield instituted for a 'scientific frontier' which has never been found, in addition to the lives that have been lost and that will yet be sacrificed before the anarchy and disorder caused by Lord Beaconsfield's interference are reduced to any degree of order. The Transvaal has been conceded to the Boers subject to conditions securing to the Queen a suzerainty over it, by which the control over the foreign relations of the Government there is lodged with great Britain. The country is also available, under certain circumstances, for the passage of British troops. The pacific action of the Home Government has been denounced by the Imperialistic party as cowardly and contemptible. The Boers ought to have been driven from the field—that is, some hundreds of them ought to have been butchered and not a few British soldiers lost in doing it—before any terms were agreed upon. The Government acted more wisely, and prevented continued bloodshed. This might not please the Jingoës, but it has satisfied the nation. The 'gunpowder and glory' business is worked out. The Treaty interests of Great Britain have been secured without menace or bluster amid the unsettlement caused by the French occupation of Tunis; and the concessions secured to Greece, through the concert of

Europe, recreated after it had been destroyed by the late Government, have been peacefully executed. Cyprus, 'the strong place of arms,' obtained in such a questionable manner by Lord Beaconsfield's Cabinet, and the acquisition of which it seems was part of a bargain with France respecting Tunis, negotiated in an informal way by Lord Salisbury, is proving a burden, and British tax-payers have to provide more or less for the cost of managing this bit of territory which Queen Victoria holds in subjection, in some sense, to the Sultan. All the relations of the Government with foreign Powers are of a satisfactory kind, and the name and counsel of Great Britain command respect everywhere, a marked contrast to what existed some two years ago.

Just after we went to press three months ago all Europe was startled by the report of an attempt to assassinate President Garfield. The report proved only too true. A crack-brained man of the name of Guiteau, disappointed in relation to some office he wanted, waylaid and shot the President at the railway station as he was about to leave Washington for New York. He fired two shots, both of which took effect. The assassin was immediately secured and lodged in jail. The condition of the President was found to be critical, and all along since then till a few days ago, when he sank into a state of unconsciousness and died, he fought a grim battle for his life. More than once it appeared as if the end had really come, but the great vitality and indomitable will of the President led to further rally. The sympathy of Europe, and indeed all parts of the world with which the United States have any relations, has been greatly moved, and the sad occurrence has afforded occasion for the manifestation of that feeling by which nations, as well as individuals, are drawn closer together. So good comes out of evil. The President was removed from Washington to the sea-coast of New Jersey, in hope that it might lead to his recovery. A self-made man and an honest politician, who had stricken manfully at the wire-pullers, President Garfield had won the respect of all who care for purity of government, and his death at this juncture may prove a serious calamity. Vice-President Arthur is known as a politician leaning to the wire-pullers, who are anxious to retain political power and patronage, and an unfavourable change may be made in the policy of the White House now when he is installed there. These fears may not be fulfilled, and Mr. Arthur may act differently in office to what both his friends and foes expect. The dastardly act, so unprovoked, has evoked the indignation of both hemispheres. Absolute monarchs, it seems, are not the only rulers exposed to risk of assassination.

The French elections show plainly enough that the Republic is steadily rooting itself in the conviction of the French people, though they show as clearly the distaste of the French to extreme Republican ideas. M. Gambetta was not well received by his constituents in Bell-ville, and though elected by the first division of that district it was only by a small majority; and while at the head of the poll in the second division, he had not the requisite number of votes to secure his return. His opportunism does not please the electors who favour the extreme Left. But the result of the elections on the whole is favourable to the stability of the Republic, and has smitten to the ground any hope of a return to power that might linger in the minds of either the members of the Legitimist or Bonaparte factions. Out of 557 Deputies 547 are returned, of these 457 are Republicans, 47 are Bonapartists, and 43 are Legitimists. The result of ten Colonial elections is not known as we write, but they are expected to increase the strength of one or other of the Republican sections. The Republican majority is tolerably homogenous: 168 belong to the pure Left, 206 to the advanced Left, and only 46 to the extreme Left. M. Gambetta will command a clear majority over all factions opposed to him of not less than about fifty. What position he will take in the new Chamber remains to be seen. It is time now that he was fairly and openly accepting the responsibilities of power. The French Minister of Commerce has overshot his mark relative to the Treaty with Great Britain. He has evidently expected that the Government of Mr. Gladstone would accept anything in the shape of a Treaty; but he has found out his mistake, and has been very anxious to show that the interruption of the negotiations was not due to him and the department over which he presided. Lord Granville and Sir C. Dilke have acted with great dignity, but made the French Minister understand they would prefer no Treaty at all to one sacrificing in any way the interests of Great Britain. The probability is now that a Treaty will be proposed that can be accepted to the mutual advantage of both countries. The French are meeting with serious trouble in North Africa. Their action in Tunis is likely to be costly to them in every way and lead to much suffering of various kinds. Troops are being sent across the Mediterranean, and by October it is anticipated that the French Generals will have 75,000 men under command. The situation is full of danger, and there is the prospect of a vexatious war, costly alike in men and money. The greed of conquest is felt in a Republic as well as in an Empire, and it is against this 'gunpowder and glory' policy that Frenchmen need specially to guard. The coveting of Tunis is likely to lead to serious trouble and complications for our neighbours across the channel.

Turkey is for once fulfilling with some degree of exactness its engagements and handing over to Greece the territory which the Great Powers decided should be conceded to the Government of Athens by the Porte. Troops have been steadily withdrawn, and Greek soldiers have occupied the places evacuated by the Turks; and this has been done without collision and bloodshed. Evidently Mr. Goschen, whom Mr. Gladstone's Government sent out as Special Ambassador, has succeeded in convincing the ring of ruling Turks and the Sultan that Great Britain meant what she said—a belief that under Lord Beaconsfield's Government the Sultan and the Pashas never seriously entertained; and, convinced at last that now Great Britain was serious and in earnest Europe could no longer be played with, the Porte has set about giving effect to the Treaty of Berlin in relation to the Greek frontier, as well as the cession of territory to Montenegro.

The Prince of Bulgaria has effected a revolution in the Government of his province, the wisdom or folly of which time will prove. Not satisfied with the manner in which the Constitution was administered by the Ministry, he resolved to take advantage of the provision made for revising the Constitution. The Assembly was dissolved, and new elections ordered. Various reports have been published respecting the use of force in the elections in order to secure the majority necessary for the purposes of Prince Alexander. Probably there may be some truth in these rumours; but there appears to have been a considerable popular enthusiasm on the side of the Prince. The elections went in his favour by a large majority, and the new Assembly granted him what he desired for purposes of Government at once. He is in fact absolute for seven years, legislation and finance being virtually left in his hands. At the end of seven years the Assembly may revise what the Prince has done in modifying the Constitution; but, in the meantime, the only real power in Bulgaria is Prince Alexander. If he uses his power wisely, all may go well; but if not, the Balkan Peninsula may be again the theatre of strife and bloodshed. Time will test the value of this change. It may be the wisest that could have been made, or it may lead to much mischief and trouble.

